



THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CULT: THE SANCTUARY AT PHYLAKOPI

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The Lady of Phylakopi

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF CULT

THE SANCTUARY AT PHYLAKOPI

by
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For Sinclair Hood

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Preface

The Archaeology of Cult

It was one of the fundamental tenets of the New Archaeology of the 1960s and the 1970s that no areas of human experience were excluded in principle from the archaeological record. Thus several processual archaeologists (e.g. Binford 1968, 21) have quoted with disapproval the ladder of reliability in archaeological inference proposed by Hawkes (1954, 161-2):

- “1. To infer from the archaeological phenomena to the techniques producing them I take to be relatively easy . . .
2. To infer to the subsistence-economies of the human groups concerned is fairly easy . . .
3. To infer to the socio/political institutions of the groups, however, is considerably harder.
4. To infer to the religious institutions and spiritual life . . . is the hardest inference of all.”

Critics of the Hawkes position have argued, rightly in my view, that there is nothing inherently obscure or problematic about the fourth category: the ancient civilisations and their predecessors are rich in monuments which we readily recognise as in some sense religious. The problem is not that the material is lacking, nor that it is inherently difficult to recognise, but that archaeologists, with a few honourable exceptions, have made little attempt to develop a coherent approach to the subject, but have instead ventured conclusions and reconstructions which cannot be shown to relate in a coherent and systematic way to the available data. The present work, as well as reporting the finds at what will be claimed below to be a religious site, a sanctuary, attempts to address some of these related and much-neglected problems.

The identification, excavation and interpretation of a ceremonial centre is one of the most challenging undertakings in archaeology today. Nothing may be assumed by the excavator: there is no body of theory relating to the archaeology of religion to aid him in his interpretation. Indeed the investigation of religion or cult or ritual, on the basis of the material remains alone, implies to some commentators an excursus looking far beyond the limits of valid archaeological inference. Yet there are others who feel no such methodological inhibitions: for them a thorough knowledge of the relevant data coupled with the free exercise of the creative human gift for sympathetic imagination can together lead directly to valid insights into long-vanished belief systems.

An opportunity of trying in practice to steer a path between the extreme scepticism of the one and the naive empathy of the other came unexpectedly to us with the discovery of a sanctuary at the late bronze age town of Phylakopi on the Aegean island of Melos. The discovery was of course an exciting one and was followed up, as described below, with the energetic support of the British School of Archaeology at Athens. Much important new material was unearthed, with the opportunity of recording more carefully than has been attempted hitherto the exact context of each find.

The immediate research strategy followed in the excavation was a simple one: to determine the extent of the ceremonial complex, and to investigate it in its entirety with careful excavation and recording procedures. Some effort has been expended to make this publication a full one, so that the data are available to allow the future investigation of other questions that those which we ourselves have posed. Indeed the interpretation is in many ways a more difficult task than is

the presentation of the data as such. Before proceeding to present those data it is perhaps useful to consider why the interpretive task should be so difficult.

Problems in Interpretation

Kent Flannery (1976a, 331) has well described what he calls “the split personality” of the traditional, experienced fieldworker—typified by his ‘Real Mesoamerican Archaeologist’ (R.M.A.)—when confronted with the archaeology of religion:

Give him a simple Formative hamlet and he displays the conscience of a conservative. Give him the slightest hint of a ceremonial feature and he’s off to the theoretical stratosphere, with cults, missionaries, rituals, converts, sacrifices, anthropophagy and hallucinogenic mushrooms. The reasons for this wide range of responses are not hard to find: *Mesoamerican archaeology has absolutely no coherent and consistent theoretical framework by means of which ritual or religious data can be analyzed and interpreted.* This being the case, it’s every man for himself, and R.M.A.’s guesses are as good as anyone’s.

This is a familiar syndrome wherever archaeologists try to study religion. Sometimes extreme caution is expressed, as in the dictum of Christopher Hawkes, quoted above. Some archaeologists are thus as pessimistic about the investigation of past belief systems as they are about social archaeology: “Since historical events and the essential social divisions of prehistoric peoples don’t find an adequate expression in material remains, it cannot be right to try to arrive at a knowledge of them in archaeological interpretation” (Smith 1955, 7). Yet sometimes the outlook of the traditional archaeologist is diametrically opposed to this cautious view. An optimism prevails that the direct and untrammelled exercise of the human imagination, aided by intuition and *Einfühlung*, can come up with the right answer. A thorough acquaintance with the facts and a sympathetic impulse from the heart can, it is argued, bring about a reconstruction from some depths of the unconscious which is akin in its conviction to ‘anamnesis’ (J. Hawkes 1980, 157), the phenomenon of total recall from an earlier existence. Or at any rate the cold rigour of pedantic, scientific inferential argument is rejected in favour of a warmer, more humane inspiration, invoked on the basis of a thorough acquaintance with the known facts, by the sensitive and dedicated scholar.

Contemporary processual archaeology certainly rejects the facile optimism of the latter approach, in which any fantasy of the modern commentator is all too readily foisted upon the early community in question, for whom ritual behaviour and religious beliefs are gratuitously invented as fancy may dictate. In principle the opposite view, the extreme pessimist position, is also rejected by contemporary archaeology on the prudential grounds that to reject anything at the outset as in principle unknowable, without a serious consideration of possible approaches, is an unproductive strategy. Instead there is much discussion in recent literature of cognitive archaeology, and many references to the symbolic or projective subsystem of the culture system. But in reality few of the real methodological problems have been systematically tackled.

How, for instance, does one recognise the archaeological evidence of religious behaviour, of cult practice, for what it is? On what grounds, for instance, is one pit, with animal bones and a few artifacts, dismissed as domestic refuse, while another is seen as a ritual deposit with evidence of sacrifice? In what circumstances shall we regard small terracotta representations of animals and men as figurines, intended as offerings to the deity, and when shall we view them as mere toys for the amusement of children? I can find little evidence that such basic issues of archaeological interpretation have been discussed in the recent literature (other than in Ucko, 1968), despite the current concern for the understanding of archaeological formation processes (Schiffer 1976). Even Flannery, who has undertaken a useful ‘contextual analysis of ritual

paraphernalia', asks first the more advanced question: 'What information was this ritual feature or artifact designed to transmit?' (Flannery 1976b, 333), rather than the more basic one, 'How do I know this artifact had a ritual significance?' Indeed much recent discussion tends to focus upon the *role* of religious activity within society in sanctifying important propositions which support and stabilise the social structure of the society (Rappaport 1968, Drennan 1976). Such discussion is useful and informative, but there is an element here of running before we can walk, of discussing the functions of ritual within society before we have any clear criteria for recognising it at all or documenting it archaeologically.

In current American archaeology the issue is all too often dodged by reference to the ethnographic presence in the same research area. Thus Flannery, in identifying as trumpets the conch shells found in contexts of the Formative period in the Valley of Oaxaca (Flannery 1976b, 335) can claim that they were:

"Still in use when the Spanish arrived in the Valley of Oaxaca. In fact carved conch shell trumpets are still used in some Zapotec-speaking villages in Oaxaca to summon participants in *tequio*, a kind of obligatory communal work for the village."

The inference is perfectly plausible, but it has the same insubstantial basis in logic that is so often used in dealing with the pre-Columbian pueblos of the American southwest. An analogue for a feature observed in prehistoric contexts is found in operation in contemporary pueblos, and the prehistoric function is uncritically assumed to be the same as the modern one on rather vague grounds of continuity. The argument is often plausible, but it makes absolutely no contribution to archaeological general theory.

Precisely the same objection holds, and has long been recognised, for the interpretation of cult and religion in the prehistoric Aegean in the light of our very much more full and reliable knowledge, from the written sources, about religious practice in the Classic Greek world, a thousand years later. In some cases evidence for continuity has been claimed. But continuity in religious practice does not imply lack of change in that practice, and certainly cannot be taken as evidence of constancy of meaning. Unless the complexities are recognised, the interpretation will amount to no more than the projection backwards in time of the customs and concepts which are documented for the historical period, and hence the ascription to the earlier, non-literate society of religious beliefs and practices which may in reality have developed very much later. Instead, if valid inferences are to be drawn, the religious system of a given period has to be interpreted primarily in the light of the evidence available for that period, and not on the basis of subsequent belief systems, however well documented.

Fortunately, in the case of early Aegean cult practices, there is a formidable body of scholarship available to draw upon, most notably Martin Nilsson's great work *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* (1950), first published in 1927. In general he successfully avoided those twin pitfalls of damagingly negative pessimism on the one hand, and uncritical optimism on the other. His analysis is conducted systematically on the basis of the archaeological finds, and only later does he proceed to a comparison with the religion of the Classical Greeks. Contextual analysis is thus nothing new within this field. At the same time, however, Nilsson and his contemporaries made more assumptions in their reasoning than may seem strictly warranted to the contemporary archaeologist. One of the more serious difficulties arises from his treatment together of the material from Crete with that from the Mycenaean world, since the extent to which the two regions shared similar beliefs and practices requires to be demonstrated rather than assumed. In common with many writers, moreover, he took a largely synchronic view. The more abundant evidence now available allows chronological distinctions to be made, for instance between the palatial and post-palatial periods in Crete.

These difficulties have subsequently been indicated by writers such as Rutkowski (1972). They are underlain, however, by other more fundamental problems, which are relevant as much in any region of the world as in the Aegean. The first of these, the initial identification of ritual material, has already been touched on. The second is perhaps more difficult.

When dealing, in a religious context, with representations of men, of women or of animals (whether real or supernatural), how are we to decide whether we are dealing with figurations of deities, fashioned in their divine image, or with offerings which, while probably intended for the service of the gods, are not intended to represent them? This must be a basic question for the understanding of any cult where such representations occur. And it is clearly one where general principles of archaeological interpretation should apply very widely. Naturally it crops up frequently in archaeological discussions but, so far as I am aware, it has never been addressed in any very systematic way.

These points simply underline that the lack of a consistent theoretical framework for the analysis and interpretation of religious data, to which Flannery drew attention, is as acute in the archaeology of the Old World as it is in the New. To do full justice to the rich material from the Phylakopi Sanctuary it would be necessary to work within such a framework, and its lack makes the task a very difficult one. Some of these points are considered in a preliminary way in the following chapter.

Our overall aims may be simply stated. The objective is to gain insight into the rituals and religious acts practised at Phylakopi, and into the structure of beliefs which motivated them. Such insight, it is hoped, will enlarge our understanding of cult practices more widely in the prehistoric Aegean, and enable us to understand the place of religion within Aegean societies and in their development.

These questions are considered in a preliminary way in chapter I and an attempt is made to follow them up in practice in chapters IX and X, following the initial description and documentation of the material finds.

Introduction

The Excavations at Phylakopi

In the summer of 1974, excavations at the site of Phylakopi in Melos were resumed on behalf of the British School of Archaeology at Athens after an interval of 63 years. The site was first investigated from 1896 to 1899, and the resulting report (Phylakopi 1904) set a new standard for archaeological publication in the Aegean. Duncan Mackenzie was in day-to-day supervision of the work, and his notebooks (Mackenzie 1963) usefully supplement the published report. A single brief season of re-excavation was conducted at the site in 1911 (Dawkins and Droop 1911).

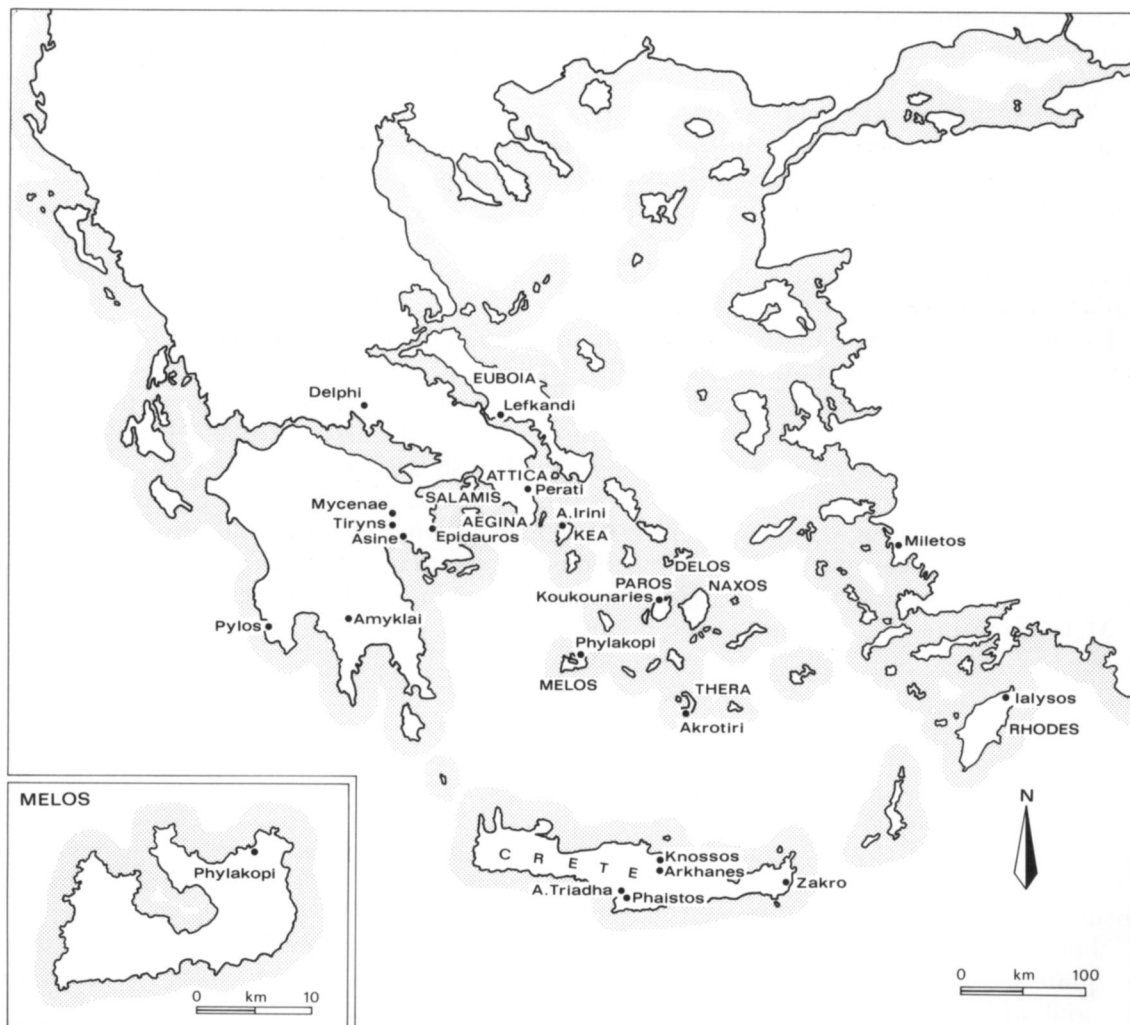


FIG. 0.1 Map of the Aegean, with inset of Melos

A principal aim of the new excavations was to obtain a more detailed stratigraphic record for the whole sequence at the site. In particular the history there of the later part of the bronze age was little understood, and it seemed likely that relevant later levels would be best preserved at the southern part of the site, being there covered and protected by later downwash from higher parts of the settlement, to the north. This point was succinctly made by Mackenzie at the conclusion of the excavations in 1899. He noted: "that the region from D4 to H4 with its deeper super-soil, while involving more initial labour, will probably afford exceptional chances of interesting discoveries in the later strata" (Mackenzie 1963, 232, note 3).

Two excavation areas, designated OLd and OLc were opened in July 1974 to the west of one of the principal stratigraphic sections, area PLa (FIG. 2.2). After removal of the superficial levels and of downwash from the north, a tumble of stones overlying stone walls was revealed. Finds of a rather special nature—fragments of animal and human terracotta figurines, pieces of ostrich egg shell, a conch shell—emerged in one area of Trench OLc. Then, on the last day of that season's excavation, 23rd July (the excavation in 1974 being curtailed through the unsettled international situation), a small head in sheet gold appeared (PLATE 59). It became apparent that we were excavating an area containing special objects and thus possessing a special function, possibly a shrine or sanctuary.

When excavations at Phylakopi were resumed in 1975, work was continued in the "shrine" area, as well as elsewhere on the site, revealing the relationship between the building in question (subsequently designated the East Shrine) and the fortification wall to the south. The rich finds were such as to necessitate a third excavation season in 1976, resulting in the discovery and exploration of the West Shrine. It did not, however, prove possible to complete the examination of the West Shrine during 1976, and so a final short season was organised in 1977 to bring the work to a conclusion.

The exploration of the Sanctuary area became, through the special character of the finds, one of the prime undertakings of the work in Melos. The significance of the assemblage as a whole and the particular interest of many individual finds have made it appropriate to publish the Sanctuary area separately. The present volume therefore is the first of two which will together describe the recent excavations at Phylakopi by the British School of Archaeology. The second volume is in preparation, and will describe the other work on the site, covering all periods from the very early bronze age to the end of the Mycenaean period. A third volume describing the interdisciplinary environmental project carried out on the island of Melos as a whole, while the excavations at Phylakopi were in progress, and including a study of settlement and environment in Melos from the earliest times to the present, has been published (Renfrew and Wagstaff, 1982).

Organisation of this volume

The exceptional interest of many of the individual finds and the opportunities which their full documentation will offer for later re-interpretation of so important an assemblage, have led us to publish the Sanctuary area in considerable stratigraphic detail. The excavation indeed presented many complexities of stratigraphy, most of them, I believe, now satisfactorily resolved. The alternatives in preparing a report were either to give a synopsis, without full stratigraphic documentation, or to present a much more thoroughly documented account, necessitating a level of detail which may at times appear almost too elaborate. But this is the only way that an adequate body of data can be provided such that subsequent workers will be able to return to the material with new questions, and hope to find an answer to them. Moreover the chain of inferences upon which the interpretation rests deserves to be set out in detail, since the evidence

in support of each point is considerable. We believe then that, while the current trend in archaeological publishing may be to offer less detail than was usual in the past, relegating supporting documentation to some hypothetical 'archive', the importance of the Sanctuary at Phylakopi merits a very full treatment.

Chapter II sets out an account of the excavation, following approximately the order of the digging work, with a minimum of interpretation. It is intended, therefore, as a factual account, employing the detailed recording system used in the field and in the laboratory. It is followed by an interpretive chapter, Chapter III, on the stratigraphic sequence, which allows a division of the Sanctuary and its stratigraphic levels into successive phases. This sets the essential relative-chronological framework for the following chapter, Chapter IV, in which the structures, and finds unearthed, are set out in some detail, in their chronological order. The order of discussion in this chapter (from early to late) thus reverses that in Chapter II (from superficial to deeply stratified). Then follow chapters dealing in full with the various classes of finds, and offering further discussion. The drawings of objects in the volume are almost entirely by Miss Jennifer Moody, and the photographs of finds by Dr Lyvia Morgan and of the site by Mr Nick Bradford, Dr David Leigh and Mr Clive Tilley. The architectural plans are by Mr Alec Daykin and the sections, initially by the site supervisors have been prepared for publication by Mrs Fiona Gale. Mr Martin Oake drew the assemblage diagrams.

Synopsis of the Sanctuary Sequence

In view of the complexity of the site, it may be helpful to present here a very brief and preliminary summary of the stratigraphic sequence, which is argued in greater detail in Chapter III. It should be read in conjunction with FIG. 3.1.

The earliest shrine building of which we have any trace is represented by the West Shrine, including Rooms A and B lying to the west of the main room. As will be argued in Chapter III this structure was built during the Late Helladic IIIA Period.

The next stage of the shrine (phase 1c) is represented by the construction of an extension wall (Wall 661) leading approximately eastwards from the south-east corner of the West Shrine.

The second major constructional phase (2a) begins with the building of the Late Helladic IIIB fortification wall to the east of the West Shrine, and, probably a little later, by the construction of the East Shrine immediately to the north of the fortification wall.

The entire complex was seriously damaged in the Late Helladic IIIC period, and the debris from this damage (phase 2b) contains the richest finds from the Sanctuary. The damage, which was accompanied by the partial collapse of the fortification wall, is referred to as the 'collapse'. Subsequently a blocking wall (Wall 626/733) was built across the West Shrine, and the area inside it to the south of the wall filled with large stones.

The area in the West Shrine to the north of this wall, and the interior of the East Shrine, were re-used (phases 3a and 3b) and small structural additions were later made internally (phase 3c), following which the entire complex was finally abandoned, later in the Late Helladic IIIC period.

Obviously these statements anticipate, and are justified by, the detailed account given in the following pages: they represent a picture of which we had absolutely no inkling at the outset of the excavation.

Acknowledgements

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The Managing Committee of the School, and its Chairmen, successively Professor N. G. L. Hammond, the late Dr V. R. Desborough and Dr R. E. Higgins, generously supported the work throughout, as did the Director of the School, Dr H. W. Catling. The representative of the Management Committee through all of the first two seasons and much of the third and fourth was Mr M. S. F. Hood, whose advice, support and collaboration proved of great assistance on many occasions. Dr David Hardy, the administrative director of the project, contributed much through his energy and organising abilities, and the excavation owes him a considerable debt of gratitude for his efficient organisation of many practical aspects of the work.

Our thanks are due to the Greek Archaeological Service for permission to excavate, to the Ephors of Antiquities for the Cyclades, Mr I. Tsedakis (1974 and 1975), Miss E. Zervoudaki (1976) and Mrs Ph. Zappeiropoulou (1977), whose visits to the site in 1974 and 1977 were particularly helpful, as well as to the representatives of the Ephor at the excavation itself, Miss E. Tsivilika (1974–6) and Mrs Polly Muhly (1977).

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Site supervisors and assistant supervisors in the sanctuary area in one or more seasons included Dr Jill Carington Smith, Mr Richard Heyhoe, Dr Bill Phelps, Professor John Younger, Miss Catherine Follett, Miss Jennifer Moody, Dr Susan Shennan, and Messrs Nick Bradford, Mark Brisbane, Richard Catling, Tim Darvill, Richard Doughty, David Farwell, Demetrios Matsas, Mike Parker Pearson, Sebastian Rahtz, Guy Sanders, Stewart Simmons, Stephen Walker and Todd Whitelaw.

The foremen of our Cretan workforce, to whom we owe a special debt of gratitude, was Mr Andonis Zidionakis of Knossos, assisted in one or more seasons by his skilled compatriots Mr Vassilis Christakis, Mr Nikos Daskalakis, Mr Kostas Karkaloutsos, Mr Andonis Kritsalakis, Mr Andonis Lambrakis, Mr Georgios Vassilakis and Mr Andonis Vlachakis. Several Melian workmen and boys also assisted on the site and in the laboratory in Plaka, including Messrs Nikos Giannadopoulos, Markos Kamakaris, Stelios Kendrotas, Georgios Mallis, Nikos Mallis, Stamatis Markadonis, Stelios Mavrogiannis, and Vassilios Ninos.

The excavation architect in all four seasons was Mr Alec Daykin, assisted in 1977 by Mr Matt Bruce. The site photographers responsible for the on-site photography were Dr David Leigh (1974), Mr Clive Tilley (1975), Dr Lyvia Morgan (1976) and Mr Nick Bradford (1977). Each also undertook find photography: Most of the final photographs of objects from the Sanctuary are by Dr Morgan. Miss Jennifer Moody undertook the formidable task of drawing the objects from the shrine for publication. The pottery drawings are by Miss P.-A. Mountjoy. The sections were re-drawn for publication by Mrs Fiona Gale.

The field laboratory was organised by Miss Sara Paton, Mrs Katie Heywood and Mr Callum Macfarlane, aided at various times by Miss Carol Delaney, Miss Anthea Ewbank, Mrs Max Daykin, Miss Claire Halpin, Mr Jörg Lahde, Miss Seona Macfarlane, Miss Christine Waite and

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The excavation benefited in many ways from the goodwill and kindness of many Melian friends, and to them and to other helpers and benefactors we express gratitude.

In the preparation of the data for publication, Dr John Cherry undertook some very useful collation of material (providing the basis for Appendix A), Mr Callum Macfarlane assisted in the detailed phasing of strata and organised the record of figurine joins.

He and Mr Todd Whitelaw have both played a major role in preparing this report for publication while working as Research Assistants with the support of a generous grant made available by the Committee for Advanced Studies of the University of Southampton. Mr Whitelaw checked many of the stratigraphic details, while Mr Macfarlane undertook the onerous task of preparing the find lists for Chapters IV and VIII, and the collation of much of the text and illustrations. Mr Whitelaw also contributed significantly in the final preparations of the volume for the press, work which was supported by a Research Grant from the British Academy. My thanks are also due to Mrs Susan Stephenson, Mrs Anke Elborn and Miss June Paynter for the considerable care which they have devoted to the typing.

Chapter I

Towards a Framework for the Archaeology of Cult Practice

The purpose of this chapter is to make explicit some of the concepts, and distinctions between concepts, which lie implicit in any discussion of religion and of cult. The archaeologist has no direct access to the cult practices of early times: his knowledge of them must come, by a process of inference, from the study of the material remains. Still less does he have direct access to the meaning which these cult practices held for their practitioners, or to the religious beliefs of the time. These too, to the extent that they can validly be reconstructed at all, must be elucidated by the modern worker through a process of inference.

Despite the excellently systematic and scholarly work carried out over many decades on various early religions on the basis of the archaeology, the processes of inference employed by contemporary scholars have generally received less attention than the conclusions which they have reached. But if the study is to be a well-founded and progressive one, each step in the argument must be open to examination. In this field there is always the danger of running before we can walk, of being impelled to make a series of statements for which no real warranty can be offered, other than their internal coherence and their quality of satisfying the particular modern observer who makes them. Any follower of recent writings on prehistoric religions will readily recall many examples. The need, however, is not for more religious reconstructions of greater completeness and complexity, but for a distinction between those elements which can be supported by careful argument from the available evidence, and those others which, however plausible to some contemporary writers, cannot be shown to have such support.

What I am arguing for, therefore, is a framework of inference, of the kind which Lewis Binford (1977, 6) terms 'middle range theory', which would allow one to make warranted statements about the past, in this case about past cult practice and religious belief, on the basis of the archaeological evidence. It is not my case that the statements made by such eminent scholars as Sir Arthur Evans or Martin Nilsson cannot be given such warranty by means of an inferential framework of that kind, but simply that the frameworks which they themselves undoubtedly used remain in some respects implicit. The same comments apply to most, perhaps all, existing treatments of prehistoric religion. The aim here, therefore, is to outline how the groundwork might be laid for such inferential structures. Recent anthropological work on myth and ritual, while often lacking the rigour and indeed the clarity which are desirable, has at least had the merit of exploring the field in a pioneering and often illuminating way. So far these insights have not been applied to the archaeological record with any scholarly rigour. It is the intention here to review some of the critical issues which will require resolution before any systematic study of early religion can be written on the basis of the archaeological evidence.

1. Religious Belief and the Material World

Religion may be defined (Onions 1973, 1978) as: 'Action or conduct indicating a belief in, or reverence for, and desire to please, a divine ruling power . . . : Recognition on the part of man of some higher unseen power as having control of his destiny, and as being entitled to obedience,

reverence and worship.' This definition helps to clarify the essential distinction, which is of particular concern to the archaeologist, between belief and cult, between faith and practice.

For the essence of religion is some framework of beliefs. Nor can these be restricted to general philosophic beliefs about the world, or even about its origin. They must relate to entities or forces which are not merely those of the everyday material world but which go beyond it, transcend it. These forces, while immanent, must also—to warrant the term religion—be transcendental or supernatural, or at least superhuman (Spiro 1966, 91). In the words of the Shorter Oxford Dictionary once again (Onions 1973, 2193), on the concept 'supernatural': 'That is above nature; transcending the powers of the ordinary course of nature.'

A number of scholars, most notably Durkheim (1915, 47), have not accepted the distinction drawn here between natural and supernatural, on the grounds that some religions do not themselves make this distinction. They have generally stressed the social institution, the Church, from which according to Durkheim, religion is inseparable: 'A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them' (Durkheim 1915, 47). Geertz (1966, 4) indeed offers a definition of religion which manages to avoid both the concept of the supernatural and of a church or institution: 'a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence, and clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.' Such a definition as this would not, however, allow us to distinguish between religious beliefs or rituals and purely secular ones, for instance beliefs and rituals pertaining to kingship. The alternative definition proposed by Spiro (1966, 96) seems far preferable: 'an institution consisting of culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings.'

It is not our purpose here, however, to examine exhaustively the relative merits of these different definitions. The dictionary-based definitions proposed earlier harmonise adequately with those of Horton (1960), Goody (1961) and Spiro (1966), and will not in practice bring us here seriously into disagreement with that originally proposed by Durkheim (which of course leans heavily upon the concept of the 'sacred'). Only Geertz's formulation—which is so vague that it could serve to define monetary economy as well as it does religion—would lead us directly into error.

The archaeologist, it should be remembered, cannot observe beliefs: one can only work with material remains, the consequences of actions. In favourable cases, such as we are discussing in this volume, these remains are the results of actions which we can plausibly interpret as arising *from* religious belief.

The archaeologist is not alone in the inability to observe beliefs directly: nor can the anthropologist, or indeed anybody else. And if we are to use the archaeological record correctly, it is pertinent to review the classes of data which the contemporary anthropologist might have at his disposal in favourable circumstances. These are as follows:

1. Verbal testimony, whether oral or written, relating to the religious activities of the community, or elucidating the meaning ascribed by it to its religious practices.
2. Direct observation of cult practices, involving the use of expressive action, of vocal utterances and of symbolic objects and materials.
3. Study of non-verbal records, mainly depictions, which document either (a) the beliefs themselves, e.g. portraying deities or mythical events; or (b) the cult practices carried out in the community.
4. Study of the material remains of cult practices, including structures and symbolic objects and materials.

The anthropologist, under (1), may hope to have the religion explained by a participant. But much ethnographic literature is richer in documentation of the second category, either because the observer did not sufficiently understand the language of the community studied, or because difficulties were experienced in translating the beliefs and concepts effectively into the language and concepts familiar to the observer. Most of the best early ethnographic writing is richer in material of the second category: our information about eighteenth century Polynesian religious practices, for instance, comes more from (2) than from (1). Captain Cook and his contemporaries were in general more accurate observers than they were interpreters.

The archaeologist, if dealing with a literate period, may well have some testimony of class 1, from the inside as it were, giving the view of the participants. The religions of classical Greece and Rome, for instances, are tolerably well understood in this way. In cases where the societies under study were only partly or not at all literate, evidence in class (2) may be available: such is the case for sixteenth century Mesoamerica or South America. In Europe, the classical writers have similarly left us accounts of the religious behaviour of the Celts and Scythians which are in general more persuasive than their analysis of the underlying religious beliefs. But of course for the archaeologist the observation is never direct: at best like the historian, one may work with authentic accounts of such direct observations.

Prehistoric archaeologists, including the student of the Phylakopi Sanctuary, must work with material in categories (3) and (4). The lack of evidence of classes (1) and (2) imposes a serious limitation on our possibilities of elucidating belief systems, as opposed to the simple reconstruction of sacred rituals and observances. In the absence of written testimony we must work with materials where the meaning has, to some extent, been made explicit: with signs, symbols and iconography.

2. Material Symbols and the Role of Iconography

'A symbol may be defined as a thing the value or meaning of which is bestowed upon it by those who use it' (White 1949, 25). Many anthropologists have emphasised that the ability to use symbols is a particularly human one. It is of course crucial to the very existence of religion. In the words of Leach (1976, 37):

For anthropologists the most important area where . . . material symbolism is in evidence is in religious ritual. All metaphysical entities start out as inchoate concepts in the mind; if we are to think clearly about the ideas which are represented by words such as 'god' and 'spirit' we have to externalise them. We do this in two ways: (i) by telling stories (myths) in which the metaphysical ideas are represented by the activities of supernatural beings, magnified non-natural men and animals; (ii) by creating special material objects, buildings and spaces which serve as representations of the metaphysical ideas and their mental environment.

Many workers stress that the meaning of a symbol is arbitrarily ascribed (or that the specific thing which is designated as the symbol for a concept is arbitrarily chosen to represent that concept). In the terms of Leach's useful discussion (1976, 3) that would be a nonce symbol. But there are three points which are of help to us, as archaeologists, in trying to make some sense of a collection of objects or representations of objects which we feel may have functioned as symbols:

(a) The relation between symbol and meaning may become conventionalised: that is to say the meaning is repeatedly and regularly represented by the same form, and that form is repeatedly and regularly used to convey that meaning.

(b) Symbols are often habitually used together within the same context. When such a context may be established, an association of symbols with meaning in one case may be assumed in

another when it is less apparent. For instance the clear association of several emblems associated with kingship in certain contexts may be sufficient to suggest that a single one of these symbols in another context indicates kingship. It was the recognition of the Egyptian royal cartouche in this way which gave Champollion the first clue to the decipherment of the Rosetta Stone.

(c) The form of symbols is frequently not arbitrary, but relates graphically to the concept represented. In some cases the association is intrinsic to nature (a natural index)—for instance the frequent use of a crescent to depict the moon. In others it functions by metonymy (the part representing the whole), for instance the crown as a sign for royalty.

In favourable cases it may be possible for us to use such clues to elucidate some elements of meaning. An important help here is the frequency of *redundancy* (repetition) in human symbolic expression, particularly in the field of religion. The same symbol is used again and again, and a careful analysis of its associations may help to indicate the internal structure of the context, as indicated in (b) above. By the analysis of context, where cult practice can be documented, much may be learnt of the underlying structure of belief, although perhaps not of its content (evidence of class (4) or of class (3b) above). Depictions of deities, where they can be securely recognised may go further: a study of evidence of class (3a) may begin to give indications of the meaning of the belief system, as opposed to the details of cult practice.

For instance a study of Christian iconography by someone entirely ignorant of any elements of the relevant doctrine would rapidly reveal that the most commonly occurring symbol, the cross, is frequently used in conjunction with a crucified adult male. It would not be difficult to suggest (although very difficult to confirm) that the cross in such a context is everywhere a symbol for crucifixion. The attendant iconographic circumstances (e.g. the two thieves) might indicate that this crucifixion was a specific historical event. Details of the lady dressed in blue at the foot of the cross might identify her with the lady frequently seen in other depictions with a male infant. His identification with the crucified male would be supported by further associations, including the small cross which the baby sometimes holds in his hand.

This example shows, I think, that the pessimism expressed by some archaeologists as to the possibility of reconstructing any elements of the content of religious belief from archaeological data alone is misplaced. Using the terms of Rappaport (1968, 237) and Pike (1954, 8) the 'cognised' or 'emic' elements—that is to say the beliefs—are not excluded from our consideration of early religion. The 'operational' or 'etic' aspects, that is the actual practice of cult, may be more readily observable. But the study of iconography may take us further. That is, of course, exactly what Evans, Nilsson and others have assumed. Some of their other assumptions may be less warranted.

3. Ritual and the Archaeological Recognition of Cult

Ritual behaviour is readily recognised in life through its formality, through the elements of repetition involved and through its evidently purposive character—it has to be seen to be done, whether publicly by a gathering of people, or privately in the presence of the deity. It is useful to note that the term is not restricted in its application to religious phenomena: there are social rituals of an entirely secular nature, such as the installation in office of civic dignitaries. Nor is the use of the term restricted to human activities: students of animal behaviour employ it, synonymously with 'display', to refer to activities seen in many animal species (Hinde 1966). Here it is convenient to follow Rappaport (1971b, 25) who resolves to: 'define ritual—both human and animal, religious and secular—as conventional acts of display through which one or more participants transmit information concerning their physiological, psychological or socioological states either to themselves or to one or more of their participants.'

It should be noted, however, that many of the features of ritual are shared by play, for one of the defining features of games, like that of ritual, is their governance by rules. Seen from the outside there are few definitions of ritual which would exclude, for instance, a game of cricket. Conventionally games and play are seen as having pleasure as their sole objective, where ritual has a more serious purpose, and is often conducted in an atmosphere of solemnity. But Huizinga (1949), viewing man as *Homo ludens*, encourages us to think of serious games, and there are conversely many rituals, for instance those involving abuse and mockery, which can be conducted in an atmosphere of jocularly.

The archaeological recognition of secular ritual, and its distinction from games of no serious purpose, can never be easy. It will usually depend upon the interpretation of special *places* where the ritual conventionally occurs, or of *equipment* (paraphernalia) specifically designed for use in the course of the ritual. The regalia of a king, and other sumptuary equipment of officials (such as the mayor's chain of office) fall into this category. In the Mycenaean world, the magnificent golden sceptre from Kourion in Cyprus (Vermeule 1964, pl. 44 D) offers an obvious example. In Mesoamerica the ball-courts and the equipment for the ball game exemplify both, while the great courts and 'theatral areas' of the Minoan palaces are often thought to be designed specifically for ritual purposes. In favourable circumstances the evidence of place and of equipment is supplemented by *depiction*, giving a representation of people involved in communal endeavour which has no obvious utilitarian purpose. Clearly, however, the documentation of ritual does not in itself indicate religious activity.

We are concerned here, however, not with ritual in this general, secular sense, but with religious ritual or *cult*: 'A particular form of religious worship; especially in reference to its external rites and ceremonies' (Onions 1973, 470). And how shall we recognise it?

The question is not an idle one. The archaeological literature abounds with assertions that this or that building or object had a ritual or religious purpose, often on no very clear grounds. Indeed it is an old joke that when an archaeologist finds something whose function he does not understand, he ascribes to it just such a ritual purpose. The pleasantry is not an entirely foolish one, for the anthropologist (Leach 1976, 9) distinguishes between:

technical actions, which serve to alter the physical state of the world out there—digging a hole in the ground, boiling an egg;

expressive actions, which either simply say something about the state of the world as it is, or else purport to alter it by physical means.

How are the two to be distinguished? The former are functional in a materialist sense. The latter are purposive also, and certainly functional if the intention is to alter the world. The distinction here is one of intention, and intention cannot be directly documented archaeologically any more than can any other state of mind. It is not however clear that technical and expressive actions can in fact readily be distinguished: any given action may at once be both. This point, indeed, raises the whole question of the embeddedness of religious actions within the everyday practices of life—a point implicit in the discussion of domestic and communal observances below.

In practice the recognition of cult must be on the basis of *context*: single indications are rarely sufficient in themselves. Any single find of supposedly cult significance, could, for instance, be dismissed in the absence of other evidence as either a toy or as a secular prestige object. But, as stated above, the inference of cult significance may plausibly be carried from one context to another in favourable circumstances. If a particular symbol has been identified as of cult significance, through an analysis of context in one assemblage, its occurrence in another may well carry some presumption of a ritual context there also. The issue of the *scale* of the context under consideration is in fact a crucial one. Ideally it would be preferable to limit the discussion

initially to the evidence recovered from a single site, without reference to other examples, and to a single period of just a few years. But we shall see in practice, in Chapter IX, that this may give too restricted a perspective, and that it may be necessary to consider several sites simultaneously. The question then arises as to the extent that these may be expected to share the same beliefs, even in those cases where they do share similar symbolic forms. Clearly there are dangers here in increasing the scale of the comparisons beyond a sub-regional one.

It is necessary, therefore, to consider some of the frequent features of cult practice, on a cross-cultural basis, and to determine, if that is possible, which of them considered in conjunction may reasonably be taken as implying the practice of sacred ritual.

4. Aspects of Sacred Ritual

Religious belief asserts the existence of some transcendental, supernatural force or power, or of several of these. It is the purpose of cult to bring the participating humans, and also sometimes those whom they represent, into some more direct relation with these transcendental realities.

Rudolf Otto (1928) in his work *The Idea of the Holy* well defined what he called the sense of the numinous, which he saw as lying at the root of religious experience. One feature of many religious rituals is to induce this sense of awe, so that the participant is brought into closer relationship with the deity or deities than in everyday life. In ecstatic rituals this may be brought about by dance, song, noise and by hallucinogenic drugs. In contemplative ones, order, silence and solitude may facilitate this sense. But one very general feature of sacred ritual is clearly to bridge the gulf between this world and the other world beyond. In some cases this may induce an actual epiphany, an appearance, of a deity.

Secondly, sacred ritual normally entails worship: 'To honour or revere as a supernatural being or power or as a holy thing; to adore with appropriate acts, rites or ceremonies' (Onions 1973, 2575). The essence of worship is to acknowledge the power of the deity, which inevitably entails the worshipper's emphasising by gesture and act the highly asymmetrical relationship between himself and the deity. Thus there are likely to be special gestures of adoration, and offerings, often of material objects, to the deity: 'Acts of propitiation directed towards supernatural powers consist of sacrifice (food offerings and especially blood sacrifice), libations (offerings of drink), gifts of non-consumable material objects, prayer (verbal offerings) and the "payment of respect" by other forms of gesture.' (Goody 1961, 157). These payments of respect not only acknowledge the deity's power over nature and the fortunes of humankind, but often seek some act of divine intercession. These points already establish some features which we may expect to have archaeological correlates.

The religious experience can often take place in a special location—whether it is special by its natural position, like a cave or a grove of trees, or specially constructed for the purpose. And adoration requires a focus of attention. For that reason, most sacred rituals are directed to a special sacred spot, sometimes an altar whether or not offerings are made at that spot. Many use some symbolic focus of attention—whether this be simply some natural object to which significance is ascribed, or, at the other extreme, a cult image representing the deity in person. Certainly there is likely to be specific cult equipment, and a redundancy of symbols.

Leach has summarised some of these points (1976, 82) in a convenient diagram (FIG. 1.1) representing 'This World and the Other World conceived as separate topographical spaces separated by a liminal zone which partakes of the qualities of both. It is the liminal zone which is the focus of ritual activity (e.g. churches, graveyards, shrines).'

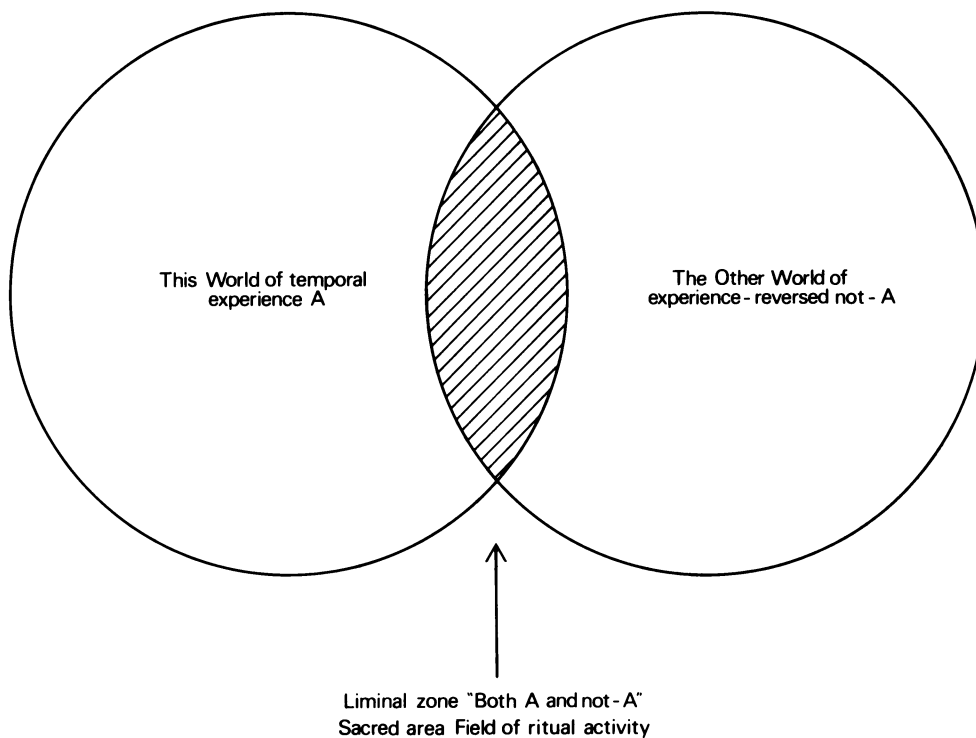


FIG. 1.1 The interaction of the world of temporal experience and the Other World (after Leach)

This diagram reminds us that the sacred area for the practice of ritual is likely to be a place apart, associated with prescribed observances and proscriptions, with special requirements of purity and attendant risks of pollution.

It should be remembered also that another occasion when we come into contact with the Other World is at death. Religious beliefs inevitably bear also on the problem of death, and the rituals associated with the transition from life to death, including burial itself, stand in a special relation to the sacred rituals of life. The archaeologist must therefore expect patterns and relationships between the funerary remains which he recovers and the indications of ritual activity.

It is now possible to develop a number of features of sacred ritual which may help the archaeologist in recognising its archaeological indications. It should, of course, be remembered, that the religious beliefs in question will form a more or less coherent system or structure, to which the cult observances will relate. To list common features is not, therefore, to advocate a mechanical, 'check-list' approach. But nor does the recognition of coherence and structure in religious beliefs necessarily assert some mystical 'deep structure' to which many structuralists so opaquely refer. Structure in the belief system should engender pattern in cult practice, and it is this which we as archaeologists may hope to discern.

5. Archaeological Correlates: the Deductive System

In developing a series of potential archaeological correlates, it is important to underline the manner in which they flow from the concept of sacred ritual which has been set out in the last section. We seek to infer or deduce from this view the material correlates of what Spiro terms 'culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings'. Already the detailing by Goody of acts of propitiation, quoted in the last section, begins this task.

The essence of religious ritual, as I see it, is the performance of expressive actions of worship and propitiation by the human celebrant towards the transcendent being. This is a very special relationship in several ways.

1. *Attention focussing*

In the first place ritual demands of the human celebrant (and may be expected to induce in him) a state of heightened awareness or religious excitement. In communal acts of worship this invariably requires a range of attention focussing devices. These are spatially and temporally specific: that is to say the acts are performed at special places, and these places are often organised to facilitate the focussing of attention. And they take place at well-defined times, and the development of the acts through time (i.e. the sequence of the ritual) is usually well defined. Moreover the whole range of senses may be involved: sight almost invariably, sound through music and chant, smell through the use of perfumes, taste, and of course touch through the movement of the celebrants in gesture and dance. Fasting and hallucinogenic drugs and other stimulants are among the devices commonly used.

2. *Special aspects of the liminal zone*

The liminal zone, which is the focus of ritual activity, is a special and mysterious region, carrying the risks of hidden dangers. Heightened awareness is appropriate here, and there are risks of pollution and of failing to comply with appropriate procedures. The attributes to be developed below spring from the special nature of the rapport across the liminal zone between the human celebrant and the divine presence.

3. *Presence of the transcendent and its symbolic focus*

For effective ritual, the deity or transcendent force must in some sense be present: often a main purpose of the ritual is to ensure its presence, and it is the divine as well as the human attention which needs to be heightened. In most societies the deity is symbolised by some material form or image: this may be no more than a very simple symbol, for instance the outline of a sign in two dimensions, or a container whose contents are not seen (as in some Polynesian communities), or a three-dimensional cult image.

4. *Participation and offering*

If the worship requires heightened attention, appropriate behaviour in the liminal zone, and often some symbol representing the deity, it also makes demands on the celebrant. These include not only words and gestures of prayer and respect but also often active participation, involving movement, perhaps eating and drinking and in some cases other bodily functions. Frequently it involves also the transfer of material things to the deity, both by sacrifice and by gift.

These points are obvious enough, but it is worth spelling them out in this very general form in an attempt to avoid, or at least to mitigate, the consequences of one's own inevitable ethnocentricity. The intention is to show that there is a large and complex series of expectations concerning religious ritual, even if not all of them will be realised in any specific case, and that

they do derive logically from the very nature of ritual itself as defined above. Each of these is a near universal of religious behaviour (although the third need not find material expression if the deity is conceived as omnipresent anyway).

Such considerations allow one to make a very incomplete and no doubt selective list of behavioural correlates. Most of them simply elaborate the points already made. For instance number 12, the use of special equipment, results from the need to specify closely what is appropriate behaviour within the sacred area, the liminal zone. Often that behaviour has to be seen to be special, to be different from the commonplace and everyday, and for this purpose well-defined forms, which may be restricted in their employment to religious ritual, are appropriate. Points 17 and 18, relating to wealth, reflect the great significance of ritual activity to many in the community and indeed often to the community as a whole.

These remarks apply primarily to public or communal acts of worship: domestic ritual, within the family, is further discussed below.

List of Correlates

Some of these points may be listed as follows:

1. ritual may take place in a spot with special, natural associations: e.g. a cave, a grove of trees, a spring, a mountain top.
2. Alternatively it may take place in a special building set apart from sacred functions.
3. It may involve both conspicuous public display, and hidden exclusive mysteries, whose practice will be reflected in the architecture.
4. Worship will involve prayer and special movements—gestures of adoration—and these may be reflected in the iconography of decorations or images.
5. The ritual may employ various devices for inducing religious experience, such as dance, music and drugs.
6. The structure and equipment used may employ a number of attention- focussing devices, reflected in the architecture and in the movable equipment.
7. The association with the omnipotent power(s) may be reflected in the use of a cult image of that power, or its aniconic representation.
8. The chosen place will have special facilities for the practice of ritual, e.g. altars, benches, pools or basins of water, hearths, pits for libations.
9. The sacrifice of animals or humans may be practised.
10. Food and drink may be brought, and possibly consumed as offerings, or burnt/poured away.
11. Other material objects may be brought and offered (votives). The act of offering may entail breakage.
12. Special portable equipment may be employed in the cult practice, e.g. special receptacles, lamps etc.
13. The sacred area is likely to be rich in repeated symbols (redundancy).
14. The symbols used will often relate iconographically to the deities worshipped and to their associated myth. In particular specific animal symbolism (of real or mythical animals) may be employed, particular animals relating to specific deities or powers.
15. The symbolism used may relate to that seen also in funerary ritual, and in other rites of passage.
16. Concepts of cleanliness and pollution may be reflected in the facilities and maintenance of the sacred area.
17. Great investment of wealth may be reflected both in the equipment used and in the offerings made.

18. Great investment of wealth and resources may be reflected in the structure itself and its facilities.

To list the points in this form suggests some of the material consequences of ritual behaviour, but it does not consider the archaeological formation processes by which these material consequences become embodied within the archaeological record itself. Nor does it give clear guidance as to the circumstances in which the recognition of one or more of these features listed, taken in isolation, could also arise in circumstances where religious ritual was not being practised.

What is needed in each case, to establish religious practice, is not merely a suitable score from the check list. The phrase at the head of this section—‘expressive actions of worship and propitiation by the human celebrant towards the transcendent being’—must be borne in mind. And in general the two necessary ingredients are: (i) evidence for expressive actions (of prayer, of sacrifice, of offering etc.); and (ii) some indications that a transcendent being is involved. The latter may most satisfactorily be demonstrated by the symbolism employed: representations of the deity itself, or offerings in such a form that a transcendent recipient is indicated. In some cases, where religious iconography is not well developed or is suppressed (as, for instance, in the Islamic religion), other factors may be indicative, such as extreme formalisation in the associated material artefacts, or in some cases their wealth and magnificence.

There are several obvious pitfalls. The first is that we may correctly recognise expressive actions of a ritual nature, but mistakenly identify as religious those that are entirely secular in intention, and directed towards a non-transcendental entity, such as a person of high status. Another is that the use of an elaborate symbolic system may erroneously lead us to infer that ritual is involved when in fact the actions in question were undertaken in play, or for other non-ritual purposes which we may fail to recognise.

However if we in general expect in a religious context indications both of expressive action and of symbolism appropriate to transcendence, and if we give due consideration to the possibility of secular ritual, of play and of other symbolic behaviour, then we have a coherent framework within which to operate. In ideal cases the actions may be recorded directly: for instance by evidence for the repeated sacrifice of a specific animal species, or the frequent breakage of a particular vessel form. In others the preparations for such actions, in the form of special buildings and equipment, must be sufficient. It may be possible, also, to identify certain objects as the result of offerings if their character and quantity seem to preclude other explanation.

The recognition of the symbolism appropriate to transcendence is much more difficult, and it is here, of course, that a rich iconography may be of great help.

These features offer the hope of recognising, on archaeological criteria alone, any shrine or sanctuary that may be discovered. There is, however, one essential criterion not so far sufficiently stressed, namely that the assemblage should not be explicable in secular terms in the light of what we know of the society. This may seem a sad admission of potential defeat by the archaeological methodologist. But it is not, in fact, a very surprising one. For the material data are being used to infer the existence of a belief system relating to the supernatural. Direct material evidence of the supernatural being hard to find, it is inevitable that many of the criteria invoked should ultimately be secondary ones. One defining criterion of the ‘sacred’ is that it is not ‘profane’ and as Goody (1961, 157) points out it is the responsibility of the observer—here the archaeologist—to make the distinction between symbolic and rational.

To take an example, a changing room at a football stadium would fulfil many of the criteria for a sanctuary listed above, although not perhaps the iconographical ones. Here we are, by implication, returning to the analogy between religious ritual and play already touched on

earlier. The same difficulty is seen when the existence of iconic representations is taken as a criterion. There is, after all, little to distinguish a collection of rather solemn dolls from a series of small-scale representations of deities made for serious cult purpose—other than the underlying intention. Indeed in the pueblo villages of the American southwest the paradox is complete. For Kachina dolls are there made, depicting supernatural beings, for the use of children, to instruct them about the relevant religious concepts. Ultimately, in the inevitable absence of direct evidence of belief to guide the prehistoric archaeologist, indications of high seriousness of intention are helpful. The existence of a separate building, and of considerable investment in the offerings, may provide a reasonable basis for inference. Another relevant factor may be the scale or quantity of finds rather than their intrinsic nature. In some cases, for instance, votive deposits may be found where the same item, perhaps commonplace enough in itself, occurs again and again. A quantitative approach can be helpful in indicating when the nature of the deposit goes beyond the mundane, and takes on an aspect which cannot readily be described in functional terms.

In general the most convincing indications of cult practice are generally the symbols employed, especially when these include representations of men or of animals. For these imply a figuration of a world, whether the natural world or the 'other' world, and there are, when one considers the matter, ultimately rather few reasons for desiring an iconic representation of the world. One of these is the desire for decoration—and it is still unclear to what extent the splendid frescoes of Minoan Crete or of Late Bronze I Phylakopi respond to such a desire, or to what extent they had instead (or in addition) a sacred association. A second reason is play, as we have seen whether with children's toys or adult gaming pieces. A third could be the need for some sort of analogue computer for planning purposes, or as a tally of ownership—generals with toy soldiers playing war games would fall within this category. When iconic representations can be found (and when these are not simply the assertions of secular power, like Roman imperial statues), the possibilities of play and of simple decoration should be explored. If they cannot be sustained, a ritual context must be considered a possibility.

6. Domestic and Communal Ritual

Much of the foregoing discussion has, by implication, dealt primarily with communal ritual activities, rather than with domestic or individual ones. Such is indeed the focus of this chapter, for its ultimate aim is to elucidate the problems attendant upon the recognition of a possible sanctuary.

The concept of a communal ritual does not, of course, imply that participation is open to the whole community: it need not be public in that sense, although it could be so. The right of participation in specific rituals may be rigidly defined. Moreover it is likely that some of the rituals carried out on behalf of the community, will be conducted by one or more designated individuals. It is possible that they may indeed be carried out in privacy, or even in secrecy by those individuals. But this will still rank as communal ritual (as opposed to domestic) when the celebrant is a priest or other official acting on behalf of that community. In general, however, it is fair to say that communal religious rituals are carried out, either by groups of people, or by designated individuals acting on the communal behalf, and often doing so in a communally recognised sacred area.

Such rituals and observances may be distinguished from those carried out at the level of the basic residence unit, when this is the nuclear family or some other small kin-defined group. Invariably such domestic religious rituals are carried out by members of that group. (We should note in passing that it is not impossible for a communal ceremony to be conducted, on occasion,

within a domestic unit: the location of the ritual does not in itself define it as domestic or communal, but the degree of communal participation, and the presence of a communally recognised officiating celebrant).

The problems of recognising domestic cult practice from the archaeological evidence may often be considerable, since those very qualities of separateness and specialisation which characterise communal cult may be lacking. Each of the four aspects of the religious act which were defined earlier may be modified, even if its underlying nature is not fundamentally transformed.

Attention focussing devices are still likely to be used, often with the ritual acts being selectively directed (for instance upwards, or to the east), but on a more modest scale than in the communal case. The special aspects of the liminal zone are likely to be less in evidence, since mystery and the terrible are less appropriate in a domestic context and the same levels of prescription and proscription in relation to purity cannot be maintained. The presence of the transcendent cannot necessarily be expected, or not to the same extent as on a communal ritual occasion, but some symbolic focus is, however, likely. This will usually take a definite material form, and thus some distinctive iconography, albeit on a modest scale, is likely. Participation and offering are to be expected.

The problem for the archaeologist is to distinguish these activities from the others naturally taking place in the home. In practice this may be possible only when two conditions are fulfilled: (a) a specific place, a defined room or part of a room is set aside (as liminal area and ritual focus) (b) well defined forms, not commonly used in secular contexts, are employed either for the symbolic focus, or for the equipment used in offering.

The recognition of such a specific place is the more likely if it takes standardised form from house to house, since a detectable patterning may emerge when several houses are excavated. And the well defined forms, whether in religious images or in cult equipment, will again be more easily recognisable if they are standardised from house to house. If they are closely comparable with forms already known from communal cult contexts, this too will be an aid to identification.

These points are in themselves obvious enough, and the recognition of domestic cult may present many difficulties in practice on account both of its modest scale and its lack of very clear differentiation from other domestic activities. But the presence of domestic ritual within a settlement as a counterpart to the communal observances in some sacred place should not be ignored when the latter are under consideration.

7. Cult image or Votive?

In seeking to reconstruct elements of past religious belief, it is clearly important to recognise, where they exist, portrayals of deities or of spirits who are themselves the objects of worship. It is therefore necessary to seek to distinguish them from the other figurations which occur in sanctuary contexts, particularly from votive offerings. These votive offerings will often be given human form and could readily be taken to depict anthropomorphic deities. But in many cases they could instead represent human offerings to the deity, and therefore tell us nothing about its own form.

Indeed, as Dr. Elizabeth French points out to me, there are further distinctions to be drawn. When considering the status of anthropomorphic images found in a religious context, it is useful to consider the following categories:

1. Representations of anthropomorphic deities, i.e. deities which are conceived as normally taking human form.
2. Representations of abstract deities who occasionally take human form but could equally be shown as something else.

3. Votaries, that is to say the images of worshippers (whether individual or general), placed in the shrine either to give continuity of worship or as a reminder of an act of worship already performed.
4. Votive figures or offerings, made in their own right to the deity, and which might themselves represent either a deity or a human.

This is a problem which will face us in the Phylakopi sanctuary, where there are several figures of men and of women who might be regarded either as votives, or as cult figures, or both.

A first criterion will be one of scale and number. A single image of great size in a religious context, for instance larger than life size, might readily be taken as a depiction of a god. But in fact colossal size is not enough—the Egyptians and the early Greeks used it in a variety of contexts in which the figuration was not a divine one. Yet if the single, very large image occupies a key, central location within a sanctuary, the case is clearly very much stronger. For the sanctuary, as the liminal zone between this and the other world, is the right place for such an image.

A second criterion, potentially independent of scale, is a highly asymmetrical role emphasised markedly by attention focussing devices. An image, focally placed, without rivals for attention, and accompanied by offerings which may plausibly be interpreted as dedicated to it, may well qualify as a cult image, and hence give information about the form of the deity. The situation may be complicated, however, when there are several such images, prominently placed. On the one hand they might represent several deities, (or multiple depictions of the same deity) or on the other simply be dedications offered to the deity.

Gesture may be of some help, but again ambiguity is possible. For instance the gesture of raising the arms, interpreted by some as an indication of epiphany (“Here I am, behold!”), could equally be seen as an indication of adoration (“All praise to thee, O Holy One!”), very much like the *orans* position of prayer in the early Christian church. Gestures displaying power must also be taken as an indication of the deity, since such gestures would seem inappropriate in a votive. Thus the two bronze figurines from the Phylakopi sanctuary, depicting a male in the ‘smiting’ attitude of throwing or brandishing a weapon, may despite their diminutive size be put forward as divine representations.

Attributes including the carrying of specific symbols, offer a further possible indication, in those occasions that they can be interpreted, either in relation to an iconography already partly understood, or when they have natural or metonymic referents. For instance a cult image with the sun’s rays, or with the moon’s crescent might be regarded as depicting respectively the sun or moon deity, or a deity with the sun or moon as attribute.

There is one other highly important class of depiction which must usually be regarded as pertaining to the Other World, and hence—when the choice is between cult image and votive—as indicating the former. This is the mythical or fantastic beast: usually a composite animal showing features of several different living species. Thus wings on a human form or on a mammal (e.g. a griffin) generally indicate an origin in the Other World, as do bird-headed men, plumed serpents, dragons, demons, chimeras and all the other composites in the mythology of many religions. It is true that such composites often have a subordinate status to deities—for instance centaurs, or winged horses, or *putti*—as do the underworld demons of many religions. But their representations rarely occur in contexts where they could be interpreted either as votives or as cult images with equal plausibility.

Such mythical monsters often occur not as individual images, but in larger iconographic compositions where they frequently take a subordinate role. And here they may be of crucial interpretive significance, since the entity (usually in the Aegean an anthropomorphic one) who

dominates them or is flanked by them, must generally have divine powers. No simple human could dominate in this way the creatures of the Other World—although some mythical narratives will sometimes have quasi-human heroes like Theseus, or Perseus or indeed Orpheus, briefly making contact with them. Such a beast can have a purely decorative, and hence secular, function. But when shown as evidently subordinate to another being, it is a plausible inference that that being has divine status. (The case of heraldic supporters, e.g. the unicorn, is an apparently contrary example for the medieval European context.) In the interpretation of early religious iconography “Cherchez le monstre” can be a useful first step.

8. Steps in the Analysis of Prehistoric Religion

Although there may be some methodological benefits in studying an individual sanctuary assemblage in isolation, as we shall attempt to do in Chapter IX below, it is ultimately more informative to set any one find within its broader religious context as a whole. In doing so, due account must be given to variation in space and in time. That will be attempted in Chapter X. For, as indicated above, symbols operate within a structured context, and no one site is likely to reveal adequately all the various facets of that structure.

Moreover, the difficulties in identifying given contexts from the very outset as sacred or religious make advantageous the recognition, from several sites if necessary, of a number of symbols as carrying a religious meaning. They can then be used to identify contexts which, standing on their own, and without the external interpretation of those symbols, could not readily be so identified.

Step 1 is therefore the identification of a cult assemblage.

Step 2 is the recognition within it of certain specific symbols as carrying a religious meaning (although the content of that meaning need not, and in general cannot, be identified explicitly).

Step 3 is the use of these symbols to identify as ritual or sacred other contexts whose cult status might not otherwise be evident.

This in turn permits the recognition of further symbolic or iconographic elements, and the development of a whole recursive strategy. At the same time, the potentially self-fulfilling nature of such a sequence of reasoning should be recognised: an erroneous assumption or inference at an early stage could lead to a further, ramifying series of quite unwarranted inferences.

Example: the Aghia Triadha Sarcophagus

As an example of this sequence of reasoning from the prehistoric Aegean, let us take the well known Aghia Triadha sarcophagus, with its painted scenes (Long 1974).

Step 1 On one side of this sarcophagus we see a man playing pipes, and four women. The second of these is laying her hands upon a bull or calf, which is trussed and lying upon a four-legged table. The first woman stands in front of this and places her hands, with a similar gesture, on a bowl, near which stands a jug, on a solid platform. In front is a larger, similar platform on which is a small tree, flanked on each side by two objects which Minoan archaeologists have followed Sir Arthur Evans in calling ‘horns of consecration’. Between the larger and the smaller platform is a pole surmounted by a double-axe.

There is, here, an abundance of expressive action, and the recognition that the slaughter of the bull or calf is being conducted in a particularly formal way, and may thus be an act of sacrifice, is particularly important: it is not just a commonplace slaughter. In this case, however, the symbolism of transcendence is not clear, although there is evidently a rich symbolism involving the double axe and the ‘horns of consecration’. There are no symbolic referents making clear that

a deity is involved as the object of reverence. Given the position of the paintings on the side of a sarcophagus, it is certainly permissible to see this as a funerary ritual rather than as an act of worship, but in the broad sense we can recognise it as a cult scene. Alternative explanations are difficult to find, given both the solemnity of the gestures and the musical accompaniment, as well as the formal arrangement of platforms (which, with the recognition of the context as a cult one we might term 'altars').

Step 2 The prominent position of the 'horns of consecration' and of the double axe establishes these as symbols of something. The recognition of the ensemble as a cult scene documents them as potential religious (or funerary) symbols, whose precise meaning is not yet known to us.

Step 3 Any other Minoan contexts with horns of consecration, or with a double-axe of this form, must in consequence be regarded as of possible religious significance.

Such a conclusion will, of course, surprise no-one at all who is familiar with the Minoan material. But the point here is that the argument is a general one, pertaining to religious material from any context. The framework of inference is an explicit one.

9. What we wish to know

In concluding this preliminary chapter on the approach to early religion from the archaeological material, it is perhaps worth setting out some of the questions to which one would like an answer. Each of them can in principle be answered from the archaeological record alone, in favourable circumstances (which may include the preservation of figurative representations). The following are among the matters on which we shall seek information.

A. *The practice of the cult*

1. The existence of temples (i.e. separate buildings for the cult practice, their architectural layout and facilities).
2. The existence of places set apart for religious practice: caves, groves, rural shrines, *fana*.
3. Household practice of the cult at household shrines.
4. Relation to funerary practice.
5. Periodicity and seasonality of observances.
6. Nature of offerings, and their quantity.
7. Facilities for the practice of ritual.
8. Equipment for the practice of ritual.
9. Practice of sacrifice?
10. Accompaniment of music?
11. What is actually done?
12. Use of fire, of water?
13. Special, recurrent features of temple design.
14. Cult image?
15. Votive figures, or figures as votaries.
16. Depictions of scenes of deities, etc.
17. Depiction of scenes of cult.
18. Use of religious symbols.

B. *Beliefs underlying the cult*

1. Anthropomorphic deities?
2. Composite deities (i.e. part man, part beast)?
3. Aniconic representation of deities?
4. One deity or several (pantheon)?

5. Role and relationship of male and female.
6. Role of animals, e.g. as supporters or accompanying beasts or totems.
7. Role of mythical animals.
8. Context of occurrence of specific symbols.
9. Scenes of action implying the depiction of myth.
10. Symbolism for sun, moon and stars.
11. Special aspects of the cult of the dead.

C. Place of the cult and religion in Society

1. Scale of investment in cult facilities and observance.
2. Wealth and scale of offerings.
3. Indications of scale of participation by the populace, and of differential participation by rank or other criteria.
4. Association of cult organisation with government organisation.
5. Role and status of priests and/or priestesses in society.
6. Presence of other religions in society (possible syncretism).
7. Change in religion—comparison with before and after.
8. Scale of religious organisation—does it extend beyond the individual settlement?
9. Distinction between state religion and popular religion.
10. Religious observance uniform spatially, or with local variations beyond the territory of the polity?
11. Role in establishing a wider cultural *koine*.
12. Correlation in area of influence/belief with cultural area and ethnic area.

With these questions in mind, we can now proceed to a description of the excavation at the Phylakopi sanctuary, and of the various finds. In Chapters IX and X an attempt will be made to answer some of the above questions, first in the light of the Phylakopi finds alone, and then in the more general context of Aegean prehistory.

Chapter II

The Excavation

In this chapter a narrative account will be offered of the conduct of the excavation, taking each year in succession. This summary description can then serve as the basis for the establishment of a relative chronology in Chapter III. Both are a necessary preliminary to the more detailed and systematic presentation of the finds in Chapter IV.

1. Recording System and Nomenclature

The recording system for the Phylakopi excavations closely follows that established for the excavations at Sitagroi in East Macedonia in 1968 and 1969. The aim was to work stratigraphically assigning all finds to a stratum indicative of stratigraphic content. Three-dimensional co-ordinates are also given to all important finds, supplementing the stratigraphic location. The initial excavations by the British School at Athens established a survey grid for the site divided into 20 metre squares (Phylakopi, 1904, pl. I and II). Subsequent work by Dawkins and Droop (1911) followed the same grid, which labelled alphabetically on the horizontal (E-W) axis (A at west) and numerically on the vertical (N-S) axis (1 at north). The Sanctuary area falls within squares F5 and G5 of that grid (FIG. 2.1).

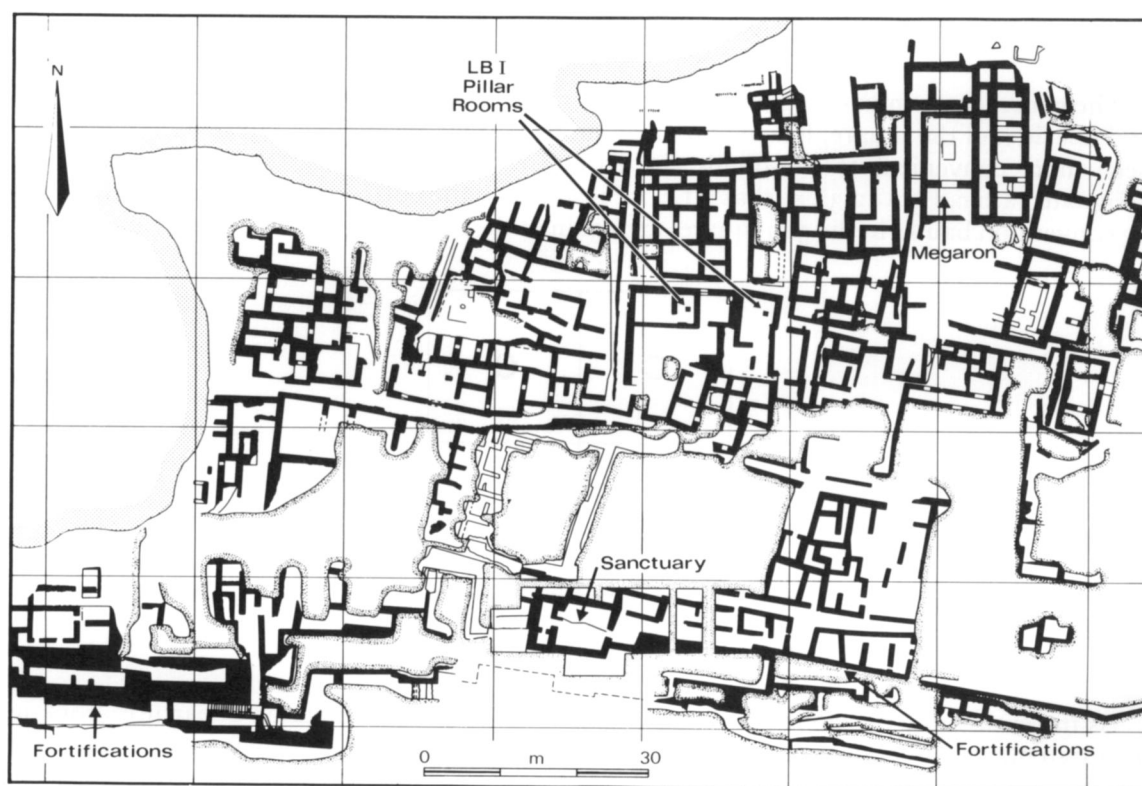


FIG. 2.1 The Phylakopi sanctuary in the context of the site

In 1974 our excavation architect Mr Daykin set up a new grid, conforming in orientation and position as closely as possible with the original, but divided into 10 metre squares.

Grid north thus corresponds approximately to that of Mackenzie and his colleagues. On the new grid both axes are labelled alphabetically with the origin at the south-west (FIG. 2.2), giving eastings before northings (the letter I is omitted). The reference peg for each ten metre square is at its south-west corner. Peg OM of the new grid corresponds to the southwest corner of square G₄ of the 1897 grid.

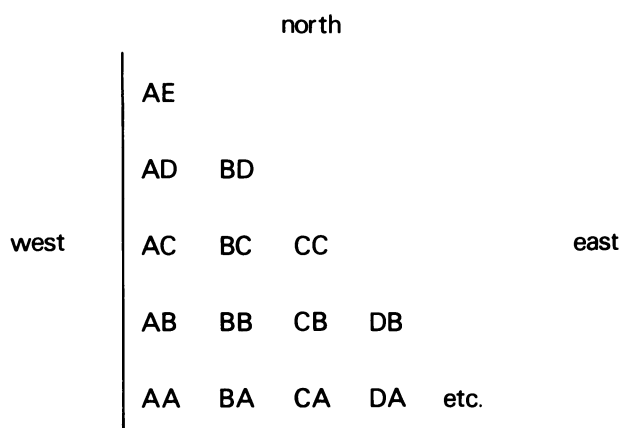


FIG. 2.2 System of nomenclature for the site

The general system adopted for excavation, was to leave baulks one metre thick at the *north* and *east* sides of the square, leaving an area 9 m by 9 m for excavation. However it has usually been more convenient to sub-divide the 10 metre squares into four 5 m by 5 m squares, designated a,b,c,d (FIG. 2.3), so that NLc, for instance, is the north-west quadrant of square NL. By convention baulks in the 5 m squares are again at the north and east sides, and 1 metre wide.

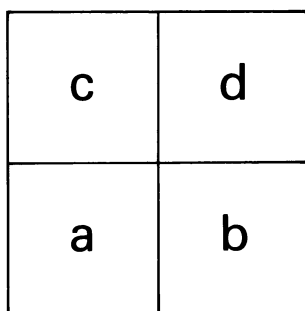


FIG. 2.3 Designation of five-metre squares

As the excavation developed, and as the structures unearthed dictated departures from our grid system, a number of *ad hoc* space designations were used. The nomenclature is depicted by FIG. 2.4.

Stratigraphic position within the square is indicated by a stratum or layer number (enclosed within a triangle on labels and records, the triangle being omitted in this volume), so that NLc 53 implies square NL quadrant c stratum 53. The term 'layer' or 'stratum' throughout this volume refers to a numbered excavation unit. It does not follow, however, that individual numbered 'layers' were clearly separated from those above or below by good stratigraphic criteria. Wherever possible the true stratigraphy was followed. In other cases arbitrary layers of about 10 cm depth were defined, and the contents in consequence kept separately. In general the stratum numbers run consecutively from 1 for each excavation area (square or quadrant). But from 1976 it was found more convenient to avoid numerical duplication between areas, so that unique blocks of numbers (e.g. 800–899) were assigned to the supervisor of each area. (It should be noted, however, that for the seasons 1974 and 1975 the stratum number *alone* is not unique to the area. Thus there can exist, for example, both an OLc layer 7 and an OLd layer 7).

In addition to the area and stratum number, three-dimensional co-ordinates were recorded for many finds. The three co-ordinates refer respectively to the distance east of peg, distance north of peg and depth below peg datum for the *five* metre square in question. For vertical measurements a local working datum point within the 5 m square was used, but in general vertical readings were converted at once to the value from the 10 m square vertical datum before entry in the notebook. Care must however be exercised in using the field notebooks to check which vertical datum point is being used.

Finds on the site were recorded in the trenches in five different categories. Potsherds were placed immediately in a bag or zembil (basket) labelled both with the area and stratum number and with a "pottery bag number" ("zembil number") unique to that zembil. Naturally a new zembil was initiated for each new stratum, so that in no case can finds from two strata have the same zembil number. On the other hand finds from different parts of the same stratum *can* have different zembil numbers. This has proved useful in clarifying stratigraphic details and in rectifying occasional labelling errors. Zembil numbers were centrally assigned and are unique to the site. In this volume the abbreviation pb is used to indicate that the number which follows is a pottery bag (= zembil) number.

Finds of bone (with shell) were separately bagged and marked with the area and stratum number, as well as the serial number of the pottery zembil then in use. Finds of obsidian were separately handled in a similar way.

Finds of artefacts in any material other than pottery and obsidian were given a serial number unique to the site, the "special find" number, encircled on labels, and in this volume preceded by the letters SF. The 3-dimensional co-ordinates of each special find were recorded, in addition to the stratum number. An inventory of "special finds" for each excavation area was kept in the supervisor's notebook for that area.

The fifth category is that of "sample". These were treated separately in a manner analogous to that for the special finds, although their serial numbers are unique to the trench but not to the site.

Dry-sieving was routinely carried out when small objects were being found or were anticipated, at the discretion of the supervisor. Experiments in recovery procedures, involving both wet and dry sieving, were carried out at the site, although not solely in the Sanctuary area. Summary accounts have already appeared (Cherry 1976; 1977) and they will be discussed in Volume II of the excavation report.

Throughout the site an attempt was made to estimate the approximate volume of soil excavated in each stratum, by recording the number of barrows discarded. An average barrow contains 23,000 cc of loose, dug soil. The figures are useful for calculating occurrence densities,

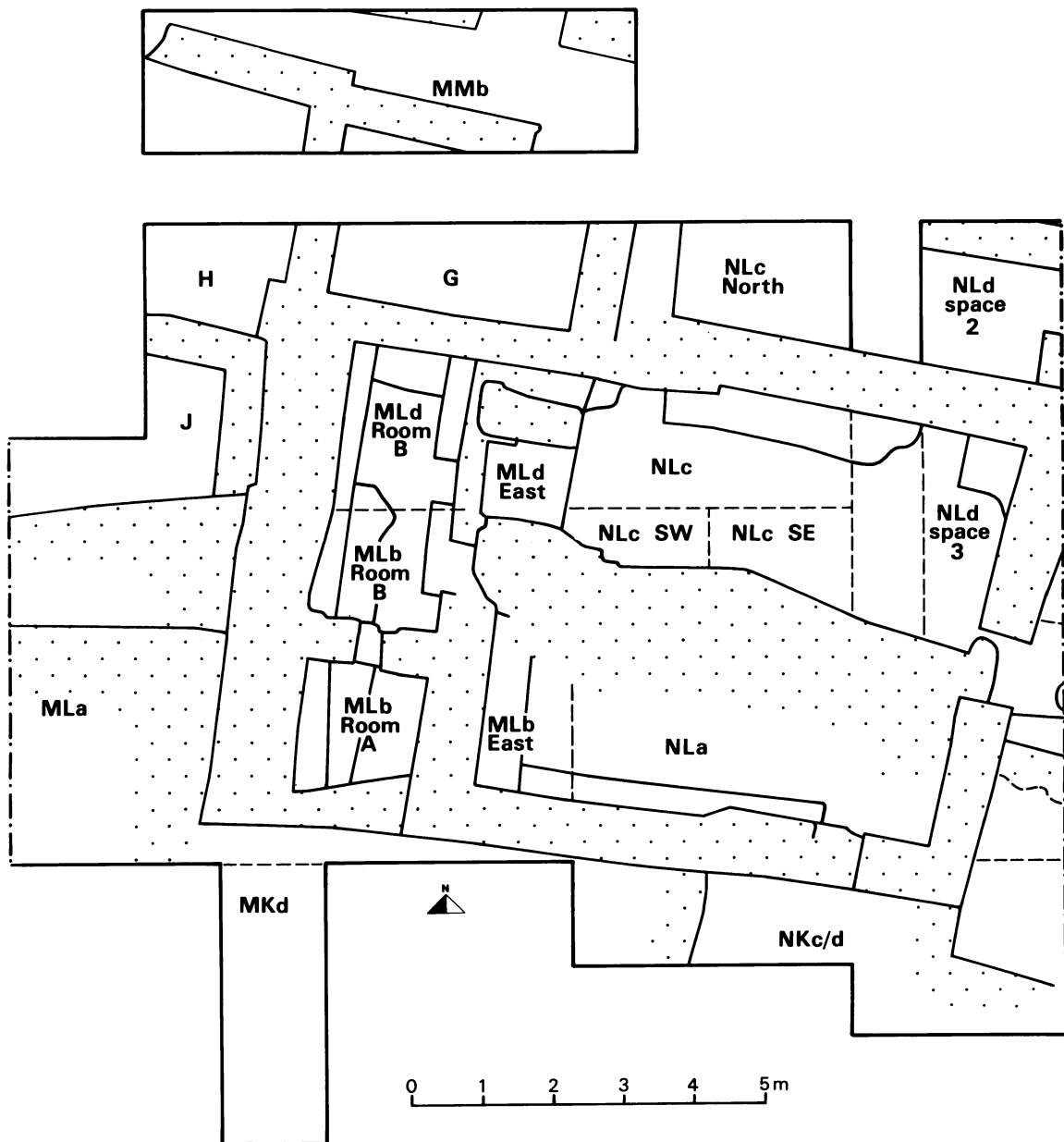
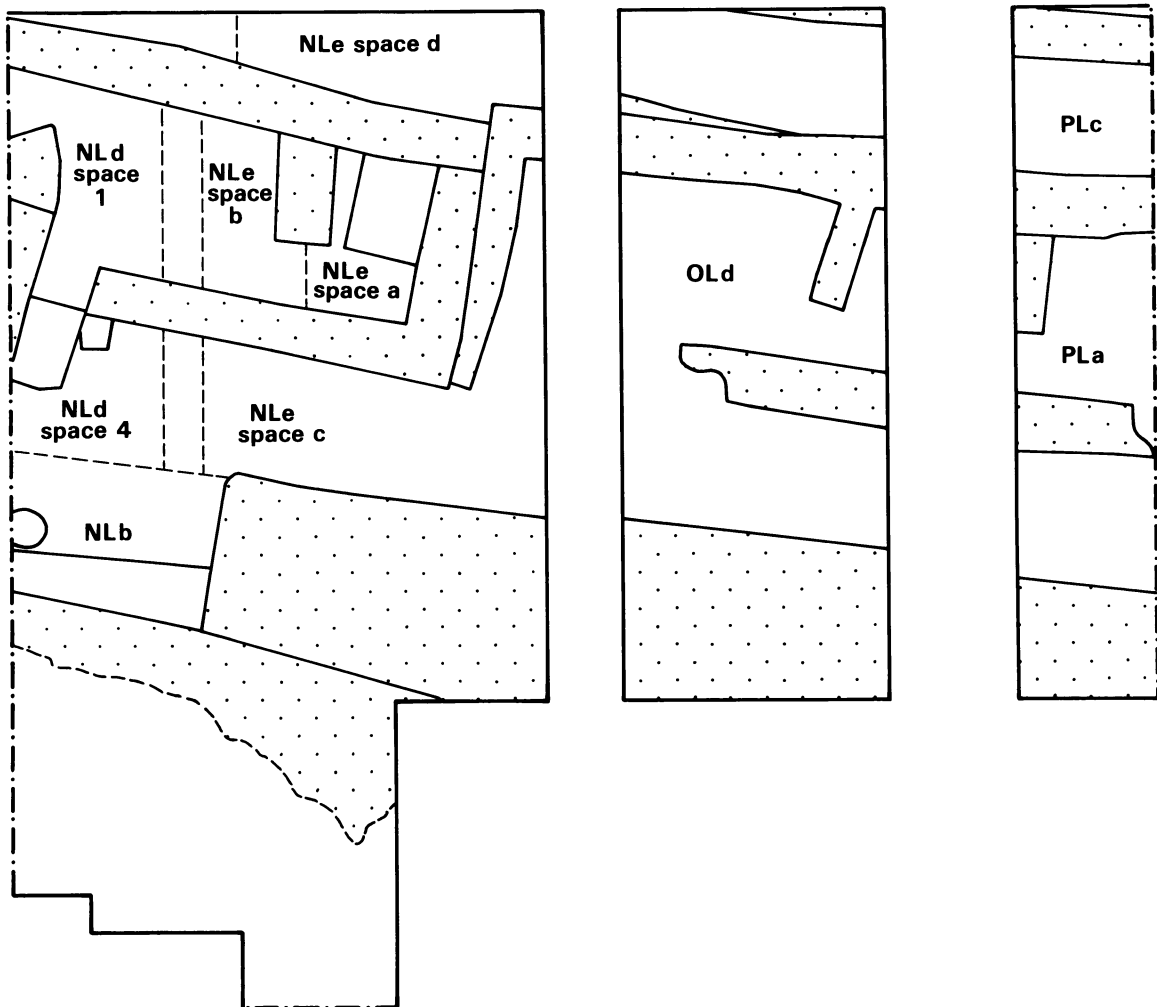


FIG. 2.4 The designation of excavation areas in the sanctuary area



but the gross nature of the approximation arising from the simple, if practical system of measurement, must be borne in mind.

Individual walls were each given a unique number for ease of reference. They are seen in FIG. 2.5.

Sections were drawn at a scale of 1:10, for most vertical soil faces exposed during the excavation, and several of them have been re-drawn for this report (FIGS. 2.7, 2.8, 2.9, 2.10, 2.12, 2.13 and 2.14). The locations of the drawn sections are seen in FIG. 2.6.

In addition a schematic running section, or level diagram, was sent daily from each area under excavation to the field laboratory. The layer diagram for each excavated area was revised at the conclusion of the excavation: they are presented together in Appendix A. It should be noted that these are based upon inference and interpretation as well as observation. They are not intended as a primary record but as a simplified presentation of complex stratigraphical data. The division into phases subsequently achieved (and discussed in Chapter III) has, for convenience, been superimposed upon these.

2. The East Shrine: 1974 Excavation Season

Work began in 1974 on the 8th July with the opening of area PLa, immediately to the west of the area excavated in squares H4 and H5, and also G5, of the old grid by Dawkins and Droop (1911). The west face of PL (new grid) is 10 m west of the G/H line of the old grid (FIG. 2.1).

The aim in PLa was to undertake a deep stratigraphic sounding, and a detailed account of the work there will be given in Volume II of the excavation report. Later, in 1975, the area PK to the south of PL was opened to investigate the fortifications, and this too will be reported in detail there.

Two findings in areas PLa and PK are of considerable relevance to the present concern, however. The first is that the substantial defensive wall, made of large and rounded beach stones, whose inner north face is seen at the south of PL and running westwards into OLd and OLc, was shown to have been constructed in the Late Helladic IIIB₁ period (FIG. 4.3, lower; PLATE 3, a). Its outer face was not clearly identified in PK but it seems to have been some 3 metres wide.

Secondly, the line of a Late Bronze I fortification wall was found in area PK, running in approximately the same direction as its successor, and some 3.5 metres to the south. The outer face of an analogous Late Bronze I defensive wall, belonging to what is assumed to be the same system of fortifications, was found some forty metres to the west in area KKd. There is no doubt that we have here two systems of fortification of different dates, whose chronology was not well established during the 1896-9 excavations. The fortifications in this part of the site were investigated at that time only by rather irregular soundings. In consequence little weight can be placed on the sketchy indications of walling shown in squares F5 and G5 of the old grid (Phylakopi 1904 pl. II) where walls now demonstrated to be of Late Bronze I and LH IIIB₁ date respectively are not well distinguished.

Two areas to the west of PLa were opened in 1974, namely OLc and OLd and it was here that evidence of the Sanctuary first came to light.

(a) Area OLd

Area OLd is notionally a 4 m by 4 m square with one metre baulks to north and east. However the great depth of area PLa, immediately to the east, made it advisable to increase the thickness of the baulk between them to 1.50 m, with the result that the excavated area in OLd measured only 3.50 m from east to west. Moreover it seemed appropriate to extend the excavated area a little to the south so as to uncover the north (inner) face of the LH IIIB₁ fortification wall (wall

100). This extension brought the length of OLd up to approximately 7 m from north to south instead of the canonical 4 m.

Fourteen layers were dug during the ten days before the excavation in 1974 was terminated. Beneath superficial levels, and the extremely hard underlying downwash reported by earlier excavators, a spread of stones was uncovered at the east (Wall 102) which ran approximately north-south along the length of the trench. From it, another line of stones (Wall 103) ran to the south-west. (The designation "wall" here does not imply a judgement about function, but simply the systematic numeration of a stone feature.) After much careful cleaning, drawing and photography of these stones their status as very late was established and, as reported below, they were cleared away early in the 1975 season.

The lines of stones in question were irregular, and no inner face was observed, nor were more than two lines of superposed stones noted. No associated artefacts whatever were found with them and they appeared to lie within the late downwash. They certainly postdated the LH IIIB1 fortification wall. The first account of excavations at the site mentions recent terrace walls, and the accompanying sketch plan (Smith 1897, pl. IIB) indicates one such in this general area. The stones may be regarded as terracing, perhaps of the nineteenth century. Nothing to counter this view was found in their removal. The point is of relevance to discussions during the 1976 excavation season about analogous walls in squares ML and NL, to the west.

(b) *Area OLc*

Area OLc was also notionally a 4 m by 4 m square. It was again extended to the south as far as the fortification wall, Wall 100, giving the area a north-south length of nearly 7 metres.

Beneath the topsoil, fine brown and rather hard soil was found extending over the whole trench. Stones were found at its southern end which seemed to be a westward extension of Wall 102 in OLd. These were removed and the brown soil continued.

At a depth of *ca.* 70 cms in OLc layer 11 the first signs of a structure were seen, Wall 101, running east-west about 1 metre from the north face of the trench. The first animal figurine fragment was found in OLc 12, and in OLc 14 a mass of stones was found to the south of Wall 101. (In the space to the north looser soil was found indicating what in retrospect may have been a sounding along the north of this wall by Mackenzie.) Already in OLc 14 an offset in the line of Wall 101 was observed which may in fact indicate different phases of construction.

In stratum OLc 15 at a depth of about 1 metre, Wall 104, parallel to Wall 101 and 2.3 m to the south appeared, as did the hypothetical line of a north-south wall joining them at the east of the trench, but barely discernible in the stone debris. (This wall was later confirmed and numbered 106.) At this stage it was very difficult to distinguish walls from debris, which was itself uniform in character (PLATE 4 b). This point is of great interest since there is a possibility that the East Shrine was deliberately filled or covered with stones when it finally went out of use.

Careful removal of stones revealed (stratum 19) a rectangular room bounded by Walls 101, 106, and 104. To the west, Wall 105 was now revealed projecting south from Wall 101 but less than 2 m long, thus leaving a gap or doorway to the west between it and Wall 104 to the south.

Sherds of Mycenaean pottery had been occurring in most strata, as is common on this part of the site. At a depth of *ca.* 1.10 m from the surface, a conch shell, SF 170 was found with fragments of plaster, and a pedestal vase (Cat. No. 375) (PLATE 2, a) and then fragments of ostrich egg shell (SF 167) and a whole terracotta animal figurine (SF 168) and a fragment of another (SF 166).

This and the succeeding excavated layers, OLc 21–23 and 26–28, to the east of Wall 105 but still within the area enclosed by Walls 100, 104 and 106, continued to yield ostrich egg shell

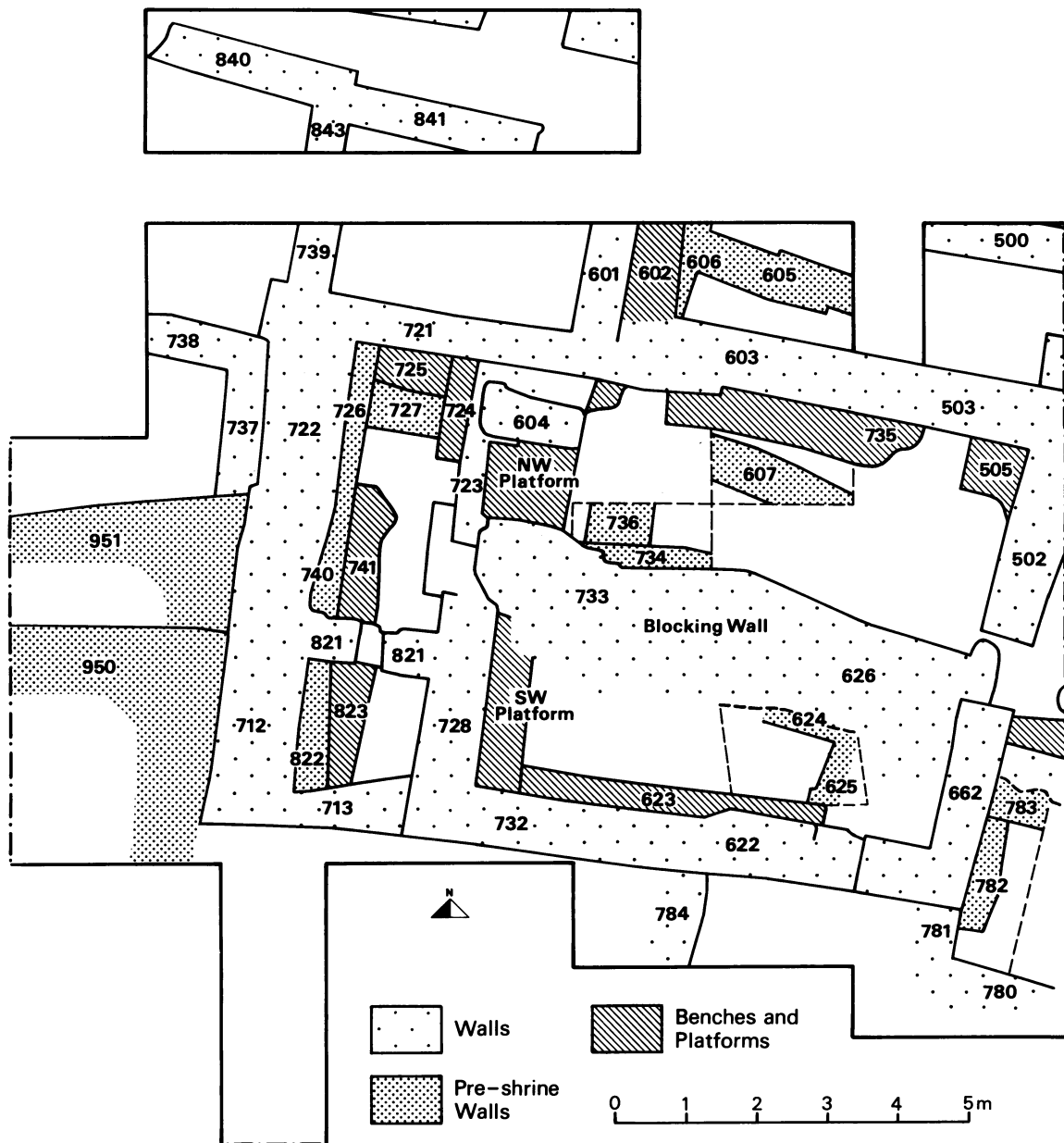
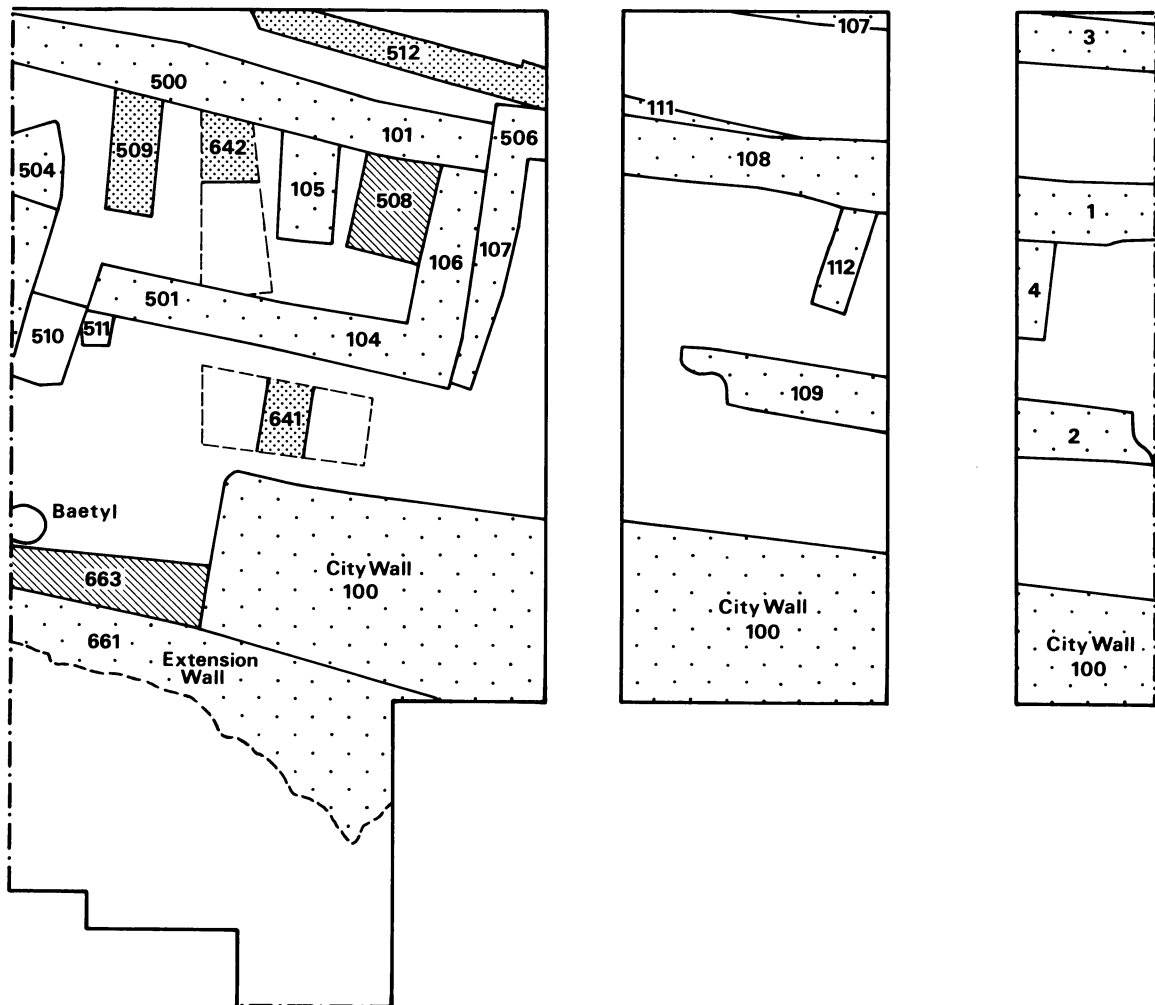


FIG. 2.5 The numeration of walls and structures



fragments down to a hard packed layer of soil designated OLc Floor 1. The finds include two Mycenaean figurines of Psi form (SF 172 and 174, FIG. 6.1), several animal figurines and fragments as well as pieces of tortoise-shell (SF 188) (see FIG. 4.17). They are listed as Assemblage L in Chapter IV.

It was in OLc 26, on July 23rd, that a small head in sheet gold (SF 192) was found, and at this stage the possibility that this small room served as a shrine had clearly to be faced.

Beneath Floor 1, the digging of stratum 29 revealed another beaten earth floor some 13 cm below the first: OLc Floor 2 (see plan, FIG. 4.14). OLc 29 contained a number of fragments of animal figurines and the shell of a tortoise (SF 195, PLATE 63). No more fragments of ostrich egg shell were found and this confirms the observed stratigraphic separation between Floors 1 and 2 in OLc. The finds from Floor 2 are listed as Assemblage H in Chapter IV.

Work at the site was concluded for the 1974 season on receipt of a telegram, occasioned by the difficult international situation, sent by the Greek Archaeological Service to all excavations in Greece. The more important finds were lodged for safety in the Plaka Museum.

3. East Shrine 1975 – 7 Seasons

Excavations were resumed on Monday, 7th July 1975. Work was carried out in a number of areas of the site, including PLa and PK. Those relevant to the Sanctuary were OLd, and NLa (with OLc).

(a) *Area OLd* (PLATE 4, a)

The terrace walls uncovered in 1974 (as described above) were first cleared away, and soil and downwash levels beneath them were removed. It was in stratum 45, some 60 cm below the ground surface, that the upper stones of Wall 108 became clear. This wall, running approximately east-west in the north part of the trench, proved to be the southern wall of a narrow street. The north wall, Wall 107, soon became clear in the very north-east corner of the trench, showing the street to have been nearly 2 metres wide.

The north wall of this street (Wall 107) continues east into PLa where it was designated Wall 3. Its south wall (Wall 108) is labelled Wall 1 in its eastward continuation into PLa (FIG. 2.5).

In this street area stratum 53 appeared to represent a street surface, and an earlier street surface is seen at stratum 66. Below level 53 an earlier north face of Wall 108, labelled Wall 111, appears. The base of this wall was not reached.

The main focus of the work was in the space south of Wall 108, between it and the Late Helladic IIIB₁ fortification wall. It was in stratum 51 that indications of a wall, designated Wall 109, running parallel to Wall 108 and 2 metres to its south, were uncovered. This wall proved to be the continuation of Wall 2 in PLa (to the east). It runs westwards into OLd for a distance of about 2.5 metres and then simply stops. Wall 112 is a short length of wall running 1.3 metres south from Wall 108 in the eastern part of the trench, leaving a space of about 0.7 metres between it and Wall 109. Together with Wall 4 of PLa it may define a small room whose north and south walls are Walls 108 and 109 respectively.

It should be noted that the original ground surface was evidently sloping downward to the south of this point. The highest floor level observed to the south of Wall 108 lies some 1.30 m deeper than stratum 53, the highest street surface observed to the north.

Strata 55 and 58 represent the tumble from the collapse of Wall 108 after the abandonment of the area. Beneath the tumble in level 59 (to the north of Wall 109) and in level 60 to the south, and then in strata 62 and 61 with 63 below these, is earth, with fewer stones, representing debris and accumulation overlying Floor 1, which is a clear beaten earth level lying some two metres

below the surface (2.64 below OLd datum). Potsherds, bone and obsidian were, as usual, found in these levels, and a fragment of a chariot figurine was found in stratum 59 (SF 511) and an animal figurine fragment in stratum 61 (SF 517). Although finds were not numerous, the important discovery was made in stratum 63, south of Wall 109, at a depth of 2.66 m below OLd datum, of a bronze figurine of the so-called 'Reshef' or 'Smiting God' form (SF 518, FIG. 8.3, PLATE 68). The change of texture and the sherds lying flat suggest that the bottom of this stratum is a floor or street surface, equivalent to Floor 1 north of Wall 109.

Beneath this, strata 65 and 67 were excavated down to Floor 2, a good dark burnt earth floor, on which a number of stones were lying. It is 8.07 m below the OLd trench datum (2.76 m below PLa area datum), and can be recognised as the equivalent of Floor 2 in PLa.

At this point the excavation in OLd ended. The structures revealed may be thought of as the westward extension of those in area PLa which may well be of a domestic nature. There is nothing other than several terracotta figurine fragments and the imported bronze figure to suggest a function related to that of the Sanctuary.

Clearly the street, at a higher level, north of Wall 108 continues west to run north of the Sanctuary. Wall 108 itself continues west to form Wall 506 which abuts onto Wall 101 of OLc, the north wall of the East Shrine. The street between the fortification wall and Wall 109 continues to the west, giving access to the open space south of the East Shrine, (see plan, FIG. 2.5). It is not clear why Wall 109 ends so abruptly, as it seems to do, and the bottom of Wall 109 was not reached in area OLd (the same is true for Walls 108/111 and 112). The excavation in PLa shows it (in the guise of Wall 2) to go some 80 cm deeper, probably as footings below Floor 2.

Study of the pottery suggests that all the strata excavated in OLd may be assigned to the late period (Period F for the site as a whole) whose beginning is defined by the construction of the Fortification Wall in the LH IIIB₁ period. The pottery from the stratigraphic sequence indicates that floors prior to PLa Floor 2 are already associated with LH IIIC pottery. At first this led to the suggestion that the upper levels in PLa and floors 1 and 2 in OLd are to be considered later than the collapse, and they were provisionally assigned to phase 3. However, re-assessment of the finds in PLa shows that these are perfectly consistent with those from the street levels in NLe space c, where LH IIIC pottery is found in levels stratified well below those of the collapse of phase 2b. It now seems likely that the finds on the uppermost floor in OLd, Floor 1, date from the phase 2b collapse. In this case those overlying Floor 2 (from OLd layers 65 and 67) should be assigned to phase 2a. After the collapse the space in area OLd, like the street area in space c south of the East Shrine, would not have been further occupied.

(b) Area NLd/e (including OLc) with NLb

At the beginning of the 1975 excavation season, work was resumed in area OLc. At the same time trench NLd was laid out to the west. Like OLc and OLd it was extended 3 metres south of the canonical 5 m × 5 m square (south into the grid area NLb) so as to extend without break as far as the fortification wall. Area NLd thus measured 7 m north-south, and 4 m east-west, leaving a baulk of 1 m at its eastern side (between NLd and OLc).

It was at once clear that the two areas (NLd and OLc) should be dug in relation to a single co-ordinate system, since parts of the same structure and the same room fell into the two areas, and would need to be considered together. Area OLc was thus now designated NLe, and all measurements for this area were related to the NL trench datum. Once the baulk between NLe (i.e. OLc) and NLd spaces 1 and 4 was removed (late in the 1975 excavation season) the entire area was often referred to as NLd/e.

It was also found convenient to designate separately the various rooms, spaces and other areas recovered. That part of the room in the East Shrine east of the protruding Wall 105 was

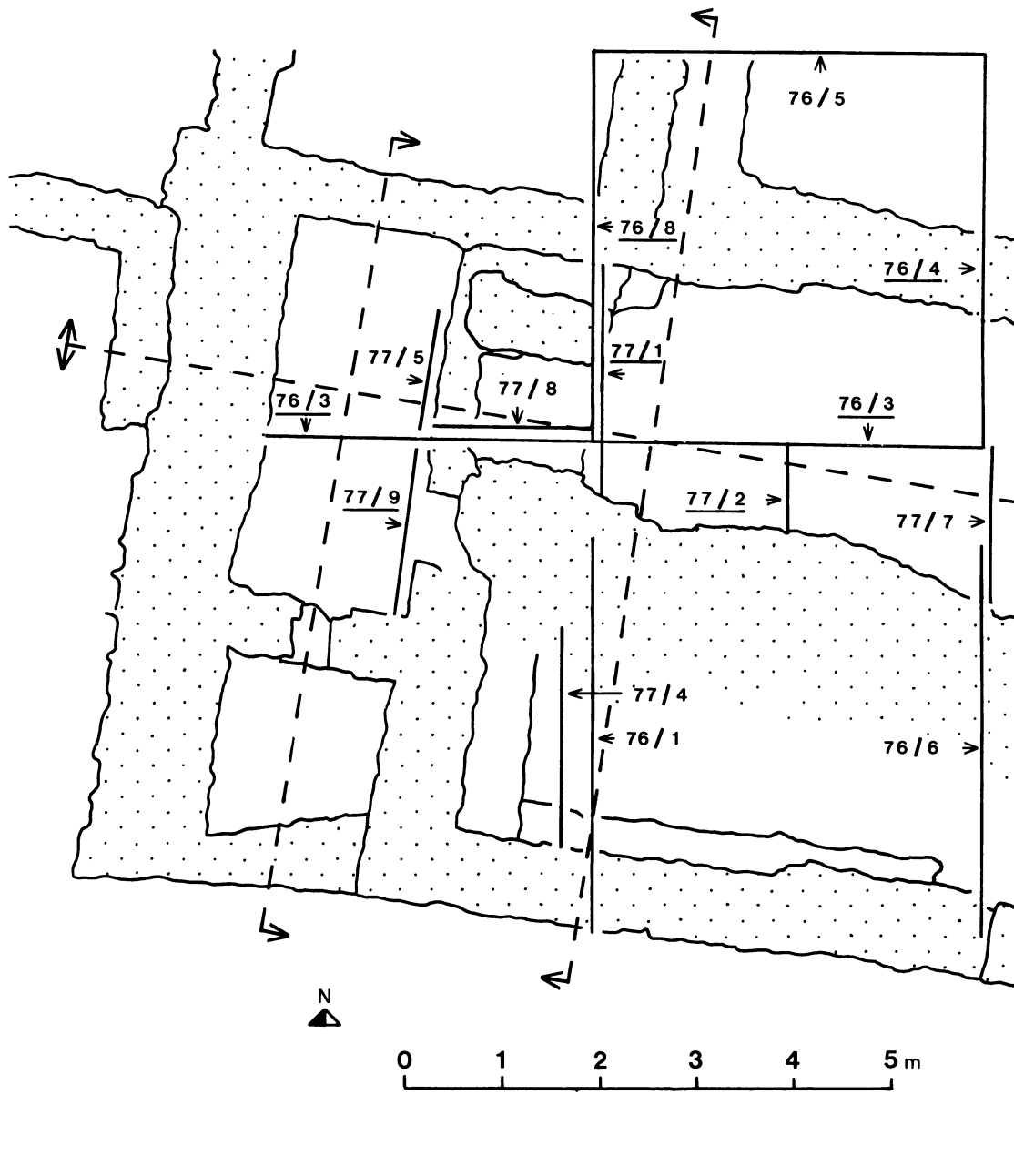
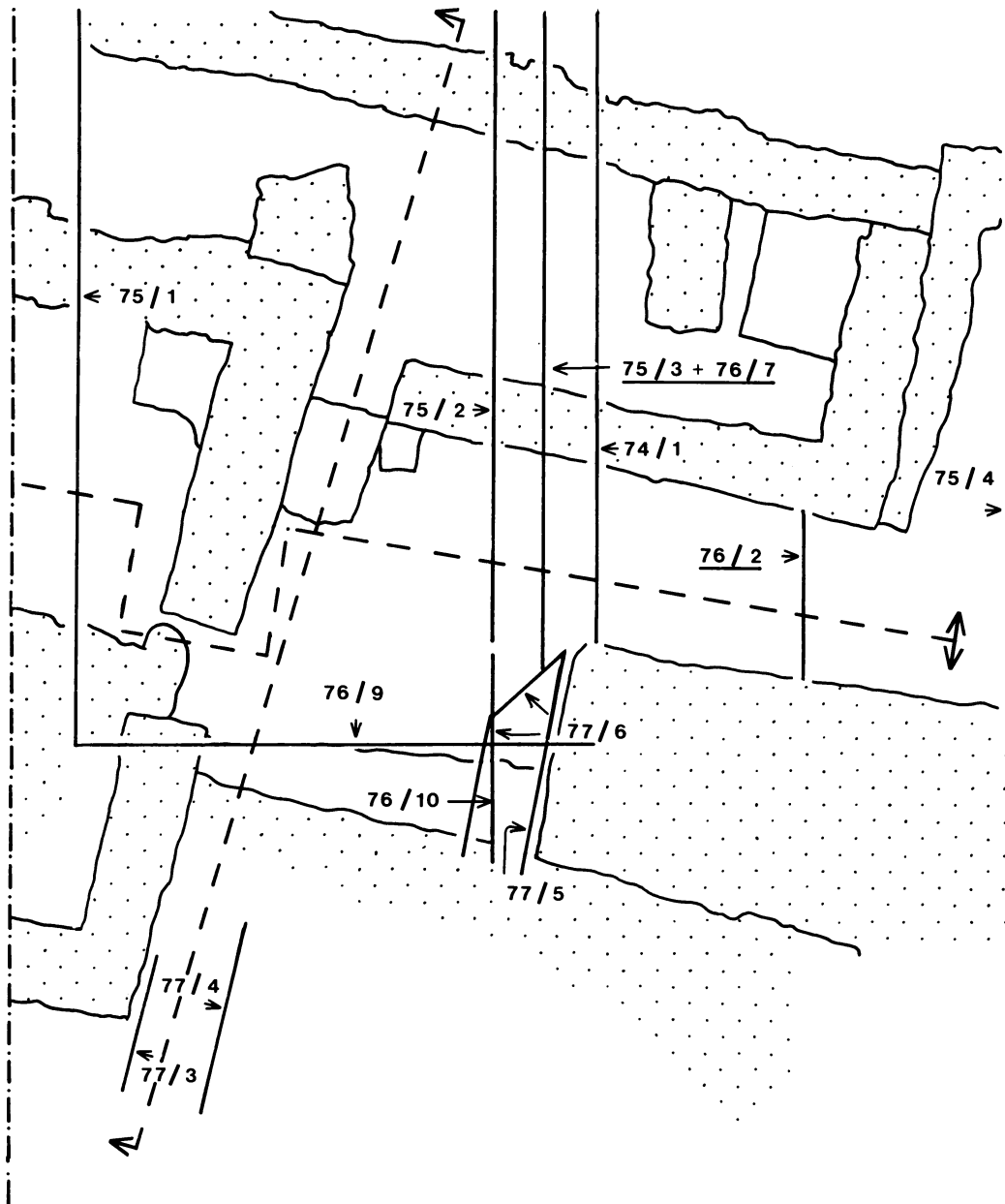


FIG. 2.6 The location of drawn sections and elevations. For those sections illustrated (FIGS. 2.7 to 2.14) the number designations are underlined. Elevations (FIGS. 4.2 to 4.6) are indicated by broken lines



designated NLe space a (or NLd/e space a). The area to the west of that wall was space b. The area to the south of the East Shrine, between Wall 104 and the fortification wall was designated NLe space c. The small area to the north of Wall 101, the north street area, is NLe space d.

Within NLd, removal of topsoil indicated recent disturbance in the south-west corner. It was here that the earlier excavations reported by Mackenzie had followed the tops of walls, and the backfill, surmounted by Mackenzie's spoil heap, contained fresco fragments, some with lily motifs, which almost certainly originated from the Pillar Room area, grid square G3 on Mackenzie's plan.

The westward continuation of Wall 101 of OLc was soon found, here termed Wall 500. And the westward continuation of Wall 104, here termed Wall 501, was located, ending with a well dressed squared stone. Walls 502 and 503 were observed as indicated on the plan. The area within the East Shrine was now termed NLd space 1; the area to the south, south of Wall 501, was NLd space 4. Wall 502 (with Wall 504) defined the westward limits of spaces 1 and 4. The area in NLd west of space 1 was designated NLd space 2. That to the west of Wall 502—the area which eventually was seen as the easternmost part of the West Shrine, was NLd space 3. Initially these designations seemed somewhat cumbersome. However the stratigraphy in these areas proved complex, and this somewhat lengthy nomenclature demonstrated its worth, proving both accurate and intelligible. For that reason it has been retained in the present account. A sketch diagram of NLd/e is seen in FIG. 2.4.

(i) NLe spaces a and b

This area (formerly the northern part OLc) represents the eastern end of the East Shrine. It is bounded to the north by Wall 101 (which is designated Wall 500 in NLd), at the east by Wall 106, at the south by Wall 104 (becoming Wall 501 in NLd) and at the west by NLd east baulk. Before work in area b was undertaken during 1975 the available space was enlarged by removing 50 cm from the one-metre baulk on the west side. (It should be noted that NLe space b thus encroached by 50 cm west into square NLd.) Wall 105 in part separates space a (to the east) from space b. The stratigraphic sequence is best understood by reference to the level diagram (FIG. 11.4). The strata in this area down to the top of Floor 2 were excavated in 1974 (see above).

Stratum 59 in both spaces a and b represents the removal of 5 to 10 cm of earth and material below Floor 2, down to and revealing a platform of flat stones measuring 0.95 m by 1.35 m in the north-east corner of space a. Its top lay 3.45 m below trench datum (equivalent to about 1.80 m below the datum point used during 1974 for OLc). This platform was given the feature number 508. The finds listed in chapter IV included a number of terracotta figurine fragments (see PLATE 45, *b*).

Stratum 60, beneath 59, constitutes 5 to 10 cm of similar yellow-brown fine soil largely without stones. In space a, a harder yellow-brown layer was uncovered designated Floor 4, although its status as a floor was not entirely certain. In space b this floor was not clearly recognised, and a grey floor surface, Floor 5, was revealed at a lower level, which evidently underlay Floor 4 in the easternmost part of the area (space a). It should be stressed that these floors of beaten earth are recognised as much by texture, and by the manner and angle in which debris lies upon them, as by visible distinction. They are earth floors, and there is no doubt as to the reality of Floors, 1, 2 and 5. Floor 4 was probably a trampled earth surface in the same way, but its existence in space b was not observed by us, with the result that the few materials above and below it in space b were not collected and recorded separately. This stratum included further figurine fragments and other finds listed in Chapter IV.

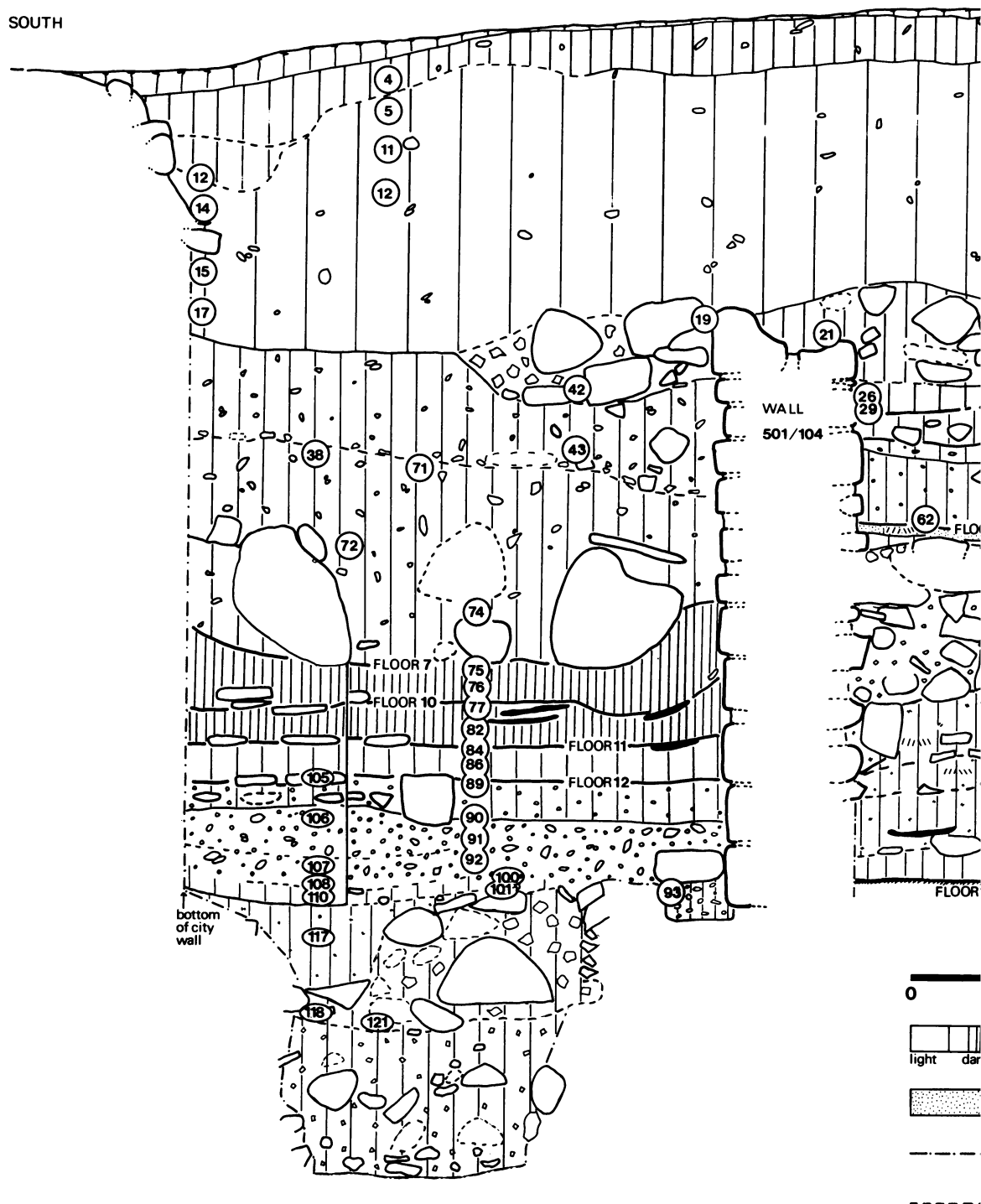
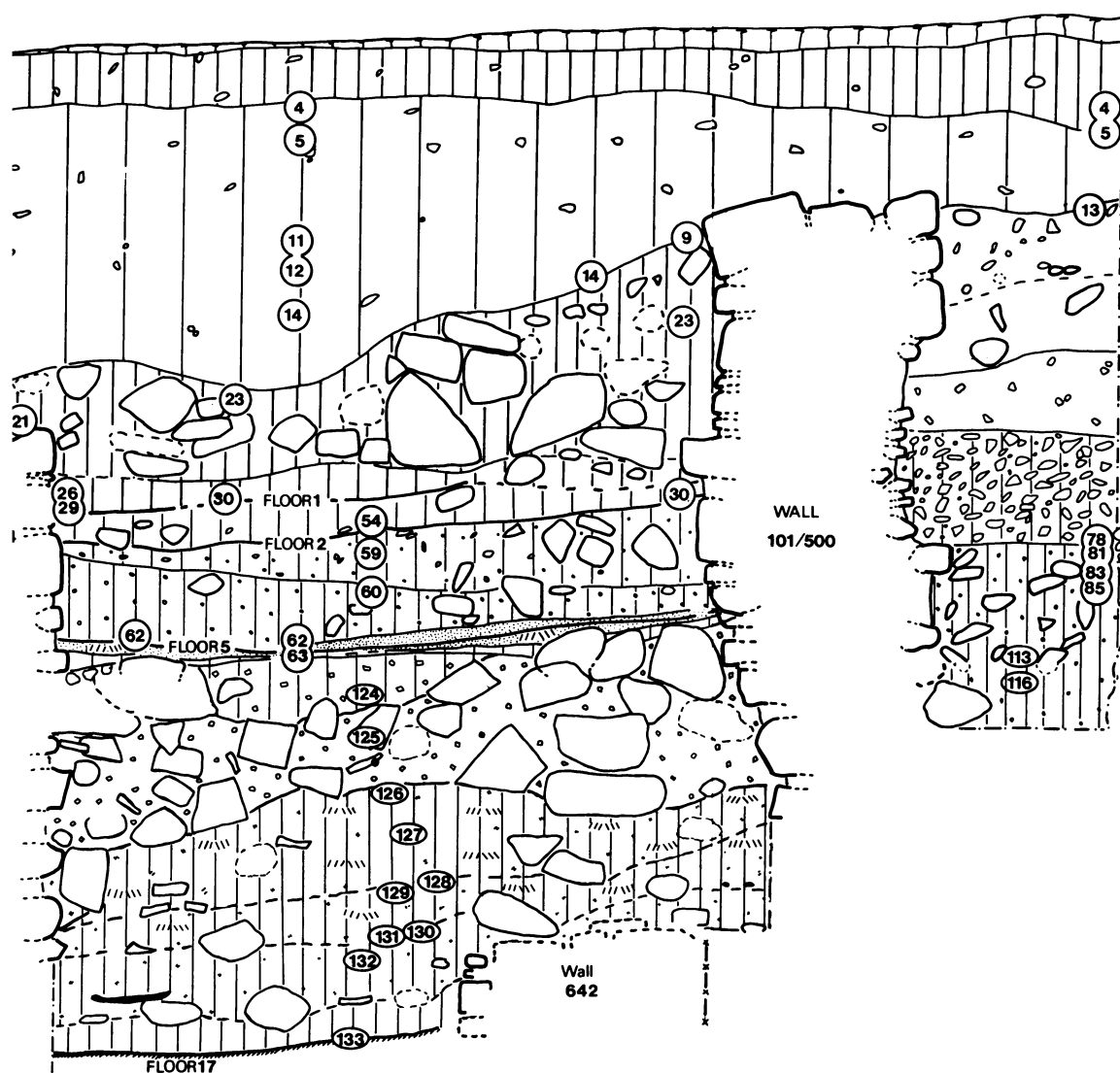


FIG. 2.7 Section 75/3 and 76/7: north-south section in the East Shrine, seen from the east. Scale 1:25

NORTH



0 2M

light dark EARTH GRAVEL RUBBLE

ASH CLAY BURNT CHARCOAL

Limit of Excavation Hypothetical end of wall

Wall projected back onto section Section projected back

le 1.:25

Stratum 61 is another shallow level of up to 10 cm, consisting again of fine yellow-brown soil rich in finds. These included a sealstone (SF 808), a metal ring (SF 813), fragments of tortoise-shell (SF 814 and 815), a bronze arrowhead (SF 820) and several figurine fragments. Many of these pieces were around the stone platform (508) and may have fallen from it (see plan, FIG. 4.11 and PLATE 2, *b* and *c*). The following stratum, 62, represents the clearance in spaces a and b down to Floor 5 (depth 3.55 to 3.76 below trench datum). Stones with softer earth around them were found in space b, and again there were numerous small finds, with a concentration near the platform. They include several sealstones and other finds listed as Assemblage D in Chapter IV, and seen in plan in FIG. 4.11. A pot (Cat. No. 268) lay above Floor 5 crushed against Wall 101, much as did the pot (Cat. No. 350) on Floor 3 in NLe space 1 (see below).

In the south-east corner were three small declivities *ca.* 15 cm deep, below the level of the floor, where the floor had sunk into the rubble of larger stones underlying it. The same explanation is believed to hold for the small finds recovered in and below the floor itself in stratum 63. It soon became clear that Floor 5 represents the earliest floor of the East Shrine, and that it is the precise stratigraphic equivalent of Floor 3 in NLe space 1, immediately to the west, and still within the East Shrine.

It is convenient here to mention that permission to remove Wall 105 was received during the 1976 excavation season. Beneath it, layers 149 and 150 overlay Floor 2, with finds of figurine fragments. Layer 151, with further finds, overlay Floor 4. Beneath this, layer 152 overlay Floor 5 (layer 153 representing its removal). Finds included a piece of rock crystal (SF 1747), half of a seal stone (SF 1748) and other special finds. Beneath Floor 5, the rubble make-up previously reported was found.

During the 1976 excavation season it was also possible to make a sounding below Floor 5 in NLe space b in order to investigate the sequence of construction of Walls 101 and 104. Wall 105 at this stage was still in position, although belonging to a late phase of the East Shrine, since permission had not been received from the Greek Archaeological Service to remove it. The sounding was thus less than a metre wide from east to west, with Wall 105 (and the layers underlying it) at the east, and NLe east baulk to the west.

Beneath Floor 5, a loose rubble of stones up to 15 cm in diameter was found. In layers 123, and 124, were found several figurine fragments and a boar's tusk (SF 1723) which are interpreted as being debris from the earlier use of the West Shrine or alternatively as having slipped into this from above during the life of the shrine or during excavation. The interior face of Wall 104 ends some 10 cm below Floor 5, although the exterior face extends much farther, since the south (street) level is much lower than the interior of the shrine. The inner facing of Wall 101 seems to be built on the rubble fill but lower courses slope under toward the north. Clearly the retaining wall or its predecessor antedates the rubble fill to the south of it, underlying the shrine floor (Floor 5). This wall may have been pushed out of the vertical, in its lower courses by pressure of the earth to the north, which it retains.

The bottom rubble fill was reached at a depth of 0.60 m below Floor 5, and with it the bottom of Wall 101 to the north. At a depth of *ca.* 1 m below Floor 5, Wall 642 is seen at the north of the sounding, running approximately east-west. This underlies Wall 101, whose rough footings lie on it, and follows approximately the same direction.

At a depth of *ca.* 1.3 m below Floor 5, Floor 17, a white clay floor, was reached. It runs up against Wall 642 and extends over the whole area of this narrow sounding. It is of the same character as Floor 16, found in the deep sounding of NLe space c, to be described below. This floor, and the accompanying wall, belong to the Late Bronze I period. They are important as

showing that the shrine has no predecessor at this spot: these earlier features do not appear related to it.

(ii) *NLd space 1*

Following the division of NLd into spaces 1 to 4, with the removal of the layer of tumbled stones (layer 9), the next stratum in space 1 (layer 15) yielded ostrich egg shell fragments and a patch of beaten earth near the west end of the Wall 501. In view of the ostrich egg shell fragments and its depth below datum, this surface is interpreted as the equivalent of Floor 1 in OLc/NLe.

Lower, in layer 52, a series of stones lying on an earth surface were apparently the equivalent of stones lying on Floor 2 in OLc/NLe. The finds here included an animal figurine (SF 774) a fragment of painted plaster (SF 775) and a drainage tile (SF 777). The next excavated layer brought the area down to the hard surface of Floor 3 corresponding to Floor 5 in OLc/NLe, the original floor of the building. (It should be noted that the equivalent of OLc Floor 4 was not observed; it was best seen in the eastern part—space a—of OLc).

On this floor, Floor 3, were found a pot (Cat. No. 350) and a further drain tile (SF 786).

Floor 3 was now removed, and threshold stones revealed between walls 501 and 502. Stone rubble underlay the floor. In the rubble, the top of an earlier wall, Wall 509, was observed, running approximately north/south. This was interpreted as belonging to a structure earlier than the shrine. However a small sounding conducted in 1976 (layers 122 and 126–147) made clear that Wall 509 does not extend as deep as the bottom of the rubble which underlies Wall 501 (and Wall 104). Wall 509 thus does not seem as early as Wall 642 found in the deep sounding in NLe space b, or Floor 17 accompanying that Wall, dateable to the Late Bronze I period. It is likely therefore, that Wall 509 had some retaining function. It is apparently contemporary with the building works and stone rubble associated with the construction of the East Shrine. But it is definitely overlain by the earliest floor of the shrine, Floor 3/5.

The finds in NLd space 1 thus harmonised satisfactorily with those in OLc/NLe spaces a and b. The two areas together constitute the interior of the East Shrine.

(iii) *NLe space c*

At the same time as these investigations within the East Shrine, work was continuing outside it, to the south of Wall 104 and to the east of Wall 106. This excavation area, NLe space c, was initially separated from NLd space 4 by the intervening baulk. At an early stage the upper levels of this baulk were removed, and it was reduced to 50 cm in thickness by the removal of the eastern 50 cm.

During the 1974 excavation season, Walls 104 and 106 had emerged clearly, and a supporting or retaining wall, Wall 107, against Wall 106 became evident.

Fragments of broken figurines were soon found in the space between the south wall of the shrine (Wall 104) and the City Wall, Wall 100, including (in layer 34) the head of a bull rhyton (SF 1561). Stones were frequent, seemingly belonging to the fill which had blocked the upper levels of the East Shrine. This stone layer sloped downwards to the south-east, towards square OLd. Further finds continued to be made as soil was removed, some of them proving to join with fragments found within the East Shrine (see Appendix B). Similar finds were made to the east of Wall 107.

In a declivity against the City Wall (stratum 46) further finds relating to the contents of the shrine were found, including the legs of the bull rhyton (SF 1561), a human leg (SF 756) the companion to one found a little higher in stratum 38 (SF 757). A scarab (SF 766) from this stratum was recovered from the sieve.

Below this material, large boulders, (PLATE 4, *c*), evidently fallen from the City Wall and now lying at its foot, began to appear (stratum 72), intermixed with further finds, and with pottery, crushed in the fall of these boulders, which had evidently lain on the ground or floor surface at the foot of the wall prior to the collapse. With some difficulty these boulders were removed. They had fallen upon a surface (Floor 7) of small flagstones and of earth, and destroyed a number of pots, including Cat. Nos 86, 96 and 111 (PLATE 5, *a*). The complete assemblage from this important destruction is listed in Chapter IV as assemblage E, and the pottery is discussed in detail in Chapter V. It provides the best ceramic evidence for the date of the collapse of the City Wall and of the shrine. Floor 7 in space c was later identified as the stratigraphic equivalent of Floor 6 in space 4 to the west.

Floor 7 may be interpreted as a street surface between the East Shrine and the City Wall. It was removed and some 10 cm below was a further surface, Floor 10, of burnt earth, with many small flat slabs on its surface near the City Wall (PLATE 5, *b*). This surface was removed, and again some 30 cm below was a further surface, Floor 11, again with flat stones.

Several minor figurine fragments (SF 883) underlay Floor 7, and an animal figurine fragment (SF 888) underlay Floor 10. Amongst the debris of Floor 11 was a stone vase fragment (SF 889) and a pierced shell (SF 890). These finds are from a period after the construction of the East Shrine and below the collapse phase PLATE 5, *c*).

Some 40 cm below Floor 12, the bottom of the south wall of the shrine, Wall 104/501 was reached.

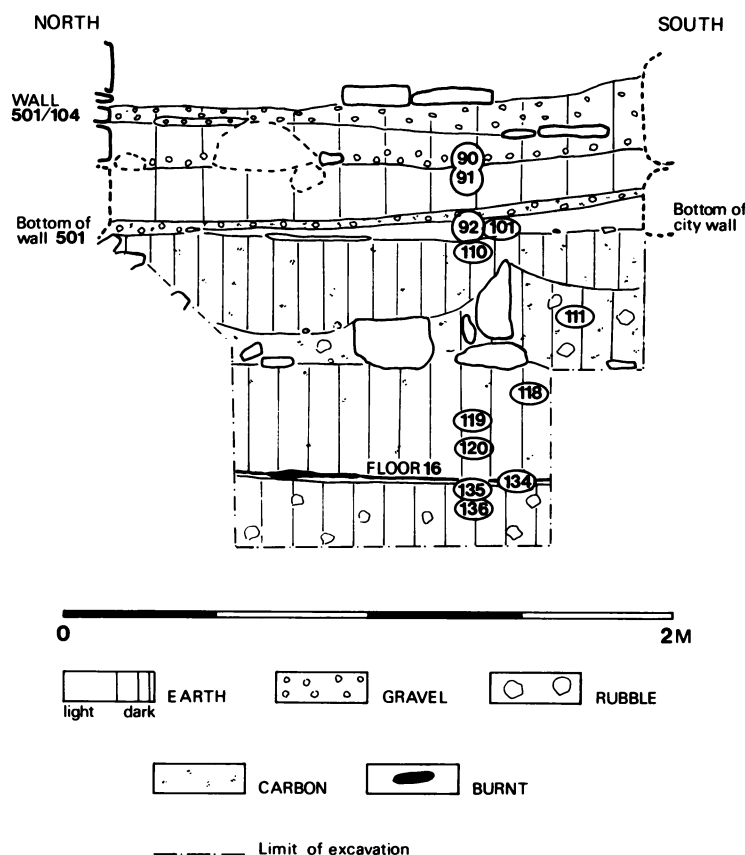


FIG. 2.8 Section 76/2: north-south section in the street to the south of the East Shrine, seen from the west. Scale 1:25

During the 1976 season a sondage was undertaken in the western part of NLe space c to investigate the levels at a greater depth than the foot of Wall 104. It was bounded by Wall 501 (and the levels underlying it) at the north, the City Wall at the south, the baulk with space 4 at the west, and measured 2.5 m from west to east. At a depth of 50 cm below Floor 12, a tumble of stones sloping from NW to SE was found across the sounding. This underlies the City Wall, whose base is at about the same level as that of Wall 501 (PLATE 6, *a*). But Wall 501 is built immediately on this tumble of stones, while the City Wall sits on some 30 cm of earth over the tumble.

The stones were now removed (stratum 111 and 117). Amongst them was found SF 1717, part of an LBI blossom bowl (PLATE 65, *a*). Mrs V Hankey later showed that this joins with a large fragment in the Plaka Museum deriving from the earlier excavations of Dawkins and Droop (1911, 22) *ca.* 15–25 metres to the east.

Beneath this tumble of stones, the top of a wall, Wall 641 appeared, running north-south in the middle of the sounding, and hence running directly under both the City Wall and the Shrine Wall 501 (FIG. 2.8). On the east side of this wall, at about 20 cm beneath its top, a clear plaster floor, Floor 16 was encountered. Four scraps of red painted plaster were encountered above it (SF 1720). The pottery was of LBI date, clearly indicating the date of the floor and wall. The excavation continued down a further 20 cm on both sides of Wall 541 without encountering further floor surfaces.

This sounding was important therefore, in establishing first the approximate contemporaneity of the City Wall and the south wall of the East Shrine. Secondly it documented that the LBI structure underlying the shrine was on a completely different orientation. There is no reason to think of this earlier structure as a cult building.

(iv) *NLd space 4*

Space 4 lies immediately to the west of NLe space c, separated from it by the baulk. It is bounded on the north by the East Shrine (Wall 501), to the west by Wall 502, and to the south, by the western end of the City Wall, and by the Extension Wall, Wall 661.

The spread of stones seen in other parts of the area was observed here over all the trench, and blocking the doorway in the south wall of the East Shrine. Large stones from the City Wall were also found here—perhaps from the initial collapse (which broke the pots on Floor 7 (stratum 74) of space c), or perhaps the later final collapse.

Beneath these stones, in the northern half of NLd space 4, Floor 1 appeared. Further south, a hard yellow layer, possibly an earth surface, was observed (stratum 58). In stratum 70, amongst the large boulders some mud-bricks (unbaked) were found clearly recognisable. This material was here preserved in homogeneous form in lumps up to 20 cm long. Such material may have been more commonly used for the upper parts of structures than is now appreciated.

The clearance of the step (layer 510) and of the southern part of the area revealed the surface of the flooring, Floor 6, which may be equated with Floor 7 in NLe space c. Broken pottery was associated with this level. Below Floor 6 lay a further floor surface, Floor 9.

(v) *NLb*

During the 1976 season, the baulk separating NLd space 4 and NLe space c was removed, thus revealing clearly the west end of the City Wall, Wall 100. This clearance also uncovered Wall 661, the Extension Wall and Wall 663, the bench to the north of it (PLATE 6, *b* and *c*). The round stone or baetyl to the north of the bench to the east of the doorway in Wall 502 was now discovered (PLATE 7).

The southern extension of NLd space 4, south of the line of the interior (north) face of the City Wall, Wall 100, was dug as part of square NLb. Amongst debris above Wall 661 (stratum 409) the bronze figure SF 1802 (PLATE 70) was found, the counterpart of the example from square OLd (SF 518). It was amongst large boulders from the City Wall, but at this relatively high level these are probably from the later dereliction of the site after its abandonment, rather than from the initial collapse. The stratigraphy was complicated here, however, by the trenches dug by Mackenzie along the top of the wall faces (his square F5). The bronze figure was found at a level 1.88 m above the top of the 'omphalos' or baetyl.

In the lower level at the foot of the City Wall, stratum 418, more debris of the collapse phase was found, including several pots. This debris was also collected from strata 420 and 421.

The Extension Wall, Wall 661 was followed eastwards in an attempt to define its relationship to the City Wall. Evidently it ran *behind* the City Wall and continued for some metres behind it, to the east. This did not, in itself, define the relationship, however. For it was possible either that Wall 661 was in existence when the City Wall was built, or that the City Wall existed first and Wall 661 was built against it (and outside it).

During the 1977 excavation season, the area at the intersection of Wall 661 and Bench 663 with the City Wall (Wall 100) was investigated, by means of a sounding measuring 1 m east-west. This was designated NLb space 4. In this corner was a kerb of stones, forming a quarter circle of radius *ca.* 1 m, the quadrant being defined by the west end of the City Wall, and the easternmost metre of Bench 663 (PLATE 7, *a*). Within it were indications of burning, under which was a floor of flat stones. The declivity formed by this kerb appears to have been in use at the time of the collapse, documented by broken pottery within it and around it.

Further investigation here necessitated the removal of Bench 663 for the length of one metre, for which the permission of the Ephor of Antiquities was obtained. The sounding was backfilled and this length of bench was reconstructed when the investigation was completed. The flat stones of Floor 55, first recognised within the kerb, proved to underlie it, and Bench 663 as well. This floor, 55, must be the earliest floor connected with the use of the bench.

Beneath was a layer of brown soil with charcoal flecks, coming down onto an earth surface, Floor 56, which ran underneath the bench. Within it was a roughly circular depression, some 14 cm deep and 60 cm in diameter. It is not impossible that this was a bedding hole for a stone, and its position is central to the area delimited by the quarter circle of the stone kerb, although the kerb was later than the stone Floor 55 which overlies both Floor 56 and this circular depression. Floor 56 constitutes the earliest floor in the area after the construction of the City Wall.

A clear sequence of thin layers underlay this floor. Stratum 452, some 60 cm below Floor 55, was observed clearly to underlie the City Wall but to run up against Wall 661. Stratum 454, 74 cm below Floor 55, ran beneath both walls. The sounding thus documented the important point that the City Wall was built *after* and against Wall 661. Beneath Wall 661 (and the City Wall), this layer containing charcoal (NLb 454) was observed, which probably correlates with the layer seen to the south of Wall 661 in area NKc/d, (NKc/d layer 814) which is significant in post-dating the construction of the West Shrine.

Thus the sequence is established: West Shrine; Wall 661; City Wall plus East Shrine.

(vi) *NLe space d*

Space d in NLe is the space in the north-east corner of the area (the north-east corner of the former square OLc) lying north of Wall 500/101, the north wall of the shrine. This high-level surface is a westward continuation of the street seen north of Wall 108 in square OLd, and north of Wall 1 (and south of Wall 3) in square PLa. The vertical relationships are seen in FIG. 11.6. It is

clear that the street level was always considerably above the shrine floor: some 2 m above Floor 3/5 in NLe space a/b.

The sequence of strata is seen in the levels diagram. In stratum 48, gravel, sand and many stones were found. This may represent a street surface, although no neatly paved area was located to compare with the street surface seen in PLa/PLc.

Beneath this level the material in the narrow spaces was rather rubbly, composed of larger and smaller stones and with many sherds. Beneath stratum 85, the top of a wall, Wall 512, was observed, intersecting at the east end of the trench with Wall 500/101, and diverging from it further west at an angle of about 30° (to the north). On each side of the wall the fragmentary ceramic material soon took on an entirely LBI character. This wall must clearly have acted as a terrace wall in LBI times (as did Wall 500/101 later). At a depth of 40 cm below the top of the wall, a thick plaster floor, Floor 15, was found to the north of Wall 512.

(vii) *NLd space 2*

Space 2 of square NLd is at the north-west corner of the area, defined by the west baulk, by Wall 500 at the north, by Wall 503, at the south (the north wall of the West Shrine) and at the east by space 1, the interior of the East Shrine. As will be seen below, the relationship between space 2 and the East Shrine proper was not entirely clear, since Wall 502, the east wall of the West Shrine, naturally did not extend north beyond the north east corner of the West Shrine (PLATE 11, *d*). The fragmentary Wall 504 later partially blocked the opening to this space.

The sequence of excavation began here, as in other areas, with the removal of superficial levels, revealing a tumble of fallen stones. After removal of stratum 4, the south wall of the East Shrine, Wall 501, was clearly defined, as was its north wall, Wall 500. To the west of Wall 501, a wall was beginning to emerge which later turned out to be the east wall (Wall 502) of the West Shrine. After stratum 9, the area was divided into spaces 1, 2 and 3. The area within space 2 was designated stratum 12.

By this point the north wall of the West Shrine, Wall 503 was also clear. What seemed to be part of a wall extending Wall 502 northwards, beyond the line of 503, was designated Wall 504.

Wall 504 appeared to project some 70 cm north of Wall 502. The 90 cm from its northern point to the south face of Wall 500 was interpreted on excavation as a passageway blocked with stones. These stones were removed, revealing an earth surface (stratum 14) with potsherds lying on it, which equated with Floor 1 (stratum 15) in space 1 (the interior of the East Shrine). A fragment of rock crystal (SF 572) was found at this level.

However the next stratum to be excavated, layer 16, revealed stones fallen in the doorway, suggesting a line continuing northwards from Wall 504.

A line of stones at the bottom of Wall 500 now appeared, either footings for this wall or an earlier phase of it. It was noted that Wall 500 undergoes a change in construction east of this point: clearly two phases of construction are involved although it was not possible to decide which part was earlier.

Some 80 cm below stratum 14, a line of stones immediately to the north of Wall 503 was noted, which may be the eastward extension of Wall 605, designated Wall 507.

These investigations did not definitely determine the function of space 2, nor whether it could be entered from space 1 to the east during the life of the East Shrine, since the evidence appeared contradictory.

During the 1977 excavation season, the partial removal of the baulk between NLc and NLd allowed the western end of space 2 to be further defined. The western end of space 2 is determined by the room to the north of square NLc, which lies at a much higher level (see FIG.

2.4), Floor 1 of NLc North being some 1.5 m above Floor 1 of space 1 and the equivalent stratum 14 in space 2. Underlying this floor in NLc North is the earlier Wall 605, of Late Bronze I date, running in an east-west direction. Space 2 thus measured at most 2.7 m east-west, but the nature of its western end was never completely clarified. It may have been a small space of little importance during the time of the East Shrine. Alternatively it may have formed part of the same room as NLc North whose east wall, Wall 504, may have been constructed at the same time as the East Shrine.

4. The West Shrine: 1975-6 Seasons

At the end of the 1974 excavation season, the existence of a separate West Shrine was still unsuspected. By the end of the 1975 season, with the investigation of NLd space 3 (described below) it was clear that there was indeed a structure to the west, although its extent at that time was not known. One of the main objectives of the 1976 season was thus the investigation of this building. Two five-metre squares to the west of the existing excavation area were thus laid out: squares NLa and NLc on the site grid (FIG. 2.4). They were separated from each other and from those to the east by 1 metre baulks.

The excavation in square NLc was highly productive, but it soon became clear that some westward extension would be necessary in order to understand the west end of the West Shrine. A trench three metres east-west (from the west side of NLc) and two metres north-south (from the south side of NLc) was opened, in grid square MLd. This revealed a small room to the west of NLc, termed Room B. Work did not proceed so well in square NLa. Large stones lying irregularly were found over much of its area. They were interpreted by us as a rubble fill of stones. It later proved to be the case that they were a fill behind (south of) the Blocking Wall (Wall 733) which at this stage lay largely beneath the NLa/NLc baulk. The representative of the Ephor of the Greek Archaeological Service felt that these large stones should not be removed without the approval of the Ephor herself. Since Miss Zervoudaki was not at that time free to visit Melos, work in square NLa was curtailed at that point for the season.

The 5 metre square to the west, MLb, was next opened, and a comparable fill of stone found packed within the room designated Room A, lying immediately to the south of MLd Room B. Again we could not remove this material without the authority of the Ephor, in whose continued absence we felt obliged to terminate excavation for the season.

These difficulties were overcome in the following (1977) season, when the plan of the West Shrine, with its two rooms at the west (Rooms A and B) became clear. It was then evident that in a relatively late stage of its use, the shrine was divided in two by the Blocking Wall (Wall 733—Wall 626), with apparently only the northern half (NLc) remaining in use. The southern part (NLa) was blocked with large stones. At this stage, however, it seems appropriate here to describe the trenches approximately in the order in which they were excavated, and to deal subsequently with the findings of the 1977 season.

(a) *Trench NLd space 3*

The division of the trench designated square NLd into smaller areas, defined by the walls uncovered, was discussed earlier. Space 3 was defined at its east by Wall 502 (which lay at the western end of space 4). The baulk with square NLc defined the western side of space 3, and Wall 503 its northern side. The space was triangular in shape, without a southern side.

Following the removal of fallen stone, a plaster layer was recognised at the north of the trench, which was subsequently seen to be the top surface of a platform or altar in the (north-east) corner defined by the intersection of Walls 503 and 502. This platform was designated Wall 505 and was

rectangular in plan, 0.60 m east-west by 0.80 m north-south (PLATE 10, *c*). On it were found a stone mortar (SF 580), the rim of a pithos, a small double vase, Cat. No. 95, four glass beads (SF 581), the base of a female figurine (SF 582) and a much-worn body fragment of a terracotta figure (SF 583). The stone mortar was rectangular in form and may have been used as a stand for offerings. Immediately below the south-west corner of this platform and probably fallen from it were a Psi figurine, SF 579 (PLATE 34, *c*) and several glass beads. Together these finds constitute Assemblage K.

Within the fill in the upper levels associated with the upper part of the platform (strata 22, 24, 27, 28) were a knuckle bone (SF 591), a pedestal vase (Cat. No. 374) and other minor finds.

Plaster was observed both against Walls 503 and 502 indicating that these had been plastered, and fragments also *between* platform 505 and Wall 503. This indicated that the platform was a later addition to the already plastered wall, an impression confirmed by finding a horizontal layer of plaster within the platform on its west face some 66 cm below the top. It became clear that this earlier plaster decorated a low bench, presumably contemporary with the plaster decoration of Wall 503. Some traces of the plaster on this bench could be seen extending to the west of the platform. It may be that this relates to the bench of stones found in NLc immediately to the west of the intervening baulk. At a later stage the platform was built higher and replastered on its sides and top. At the same level as this plaster surface on the bench (although not necessarily so early) were found fragments of a stemmed krater (Cat. No. 130).

Nearby, and lying on the plaster floor of the room, was a tripod pot (Pot 91) and a monochrome deep bowl (Cat. No. 264).

This important feature, the north-east platform or "altar" of the West Shrine, is significant in documenting two phases. The first, with the bench, relates to an early use of the shrine. The second with the platform itself, as discussed again below, may follow the "collapse" of phase 2b.

(b) *Area NLc (1976)*

Trench NLc was laid out in the normal way as a 4 metre by 4 metre square, with 1 metre baulks to the north and east. The upper eleven levels (201 to 211) contained only the indications of late field walls, such as those seen earlier in OLD and later in MLb and d. Their examination, although time-consuming, yielded nothing of significance, and their removal was authorised by the Ephor of Antiquities. Strata 210 and 212 revealed at last a trench entirely free from these features, and stratified prehistoric levels lay below. Stratum 212 was exceedingly hard, recalling the remarks which Mackenzie (1963, 232) had made about the superficial strata at this part of the site.

With stratum 213, stratified levels of significance emerged. It gradually became apparent that the more northerly half of the trench had material *in situ* lying on Floor 1. This area was bounded at the south by a wall, Wall 603, and at the west by Wall 601. South of Wall 603, this floor was not found, but the soil and stones continued much deeper. It emerged that Wall 603 is the north wall of the West Shrine, whose original floor level was 1.57 m below the modern ground surface (Floor 1) in the room to the north of Wall 603. The relationship between the two areas is clearly seen in section 76/4 (FIG. 2.9). It will be convenient here to deal first with the excavations in the northern room.

(i) *NLc North*

This space is bounded to the south by Wall 603 and to the west by Walls 601 and 602, to the east by the east baulk of square NLc and to the north by the north baulk of the trench. The alignment of Wall 500 at the north of NLd, picked up again as Wall 841 in the later north extension of

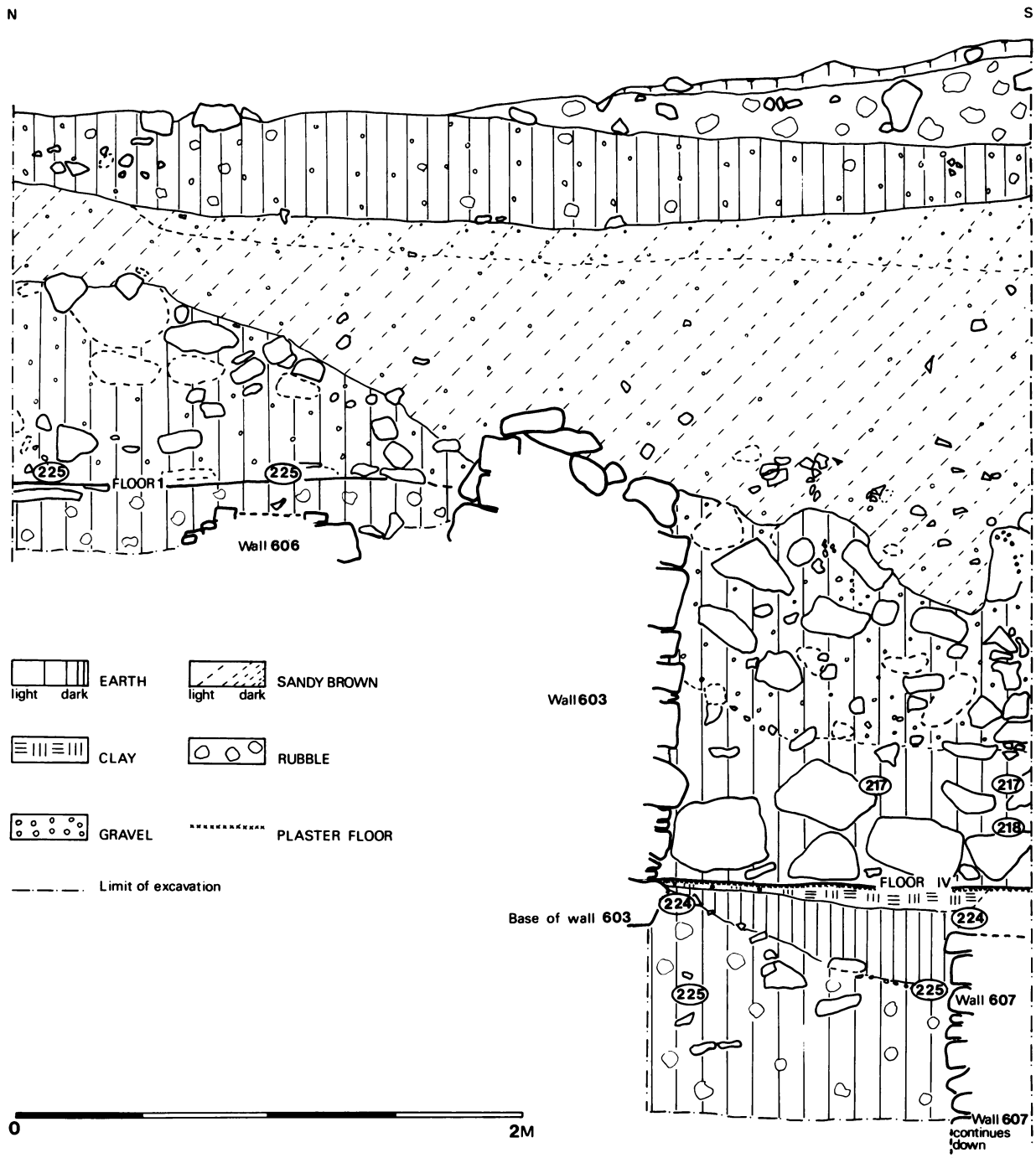


FIG. 2.9 Section 76/4: north-south section in the West Shrine, seen from the west. Scale 1:25

square MLd, suggests that the north wall lay only some few centimetres north of the baulk. No clear demarcation of the east end of the room was found, even when the east baulk of NLc was later partially removed. The much lower level of the area to the east, NLd space 2, has already been indicated. It is possible that the east wall of the room fell into NLd space 2 at about the time of the destruction which buried the finds uncovered on NLc North Floor 1. Alternatively this room may have included NLd space 2, its east end being formed by Wall 504. The whole area was covered by a mass of stones, with very little earth, below which were stones with some hard earth.

The assemblage of finds on Floor 1 is listed in Chapter IV below as Assemblage F. It constitutes an important assemblage of pottery (PLATE 24) together with three stone pounders, a stone grindstone (SF 1508) and a saddle quern (SF 2397). This material in general gave an entirely domestic impression. Very few finds suggested in any way the presence of shrine-associated material. One such was an animal figurine, SF 1586. Another was a figurine leg (SF 1514) which joins with part of a terracotta animal figurine (SF 810) from NLe layer 153. This is a significant linkage, since the leg here clearly derives from the main collapse of the East Shrine, and suggests (although it does not demonstrate) the possible approximate contemporaneity of the breakage of the pottery here on Floor 1 with that collapse. A second was a fragment of a wheel-made animal figure (SF 1078), not recognised in situ but recovered from pb 1321 of layer 213. It joins with many pieces, catalogued as SF 836, from various contexts (see Appendix B) all in the East Shrine area, mainly from the main collapse period in NLe space a/b and the street, NLe space c.

The ascription of these two pieces to the East Shrine implies that there is now little to suggest that this room, and its contents on Floor 1, belong to the shrine complex as such, although their destruction may well be contemporary with the main period of shrine collapse. Floor 1 does, however, seem contemporary with Wall 603, and is thus likely to be contemporary in its inception with the first of the shrine floors to the south of Wall 603 (namely Floor 4). These chronological equations need not however imply a functional equivalence.

Wall 601 was over 80 cm wide, standing some 3–4 courses above the top of the parallel Wall 602, which may possibly have served as a bench. It appears to have only an eastern face, and stands two courses above the floor which runs right up to it. Wall 603 had a well defined north face, less neat at the south. It may have been rebuilt on several occasions, and appears bonded with Wall 602.

Floor 1 itself was a splendidly clear and even floor of fine sand and clay strewn over fine gravel with some burnt patches. During the 1977 season the one metre baulk to the east was excavated (NLc layers 259–262). The finds included a hydria (Cat. No. 539) and a piece of a worked ivory disc (SF 2396). These belong with the other associated finds. The ivory, being exotic material, might serve to suggest that the assemblage is after all related to the shrine.

Floor 1 was subsequently removed and layer 222 beneath it excavated. This at once revealed the top of an underlying wall, Wall 605, running approximately east-west, but not precisely aligned with Wall 603. At its west end it meets at right angles another early wall, Wall 606, which underlies Wall 602. The finds indicate that this level belongs to the Late Bronze I period, and antedates the shrine complex. Walls 605 and 606 are pre-shrine.

(ii) *NLc Proper*

Layer 213 south of Wall 603 consisted of stones with rather softer earth than to the north. It contained a large figurine (SF 1520) which may be regarded as associated with the underlying layer 214. The distinction between these layers is somewhat arbitrary, marked in particular by the ending of the large stones.

At a depth of 3.75 m below datum, thus 1 metre below Floor 1 in the room to the north, a double line of large flat-surfaced yet rounded boulders appeared along the south face of Wall 603 (PLATE 11, *a*). Already there were indications of a platform or altar at the west, seen more clearly later, from which the figurines found may have fallen.

Layer 214 revealed the first group of this important assemblage of finds (Assemblage G). Their positions are seen in FIG. 4.13. They include a conch shell (SF 1522), male figures, and fragments of a terracotta chariot (SF 1563). At the bottom of this layer a compact, sand strewn level was found, designated Floor 2. During the course of excavation it was not always clear that this was indeed a deliberate floor, or just a weathering surface. But it showed clearly in section 76/3 (FIG. 2.10) and is here accepted as a floor. Materials from levels 215 and 216 are also associated with it. It measured 3.74 to 4.01 m below trench datum.

This group of finds was clearly separated stratigraphically from that in the lower levels, and clearly indicates a later phase in the use of the shrine. One interesting feature, discussed below, is that there were joins between these objects and those found lower. This does not introduce any stratigraphic difficulty, for the contexts were entirely clear. It implies rather that some of the material from the earlier phase was re-used, after partial breakage, in the later phase. At this point, it is appropriate to acknowledge the care given to the excavation of this area and to its recording by Dr Jill Carington Smith and her specialist Knossian pickman Mr Nikos Daskalakis. The precision both in the digging and in the documentation of these levels has greatly aided their further subsequent interpretation.

The next layer, 217, represents the removal of Floor 2 in the eastern half of the trench. It was hard-packed, dry, rather sandy earth. During its removal a second, lower series of stones was detected beneath those already seen running along the foot of Wall 603 (PLATE 11, *b*). It soon became clear that these newly appeared stones originally formed a low bench running along the wall, and that they were subsequently added to, with a second course of stones, in the later phase of shrine use. The equivalent of layer 217, in the southwestern part of the trench, was layer 220. It lifted very neatly off a surface, recognisable more by its hard packed texture than by its colour, which was designated Floor 3, lying at a depth of 4.08 m below datum (not seen clearly in section). There were few finds in these levels and only a single, small figurine fragment (SF 1556).

The next layers, 218 (below 217, in the eastern part of the trench) and 221 (below 218 and below 220 in the west) revealed the original floor of the shrine, Floor 4. There were numerous finds of figurines (Assemblage A), some of which actually lay partly below the upper stones of the bench (FIG. 4.7). These were the torso of a male figure (SF 1553), part of another male figure (SF 1550) and the leg of an animal figure (SF 1552). Small finds 1575 to 1579, mainly from a broken chariot group (SF 1558) actually lay entirely beneath those stones. The possibility was considered, but rejected, that the figurines might post-date the upper stones, having perhaps been forced between them by later packing of the soil. It was concluded that the upper stones had indeed been placed on the lower ones, and on the debris of figurines which still lay upon them, during a rebuilding or restoration process.

Floor 4 was 4.19 to 4.27 m below trench datum. It was a very clear and partly plastered surface. The plaster also ran under the lower stones of the bench and onto the lower part of Wall 603 to a height of 30 cm, indicating that the floor and at least part of the walls of the shrine had been plastered (PLATE 10, *a*). The bench was added subsequently to the plastering. As described later, the plastering of the altar or platform arrangement at the west end of NLc was particularly clear. At the east part of the trench the plastering was no longer seen and Floor 4 was revealed as a light brown clay surface. Floor 4 would appear contemporary with Wall 603, and hence possibly with Floor 1 in the (higher) room to the north.

The stones of the lower bench were irregularly placed, but rectanguloid in form, some 16–18 cm deep. Some of them appeared to have a simple squared-off face. Floor 4, although only here some 3 cm thick in section, was seen as a succession of thin earth layers between fine plaster coatings, giving the appearance of layers of fine pastry (PLATE 10, *b*). Clearly this floor had been successively whitewashed.

The significance of the figurine joins is discussed further in Chapter III; the joins are detailed in Appendix B. It is of interest that one fragment of the chariot (SF 1558) from layer 218 was found in NLe space c, south of the East Shrine, and that fragments of the bovine rhyton SF 1561 found here in layer 218 were also found in NLe space c.

With the removal of Floor 4 (in the eastern 2 m only of this space) we were in pre-shrine levels. The top of a wall, Wall 607, running very approximately parallel to Wall 603 but not aligned with it, was soon revealed with rubbly fill on each side. The material was of Late Bronze I date. The stratigraphical relationships are seen in section 76/4 (FIG. 2.9). With the documentation of pre-shrine levels lacking any clear relationship with the shrine structure, work in this area was concluded, to be resumed in the following season.

(*c*) *MLd (Room B) (1976 season)*

The small area MLd, 2.5 m by 2.5 m, was laid out to the west of NLc, as described earlier, when it was clear that Wall 603 continued west beyond the limits of NLc. Once again late walling without associated artefacts was found in superficial levels. It is regarded as contemporary with the late terrace work seen elsewhere on the site.

With layers 507 and 508 came the ubiquitous layer of packed stones, with very little intervening earth. By layer 509 it became clear that this small trench contained the inner faces of three walls of a small room, later designated Room B.

The north wall, Wall 721, is the westward extension of Wall 603, the north wall of the West Shrine. The west wall, Wall 722, was correctly interpreted as the west wall of the West Shrine complex. The east wall, Wall 723 served to separate Room B from the main area of the West Shrine in square NLc to the east (separated from MLd by a one metre baulk). Initially its face was not clear, being set just a little east of the face of the baulk. The south face of MLd at this stage was a baulk.

Layers 509 to 511 were a fill of red-brown earth, resting on Floor 1, a layer of grey clay with a number of stones resting on it. It measured 2.96 m below trench datum. A mortar and two hammerstones (SF 2024, 2025) were found. Layer 512 represents the material on this floor and the removal of the floor itself. Significant pot joins between layer 512 and layers 1035 to 1038 of MLb, discussed below and in the next chapter, suggest that Floor 1 here is contemporary with Floor 6 in MLb and hence Floor 4 in NLc (Cat. No. 208, Cat. No. 206). A later join (Cat. No. 87) between MLd layer 510 and NLc layer 212 does not contradict this.

Layers 515 to 517 (and 519) were dark earth with stones, below Floor 1. Some small red painted plaster fragments (SF 2028–30) were found in layers 515 and 517. With layer 517 Floor 2 was reached, consisting of patchy white clay.

Already in layer 511 the upper stones of a 'bench' of stones (724), some 30 cm wide, at the foot of the east wall (Wall 723) were seen, and this bench was now much clearer. In layer 515 a comparable bench (725), about 50 cm wide, at the foot of the north wall, Wall 721, was seen. Floor 2 ran under bench 724 and perhaps under bench 725.

In the south-east corner a stirrup jar (Cat. No. 25), a possible shallow bowl (Pot 675) and a stone spouted vessel (SF 2034) were found in layer 519, and a stone quern (SF 2035) and saddle quern (SF 2031) further west. Pots Cat. No. 33, Cat. No. 31 and Cat. No. 32 were later reconstructed from sherds from this level.

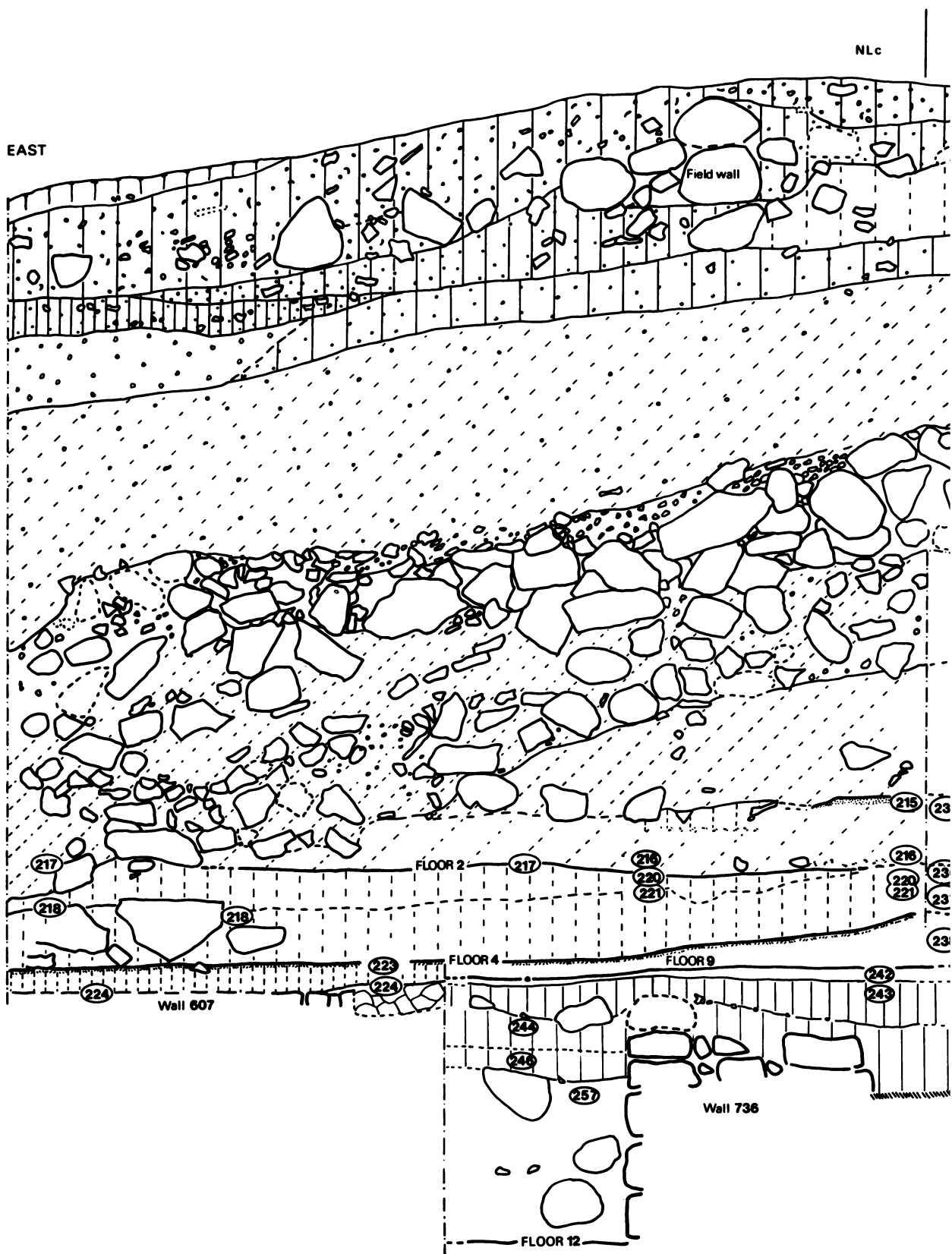
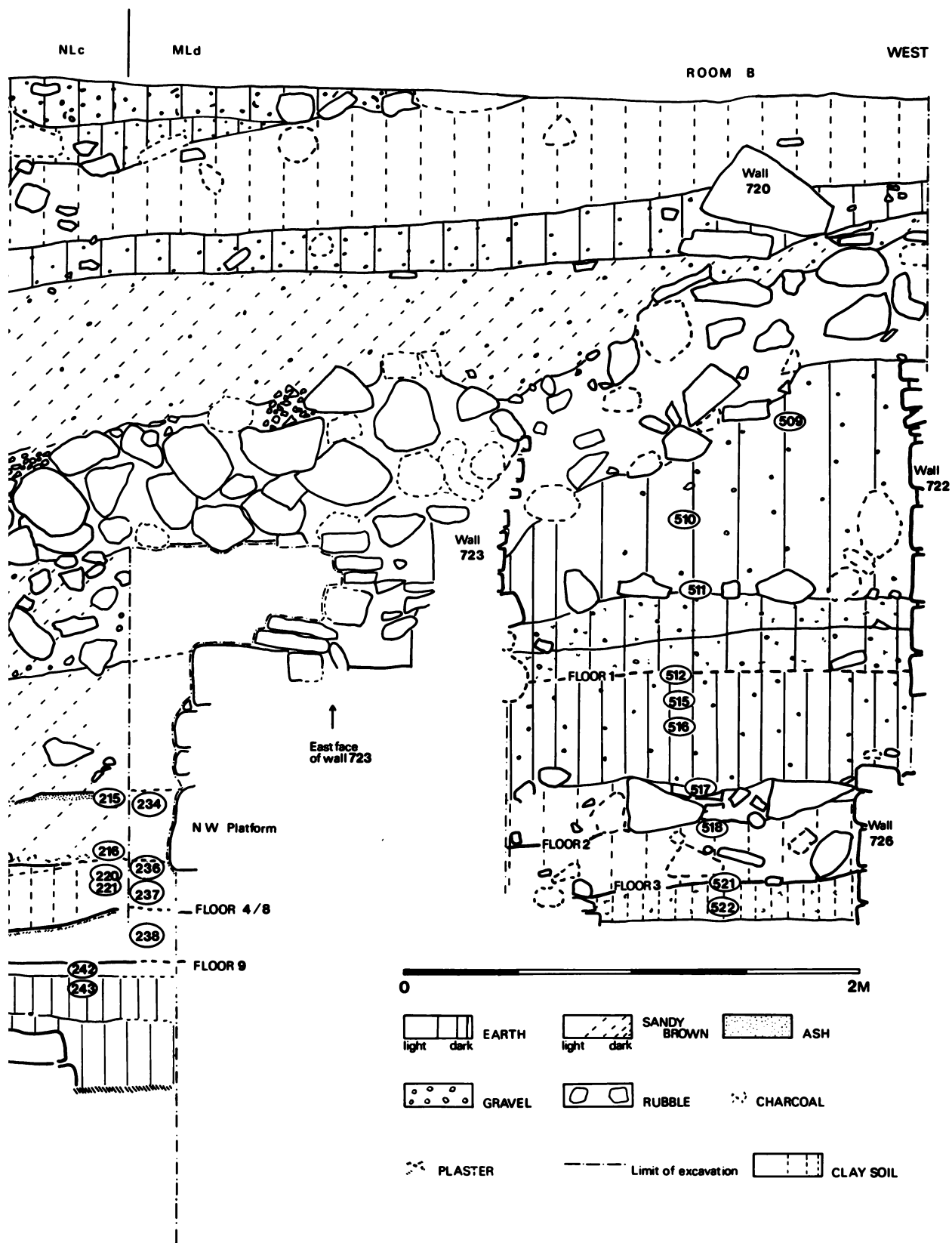


FIG. 2.10 Section 76/3: east-west section in the West Shrine, seen from the north. Scale



n the north. Scale 1:25

It should be noted that the west wall, Wall 722, was in layer 515 seen to be resting squarely on an earlier wall, Wall 726, on the same orientation and with its east face some 20 cm further to the east. This later proved to be of Late Bronze I date, and was re-used by the builders of the shrine.

The removal of Floor 2, with layer 518, revealed a distinct further floor, Floor 3, of hard yellow colour, with small stones and sand and many ash patches. This was the earliest floor of the shrine period in Room B. Resting on it were a splendid lentoid sealstone of rock crystal (SF 2036, PLATE 49) and two fragments of red painted plaster (SF 2038 and 2040). In view of the painted plaster found in this trench in earlier, pre-shrine, levels, it would be possible to regard the few painted plaster fragments here as intrusive from the underlying Late Bronze I levels. On the other hand the find of red plaster fragments stratified within the floor level sequence, layer 1038 of MLb, could support the notion that the early shrine was in part decorated with red plaster or contained objects decorated with red plaster. Two glass beads (SF 2037 and 2039) and a fragment of bronze (SF 2041) were recovered during sieving.

Below Floor 3, the top of an earlier wall, Wall 727, running east-west across the middle of the square was revealed. Material to north and south of this suggested it to be of Late Bronze I date. It intersected Wall 726 to the west, which was clearly also of Late Bronze I date. These walls therefore belonged to a pre-shrine structure, the surviving courses of Wall 726 being later used as a base for Wall 722.

The finds from these pre-shrine levels (520–4) included several decorated fresco fragments (SF 2042, 2044, 2045, 2047 and 2049) and a fragment of a stone vessel (SF 2046). The decorated plaster clearly indicates that they came from rooms of importance. But there is nothing more definite, and no indication of a large room, to hint at a precursor for our West Shrine itself.

One particular and important feature of this room is the aperture or niche in the east wall. This became clear as the east baulk face was cleared back to reveal the west face of Wall 723. As clearly seen in PLATE 15 *b* (see FIG. 4.6), the west face of the wall is not present in the southern half, leaving instead an almost arch-like niche. The aperture is widest at the foot of Wall 723 and was 1.05 m high, being surmounted by the stones of the upper courses of Wall 723 which crown it. These topmost stones are clearly seen in section 76/3 (FIG. 2.10). Unfortunately it did not prove practicable to investigate the southern part of this 'arch'. We did not wish to remove the soil from the feature, for the upper courses of Wall 723 would then be liable to collapse. The understandable reluctance of the Ephor to authorise the removal of stones from the top of the Blocking Wall 733 where it intersected with Wall 723 was a further constraint. The east side of this feature is seen in PLATE 12 *a*. The disposition there is discussed below with the 1977 excavations in NLc. At the east (in NLc) there *was* clearly a niche at this point (see FIG. 4.4). It was at most 1 metre high (as estimated in MLd), and considerably less as seen from the east. The aperture, if it existed, may have been reduced in height by the subsequent alterations in NLc. In this connection it is pertinent to mention the evidence for the niche or aperture in square NLa/MLb to the south.

It should be noted that the niche was blocked from the MLd side during the 1977 season. The blocking of dry stone work, admirably constructed by our excavation foreman Mr Andonis Zidionakis was undertaken to prevent subsequent collapse of the feature. For clarification of future visitors to the site it is seen newly blocked in PLATES 8 and 15 *a*, which should be compared with PLATE 15 *b*.

The other interesting constructional feature in square MLd is the depth to which the different walls extend. Wall 721 went down well below the level of Floor 3. Wall 722 was of course founded on the Late Bronze I wall 726. Wall 723, the east wall, terminated at about the same level as floor 2, with which it may have been associated. Floor 3 thus seems to have underlain Wall 723. If this

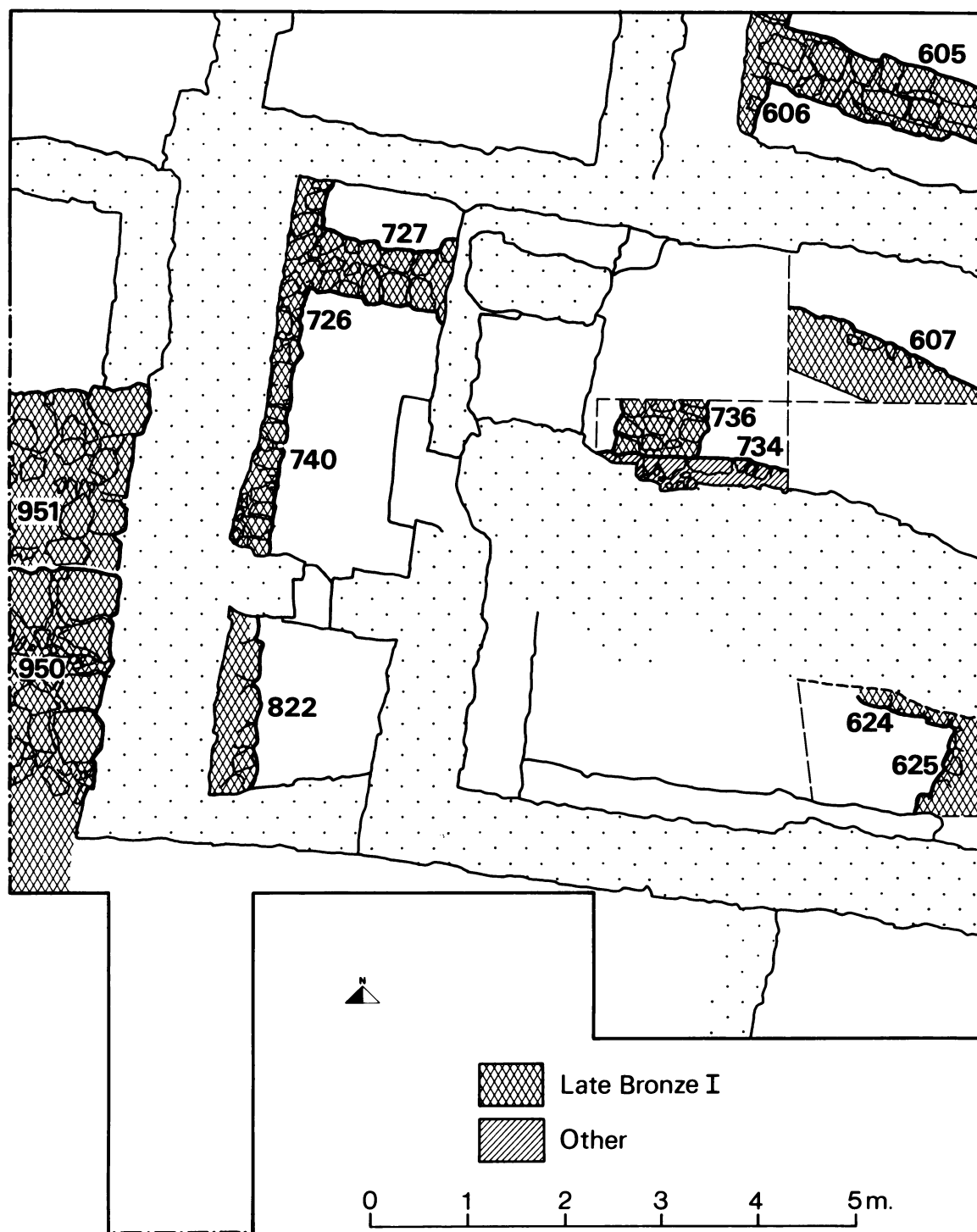
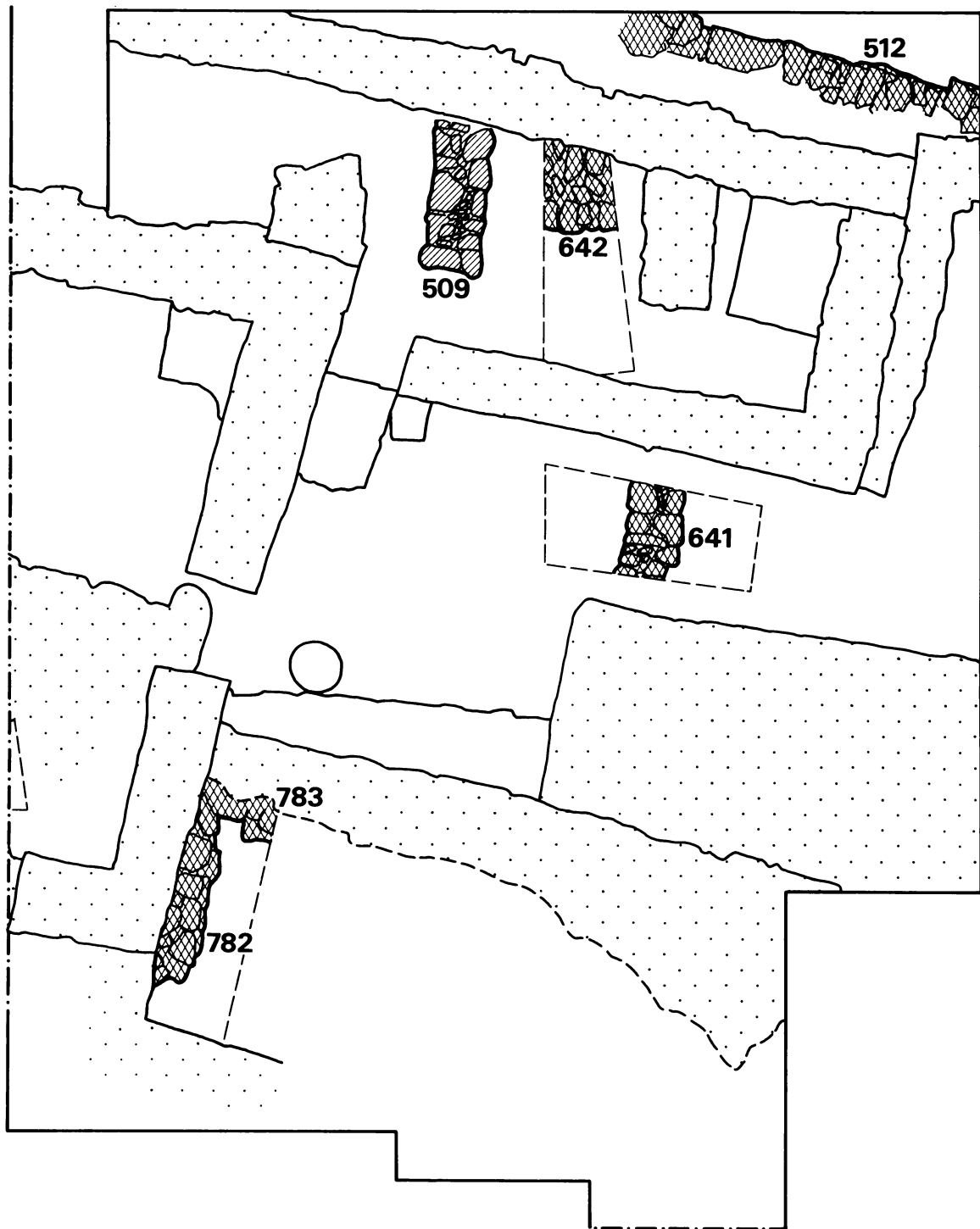


FIG. 2.11 Walls exposed in pre-shrine levels



was so, the West Shrine, including the areas later enclosed within Rooms A and B, might originally have been a single space. Certainly Wall 723 abuts on to the north wall (721/603) without bonding and is clearly later—although whether this represents merely different episodes in a single phase of construction or a more considerable lapse of time cannot be determined by the masonry alone.

Room B thus raises a number of problems at the west end of the shrine, which are only partly resolved by the excavations of its southern part in 1977 and of Room A.

(d) Area NLa (1976 season)

Square NLa was laid out as a 4 by 4 metre square following the site grid. Unfortunately this was the area where the spoil dump from the 1896–9 excavations had been located, so that this material had first to be removed, at the expense of considerable exertion. Beneath this material a superficial wall (designated Wall 621) was encountered, similar in character to those in other areas and without associated artefacts. It was merely two courses deep, and founded on rubble. It was duly removed. A cup (Cat. No. 574) was found in the still relatively superficial levels (NLa layer 307) underlying this feature.

Beneath was a tumble of stones, with loose earth between, many lying slant-wise, and clearly not in an original position. In the north part of the square in layer 313 an irregular line of stones was discerned, lying east-west. This was the first indication of what later was recognised as the 'Blocking Wall', Wall 626.

In the absence of any clearly defined walls at this stage in NLa it was decided to remove the upper levels of the east baulk (with NLb) in order to expose more of Wall 662. This wall was already recognised as the counterpart to the south of Wall 502, the west wall of the East Shrine, and indeed was soon confirmed as jointly forming (with Wall 502) the east side of the West Shrine. In this way the south end of Wall 662 was revealed, and then the east-west wall, Wall 622, intersecting it and forming with it the south-east corner of the East Shrine.

A 2 by 2 metre square at the south-east of NLa was now dug (preserving the remaining levels of the east baulk of NLa). At a depth of 3.51 m below trench datum Pot 459, a small plain jar, was found and nearby fragments of a terracotta drain channel, SF 2193. Another drain channel (SF 2252) was found in layer 316.

In the south-east corner decayed white plaster was seen, and two upright stones in line which might together form a feature, perhaps defining a corner area. Layer 320, at a depth of 4.15 m below trench datum, was identified as floor deposit for Floor 1. With it were associated a dipper (Cat. No. 158), a tripod cauldron cooking pot (Cat. No. 376) and fragments of a coarse jug or pithos (P. 669).

Wall 622 was now clearly revealed as the south wall of the shrine. At 0.80 m from its inner corner (at the east) with Wall 662 was the eastern jamb of a doorway 0.70 m wide blocked with drystone walling of the same character as Wall 622 itself. Investigation of the outside of this door revealed only the easternmost jamb in the stonework on the south side of the door, the western jamb was not visible, suggesting some rebuilding of the wall at this point when the doorway was blocked (PLATE 17 *a*). Along the foot of Wall 622 was a low socle or bench (designated "Wall" 623) which may be regarded as analogous to the bench at the foot of Wall 603 at the north side of the shrine.

The west end of this room was not revealed during the 1976 season, Wall 622 running into the west baulk of the square. Plaster fragments in the south-west corner of NLa did however suggest the possibility that a platform or altar might be found there, which proved subsequently to be the case. During the 1977 excavation season cleaning in the south-east corner made clearer the two

upright stones. The more northerly is an upright slab *ca.* 30 cm long and *ca.* 25 cm high aligned east-west close to Wall 662, about 1 m north of the corner. The second, *ca.* 35 cm long and 30 cm high, is against Wall 662 and 20 cm north of the corner. Traces of a plaster floor (part of Floor 1) were found between them (PLATE 17 *b*). Were it not for their location in the south-east corner of the shrine, where (by analogy with the other corners) an altar might have been anticipated, these modest stones would have excited little attention. Their dissimilarity with the platforms in other corners makes it unlikely that they were in fact of any special significance.

Had it not been for the problems presented by the extensive fill of large stones, stones still occupying the northern part of NLa, the next stage in the excavation would have been to clear down to Floor 1 throughout the square and establish the relationship of that floor with those in NLc to the north. Since we were not at this stage authorised to clear the rubble fill, it seemed appropriate to go below Floor 1, in the southern part of NLa, again leaving the east baulk undug.

Layer 321 represents the removal of Floor 1, and of the deposit below, some 5 cm thick, revealing the plaster floor beneath, Floor 2. A silver ring (SF 1613), and pieces of terracotta drain channel (SF 2192) were found. This proved to be the first of a series of closely interrelated layers of plaster and soil, designated Floors 2, 3, 4 and 5. They may well be the equivalent of Floor 4 in NLc, and here too the possibility was considered that they simply represent the periodic whitewashing of the floor of the shrine. The lowest of these floors, Floor 5, ran up against the bench (Wall 623) which was later found to end three courses (*ca.* 10 cm) below Floor 5. Later clearing in the threshold of the blocked doorway indicated the Floor 2 ran up against the blocking, which was therefore effected earlier, the shrine continuing in use after it. Excavation at this point did not go below layer 322, but it is likely that the door was open during the earliest use of the shrine here, indicated by Floor 5.

Excavation was continued in a sounding in the eastern 2 metres of the trench. The tops of Walls 624 and 625 were revealed forming a corner in the north-east part of the sounding, Wall 624 running west and Wall 625 south from the corner (see FIG. 2.11). These proved to be of Late Bronze I date. At a depth of 92 cm below the present top of these walls, and 1.43 m below Floor 5, a hard earth level was encountered which may be a floor surface associated with these walls (Floor 6). At this point excavation in NLa was concluded for the season.

5. The West Shrine: 1977 Season

At the end of the 1976 season the north and west baulks of square NLa were in place. The fill of large stones in the northern part of NLa was an impediment to further work. Superficial work began in MLb, to the west of NLa, at the end of the 1976 season, but progress was impeded by a superficial wall structure like those elsewhere on the site. With the initiation of the 1977 season, progress was greatly facilitated by the visit to the site of the Ephor of Antiquities for the Cyclades Mrs Ph. Zappeiropoulou. Sufficient stones of the rubble fill could now be removed to reveal its true character as a pack or fill of stones behind (south of) the 'Blocking Wall', Wall 626/733, a wall with but a single (north) face.

Work proceeded in NLc with the excavation of the NLa/NLc baulk (to reveal this north face of the Blocking Wall). At the west of NLc, the NLc/MLd baulk could now be investigated to clarify the platform structure at the west end of NLc. And the MLd/NLa baulk was excavated, yielding the west end of the room located mainly in NLa (namely the southern part of the West Shrine). Square MLb was also now excavated, defining the small room, Room A, the counterpart to the south of Room B in MLd. It proved to contain some interesting and important material.

(a) NLa West (MLb East)

During the 1976 excavation season, as discussed in the description of MLb below, the upper levels of square MLb were investigated. At the outset of the 1977 season the upper baulk between MLb and NLa was removed. Since this baulk belongs within the MLb grid square, it was dug within the MLb system of nomenclature. Very soon (in MLb layer 12) the top of the western wall of the main area of the West Shrine, here designated Wall 728, came into view. This wall is also the eastern wall of MLb Room A, with which in this section we are not further concerned. The description here relates to the levels to the east of this wall. Reference should be made both to the level diagram for MLb East (FIG. 11.2), since the strata in question were designated according to the MLb nomenclature, and to that for NLa, since these two areas (NLa and MLb East) form a single uninterrupted space.

The fill of large stones in this area included the upper part of a stone stand or column lamp (SF 2004) of conglomerate tuff whose base was found to be resting on the platform at the south-west corner of the room. Its base (it was in two pieces) is seen in situ in PLATE 14 *b*, together with the other objects in what was an extremely important group. Their find position, in the corner, on top of the platform (immediately above the column to the left) is seen in FIG. 4.8. They are listed in Chapter IV (Assemblage B) and included two female figurines (SF 2007 and SF 2015), two double 'kernos' vessels (Cat. Nos. 93 and 94), various beads and other finds. A further pot, a stirrup jar (Cat. No. 114) was found further to the east (layer 26). The position of the large stone fill clearly suggested that this pot and the other material had been partially buried by it, as the photographs also indicate. This is an important conclusion, implying that this area (MLb East and NLa) went out of use at the time of the construction of the Blocking Wall.

East of this surface, removal of layer 19 yielded a hard earth surface, designated Floor 2, and below further similar surfaces, Floors 3 and 4. Removal of layer 22 now revealed a very distinct surface, Floor 5. These levels were without important finds.

Beneath Floor 5 a richer level was found (layers 23 and 30) on a further clean plaster floor, Floor 6. In it were several beads and metal fragments. This was the lowest floor in this area, and may reasonably be equated with Floor 5 of NLa. Indeed it is possible that Floors 1 to 5 of NLa equate with Floors 2 to 6 of MLb, which together form a thickness of 70 cm.

Beneath Floor 6, in layer 24 which was a softer rubbly layer beneath the hard pack of Floor 6, an important series of beads were found. Stratigraphically they lie below the earliest floor recorded in this area. But they clearly belong to the use of the shrine, and may have fallen amongst the stoney make-up of the shrine floor before it was finally trodden down and plastered.

Following the completion of the excavation of these levels it was concluded that the latest properly laid floor was Floor 5, with Floor 6 beneath it. These layers abut the bench, Wall 623, while Floors 2 to 4 are above it.

Clearing of the platform area revealed its construction more clearly. It is now seen not so much as an altar than as a shelf, running from the south-west corner north, perhaps as far as the doorway leading west into Room B, although the northern part of the shelf is now obscured by the Blocking Wall 626/733. At the southern end is a stone column, with a thickening at the capital, some 20 cm in diameter and 80 cm high: its base was some 16 cm below Floor 6. It is clearly seen in PLATE 14 *c*. It appeared circular in section (although only half its circumference was visible). The stone is the rough white conglomerate tuff, common on Melos and used also for the baetyl in NLa.

Adjoining this column was a rectangular platform of flat stones some 70 cm square. It seems that to the north there was originally a bench some 30–40 cm, high, which may have subsequently been made up to the full height of the platform (80 cm above Floor 6), and was then plastered, with at least five subsequent replasterings.

One other important feature was noticed in the west wall, Wall 728. There are clear indications in the stonework that an aperture some 80 cm wide, immediately above the platform already discussed, has been blocked up (see PLATE 14 and FIG. 4.4). This blockage may have been in its entirety earlier than the final use of the platform, indicated by the finds on it, which in turn precedes the Blocking Wall and the ensuing fill. Alternatively, the lower three courses of stones in the niche may represent deliberate blocking during the use of the platform, while the less regularly placed stones (and earth) above could result from the collapse of the niche at the time of the collapse which preceded the abandonment of this area. This aperture or niche has clearly to be compared with that in Wall 723 between NLc and MLd. The finding of a matching aperture in the west side of Wall 728, in Room A of MLb, is directly relevant, and the question is discussed further in section (c) below.

The platform and shelf at the west thus comprises several units:

- (i) A platform at the south-west corner measuring *ca.* 1.0 north-south, and 0.80 m east-west. Its north end is approximately below the north end of the niche above. The platform extends some 64 cm above the early floor, Floor 6 (and Floor 10).
- (ii) Within this platform, near the south end of its east face, and an integral part of its structure, is a column of conglomerate tuff.
- (iii) A narrow platform or shelf extends north from platform (i). It runs at the same height and is *ca.* 50 cm wide. The northern end of this feature is not visible, being obscured by the Blocking Wall 626/733, but it may have run north as far as the doorway in Wall 728.
- (iv) A bench to the front of this shelf, some 20 cm lower, its front flush with the front of platform (i). It consists in plan of a single line of stones, some 30 cm wide.

Features (iii) and (iv) may represent a single constructional episode. Subsequent to the completion of (iv), the whole platform, with shelf and bench, was plastered and re-plastered on at least four later occasions.

(b) *NLc South*

The removal of the baulk at the south of NLc (between NLc and NLa) was of great significance, in revealing the north face (indeed the only face) of the Blocking Wall, Wall 626/733 (PLATES 17 *f*, and 18 *a*). Technically, in terms of the site grid, this baulk is the northern part of square NLa, but it was more convenient to adopt for it the NLc nomenclature and numeration, since it was approached from that side, and the layers excavated could readily be correlated with those in NLc proper. Although the areas excavated were small, the stratigraphic observations were of great importance for the interpretation of the relative chronology of the various areas. Inevitably the nomenclature is complicated, since layers and floors in this area were separately numbered and only then equated with those previously excavated in NLc proper. This procedure is at times cumbersome, but it separates stratigraphic observation from subsequent inference in a manner essential with a stratigraphy of this complexity.

The first and interesting result was the recognition of surfaces with finds resting on them (such surfaces being routinely termed "floors", whether or not these were indications of deliberate make-up, such as plaster) which were undoubtedly later than the assemblage of finds associated with Floor 2 of NLc.

The upper stone layer of the baulk was first removed, and with layers 231 and 232 (with 247) an earth surface, Floor 5, was reached, defined by several flat stones lying on it. With these were a coarse jug (Pot 889) and a column or lamp stand of conglomerate tuff 43.7 cm high (SF 2309). It strongly resembles the column (SF 2004) found on the west platform of NLa. The column, whose lower part extended below Floor 5, is seen from the north-east in PLATE 17, *f*. It was found

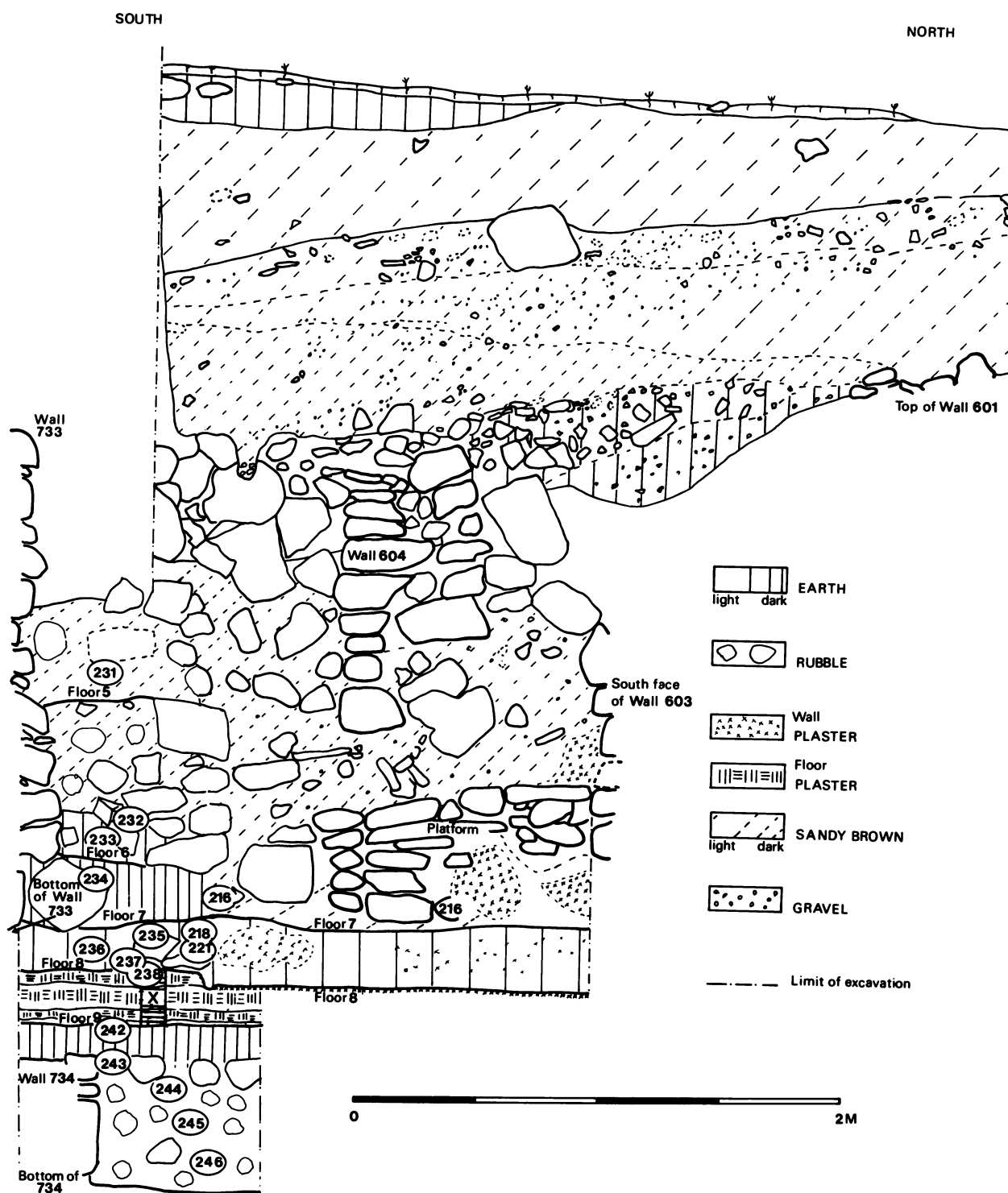


FIG. 2.12 Section 77/1 and 76/8: north-south section at the west of the West Shrine (NLc west end) seen from the east. Scale 1:25

upright, held in position by the stones of the stone fill which everywhere covers the latest shrine levels. Beneath this floor the removal of layer 233 revealed a further surface, distinguished by fine clay, designated during excavation Floor 6, on which were a saddle quern fragment (SF 2311) and a stone pounder (SF 2312).

Beneath this layer, layer 234 containing a number of finds, lay the earth Floor 7. Section 77/2 (the east section of NLc South) when compared with Section 75/3, the south section of NLc proper (FIGS. 2.13 and 2.7) confirms that this was the equivalent of Floor 2 of NLc.

Excavation of layers 263 and 237 (and 251 and 252) revealed the clear plaster floor, Floor 8, which may be equated with the upper surface of Floor 4 in NLc proper. The finds here included beads, a tortoise-shell fragment and the lower part of a male figure (SF 2340), joining with fragments found in layer 218/221 to the north during 1976.

This floor, and the layers resting upon it, were seen clearly to run beneath Wall 626/733, indicating that this floor and the deposit of broken figurines and other materials upon it definitely antedate the construction of the Blocking Wall. On the other hand, Floor 7 was seen to abut Wall 626/733. This floor and its associated material post-dates the construction of the Blocking Wall. Naturally the finds of Floor 5 are later still. These relationships are clearly seen in Section 77/2 (FIG. 2.13).

Layer 238 represents the removal of Floor 8, a thick layer composed of thin levels of plaster, as described earlier. Thirty-four separate thin layers of plaster were counted in this floor make-up, whose lowest level, of small white pebbles, is designated Floor 9. Together they represent a single long period of use and replastering of the floor, and are the equivalent of Floor 4 in NLc. It is safe to infer that the equivalent in square MLb East is Floor 6, and in NLa, Floor 5. A sketch section of this Floor 8 in NLc South is seen in FIG. 2.15. The clearance of the baulk from the north face of the Blocking Wall along its length (PLATE 17 *c*) revealed more clearly both its careful construction of rounded stones (deriving ultimately from the beach beside the site, and more immediately (it may be supposed) from the partial collapse of the fortification wall, Wall 100, and its curving nature. One striking feature, clearly seen in PLATE 17 *c*, is that there appear to be two structural phases, with Wall 626 (the eastern length) preceding Wall 733 to the west. There may, then, have been a gap or passage at the north end of Wall 626 for a brief period. Fortunately, we have sections (FIGS. 2.12 and 2.13) both against the eastern stretch, Wall 626 (Section 77/2) and the western, Wall 733 (Section 77/1). It is clear that Floor 8 runs beneath both, with the material overlying it, while Floor 7 abuts both. Within the shrine sequence, therefore, both were constructed at nearly the same time.

The opportunity was taken at this point to investigate and clean the west face of NLc, trimming back the baulk to reveal the plaster face of the platform at the west end of the trench. This area was a difficult one to investigate, both Wall 723 (the east wall of MLd) and the platform against it to the east lying originally within the MLd/NLc baulk. Moreover the Blocking Wall 626/733 to the south, and the late rubble of stones which encumbered it, obscured the southern part of Wall 723. In addition, a curious stump of wall, Wall 604, projected east from Wall 723, lying over the top of the platform. This had seemed altogether enigmatic in 1976 (see PLATE 11 *c*).

Some cautious excavation in the space south of this wall, which was thus in the proximity of the NLc/MLd niche, yielded some clarification (layers NLc 239 to 241—although technically, in terms of the grid, this space lies at the eastern extremity of MLd). This established a fill of stones, which could equally be interpreted as the make-up of the platform at this point. On it were a complete pottery tray (Cat. No. 315), and an animal figurine (SF 2348) (Assemblage J). The tray can be seen clearly from above in PLATE 12 *b*, and appears in its context in PLATE 12 *a*.

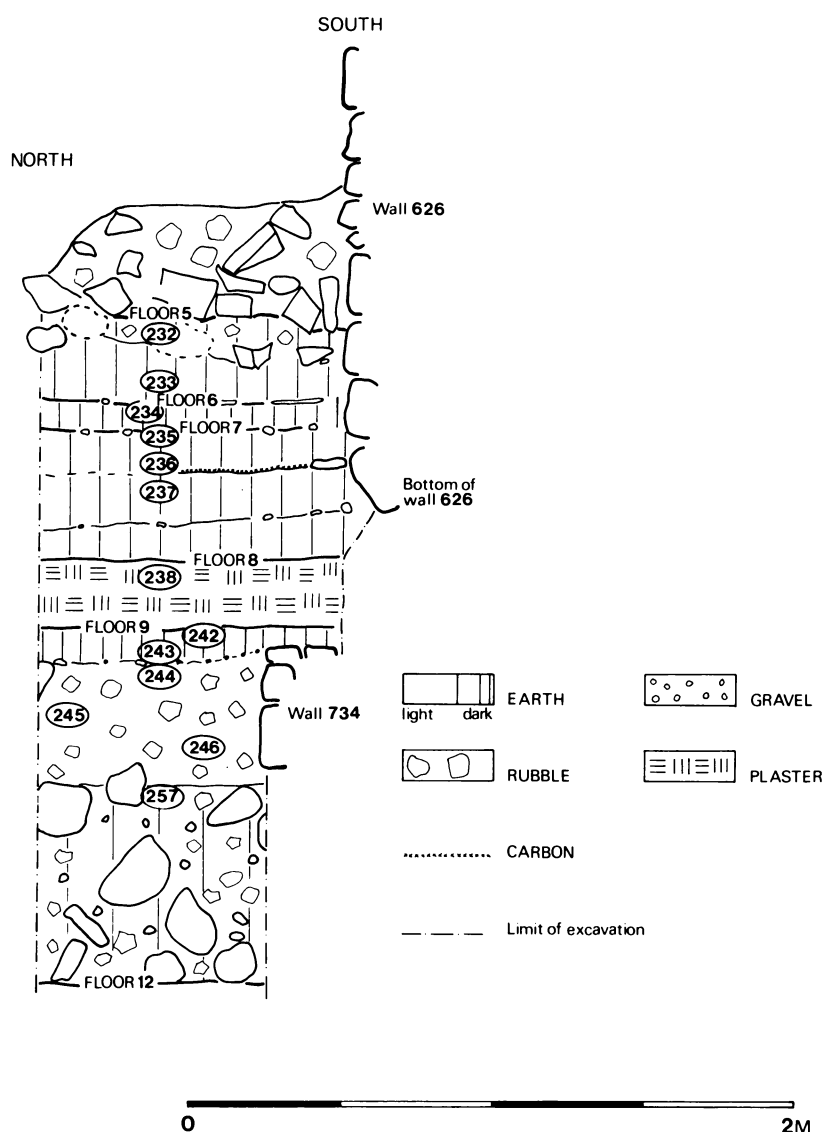


FIG. 2.13 Section 77/2: north-south section in the West Shrine (NLc SW east end) seen from the west. Scale 1:25

At the time of excavation this layer was considered to equate stratigraphically with Floor 5 in NLc South. But the tray was at a depth of 3 m below trench datum and Floor 5 at 3.50 m below, so that the platform at the west was, even at this stage, at a slightly higher level. There is no reason, however, to doubt the chronological equation: these objects from the platform and from NLc Floor 5, are stratigraphically the latest finds from the area, and the contexts may be regarded as contemporary.

It is now possible to interpret Wall 604 as a very late construction (PLATE 11 c), with which these levels and finds may reasonably be associated. It, like them, would be distinctly later than

the material of NLc Floor 2 and NLc South Floor 7, which is itself contemporary with the Blocking Wall 626/733.

This clarification makes more simple the elucidation of the west end of NLc, seen in elevation on FIG. 4.4 and in PLATES 9 and 12 *a*.

There are several components here:

- (i) A platform of horizontally set stones whose southern edge may be seen immediately below the south face of wall 604:
- (ii) At the north end of this, in the north-west corner, an additional small podium surmounted by a horizontal slab at the same height as the platform. The sides of this small podium are heavily plastered, the plaster forming a continuation of the surface of the plaster Floor 4 of NLc. The north-west corner immediately *above* this slab is also plastered:
- (iii) To the south of the platform (i) are indications of a bench, whose lower corners are, like those of platform (i) likewise plastered:
- (iv) South of this bench the stonework continues, to intersect with Wall 733 (and may be contemporary with it). But NLc Floor 4 (=NLc South Floor 8) underlies this stonework, which is not at this point plastered. This stonework, has its upper surface some 40 to 50 cm higher than the top of the platform and small plastered corner podium. On this surface lay the tray and animal figurine of the final phase. Behind these lay what appears to be an open space linking with square MLd. This small niche would have been only 35 cm high in this late period.

The configuration prior to the construction of Wall 733 is less clear. It is perfectly possible that behind this late stonework lies another, narrower bench, against which NLc Floor 4 might abut with a connecting aperture (niche) above the bench. Alternatively this might originally have formed a doorway—apparently roofed—into square MLd, which was subsequently blocked by the bench to form a niche. This second possibility would imply that there were two doors into Room B. There are indications in Room B that the main (southern) doorway was some 70 cm wide. The construction of Wall 733 effectively masks the east face of Wall 723 at this point, and further north the east face of Wall 723 is obscured by Wall 604. The best indications on these points were therefore to be gained from Rooms A and B.

One further indication that this was not originally just a doorway is given by the inclination of the plaster floor, NLc South Floor 8, which clearly slopes *upwards* in the south-west corner, rather in the same manner as in the north-west. This does suggest that Wall 733 and the late stonework in the niche area obscure an earlier bench, narrower than the platform in the north-west corner, and hence not now visible.

Work continued in NLc South below Floor 9, the earliest floor of the shrine. In the rather rubbly underlying layer 243 (and in 244 below) a steatite dress weight (SF 2354) and several beads were found. This parallels the position in MLb East where very small objects were found amongst the small stone rubble underlying the lowest floor. These finds presumably relate to an early phase of use, before the floor of the shrine was well plastered.

Layer 244, however, revealed the top of a wall, Wall 734, running approximately in alignment with Wall 733 but with its western face 30 cm further west. This was at first assumed to be a wall of Late Bronze I date, like the others hitherto found beneath the shrine. However, to our surprise, its lowest course was found 50 cm deeper (see Section 77/1, FIG. 2.12) and was found to be resting on an earlier wall, Wall 736, running transverse to it (see FIG. 2.5). Some 70 cm deeper a floor (Floor 12) was found in association with Wall 736 (to its east). It seems—although this was not directly demonstrated—that Wall 736 intersects with Wall 607, found in 1976, beneath the shrine levels of NLc. Walls 607 and 736 with the associated floor form part of the

complex of Late Bronze I structures documented elsewhere, and there is no reason to think them significant in their function in relation to the subsequent shrine.

It is puzzling, therefore, to find Wall 734 intermediate in date between these Late Bronze I walls and the earliest floor of the shrine, Floor 8 of NLc South (= Floor 4 of NLc). The associated layers 245 and 246 contained a purple stone bead (SF 2362), a shallow bowl and some red painted wall plaster (SF 2365). This is scarcely enough to suggest any ritual practices in the area, prior to the construction of the shrine proper. The bead may have fallen down among the stones from the levels above, and the shallow bowl and plaster been of residual Late Bronze I material.

With this sounding work in area NLc concluded.

(c) *MLb Room A*

Towards the end of the 1976 excavation season the five metre square MLb was laid out. The hard packed tumble of stones soon made clear that very substantial walling, part of the defensive wall complex (believed to be of Late Bronze I date) lay immediately to the west. Against this, at the west of MLb and running north-south, the top of a wall was recognised, Wall 712, which was evidently the west wall of the entire shrine complex, the extension south of Wall 722. It intersected at the south-west corner of MLb with Wall 713, running east-west. This is the south wall of the complex, whose continuation to the east (into NLa) is Wall 732/622. With the removal in 1977 of the one metre baulk at the east of square MLb (the easternmost of the five metres), the top of Wall 728 was discerned, separating MLb Room A from MLb East and NLa.

A superficial and late wall, designated Wall 711 (with 710) running east-west across MLb was removed. Below it Wall 821 running east-west, and separating Room A (to its south) from Room B (to its north) emerged.

At this stage the north baulk of MLb, separating it from MLd, was left in place. It was thus located within Room B. At this point the finds within Room A will be described, leaving the excavation to the north of Wall 821 to be considered in the next section.

Initially the packed rubble of stones was removed, and the top of Wall 821 clearly revealed. The fill south of Wall 821 was light brown and loose, with a few charcoal specks, and with few finds, other than the ubiquitous small fragments of potsherd, bone and obsidian. Important finds were made in layer 961. In the south-west corner, still standing upright, was the pedestal-like body of a wheel-made terracotta figure, the head at this stage lacking (SF 2660). Standing beside her, against the south wall, was a very fragile solid figurine of rougher fabric (SF 2658). They are clearly seen in the south-west corner of the room in PLATE 16 *a*. The head of the wheel-made figure was found in the next arbitrary layer (layer 963) immediately to the south of the previous findspot. The other finds in this area are listed in Chapter IV as Assemblage C, and indicated on FIG. 4.9. They include a pedestal vase (Cat. No. 373) and a further (headless) figure SF 2661.

The level immediately below, layer 965, yielded a bovine figure, and its head found separately (SF 2670), and below this the floor surface, designated Floor 2, appeared. This was a smooth compressed surface of grey loam, with a number of charcoal fragments. The finds lay directly on this surface, other than those in the south-west corner, already described (PLATE 16 *b*). These gave the impression of having perhaps stood on a wooden shelf; in any case they remained in an upright position. This would explain their sitting at a slightly higher level. The various finds from this layer are listed in Chapter IV, and shown with those of the layer above on the plan, FIG. 4.9.

Clearing of Floor 2 (= layer 971) revealed a series of flat stones of green micaceous schist and black angular basalt. They gave the appearance of a deliberately paved surface. There was a patch of burning on this surface in the middle of the room. Two stones ran into the doorway in

Wall 821, suggesting that this flooring continues through towards Room B. In the south-east corner on Floor 2 a fine head of a figure (SF 2672) and the four legs of the bovid figure (SF 2670) were recovered. In the north-west corner, a pithos base, SF 2675, may have served as a small stand.

Clearance of Floor 2 against the east wall, Wall 728, revealed in it an aperture or niche, opening to the east, some 35 cm wide: originally it may have been as much as 65 cm wide, but not all the fallen stones could safely be removed from it (PLATE 17 *d* and FIG. 4.6). It could be followed some 60 to 70 cm into the depth of the wall. Within it was the remarkable assemblage of objects seen on FIG. 4.10. These comprised four wheel-made terracotta bovids (SF 2685, 2689, 2687 and 2690), and a head from a female ceramic figure (SF 2691). These objects were placed in the niche, some already broken, although the joins indicated may be the result of subsequent breakage within.

This group of finds is clearly contemporary with those found in levels 963, 965 and 970. Their position on Floor 2, which runs up to Wall 821, is significant, since Floor 2 should be the contemporary of Floor 6 in MLb Room B. As discussed below, this is the equivalent of Floor 4 in NLc and Floor 8 in NLc South, and hence of Floor 6 in MLb East and Floor 5 in NLa.

The contemporaneity of the Room A finds with those of the major collapse phase in the main room of the West Shrine, and indeed the collapse in the East Shrine, is indicated by the join between the wheel-made terracotta bovine fragments (SF 2690) from the niche (layer 976) and in layer 962 in Room B, to the north of Wall 821. These points are further reviewed below and in the next chapter. They are, however, directly relevant to the understanding of the use and abandonment of Room A.

In Room A, Floor 2 is contemporary with the early floor in the main room of the West Shrine, and specifically with the main plaster Floor 6 on the other (east) side of Wall 728 in MLb East/NLa. The deposit on Floor 2 in MLb may be equated with the collapse deposit in the West Shrine, including the objects found on the platform of MLb East. By this time the niche had already been deliberately blocked, at least in part. The niche in Room A itself evidently corresponds with the blocked aperture in the west wall, Wall 728, of MLb East. For a while it was open, linking Room A and the main area of the West Shrine, before being carefully blocked, although as discussed above, the blockage may only have filled the lower part of the niche. In such a case, the partial blocking may have accompanied or followed the raising of the floor level within Room A. The materials found in the niche and in Room A are presumably contemporary with those on the bench of NLa/MLb East. It is notable, however, that some of the finds in the niche, were broken before being put there. Whether they were hidden in the niche after breakage during the major collapse phase, or broken somewhat earlier and simply stored in the niche in a routine way, cannot now be determined. The inside of the niche, only partially cleared (for reasons of safety) is seen in PLATE 17 *d*.

Below Floor 2, represented by layer 971, layer 972 contained a number of small objects. At this level a line of stones running north-south and some 40 cm east of the west wall, Wall 712, appeared in Room A. They appeared to have the character of a low bench, designated Wall 822, rather like that seen at the foot of Wall 603 in NLc. It runs up to, and underneath, Wall 821, reappearing in Room B as Wall 740. Beneath layer 972, a further line of stones was found parallel to Wall 712, its east face some 30 cm east of the bench 822. This new wall was designated Wall 823. Against it, layer 974 was removed, revealing a lower floor, Floor 3, with a bead (SF 2695) and a fragment of red painted plaster (SF 2259). Floor 3 lay 0.43 m below Floor 2.

Some Late Bronze I sherd material was found on Floor 3. The circumstances of excavation did not allow its relationship to Wall 728, to the east, to be established. There are two alternatives

here. Wall 823 and Floor 3 may represent a structure earlier than the shrine, of Late Bronze I date, and probably unrelated in function to the later structure. Or they could conceivably indicate a phase of construction of the shrine, presumably later than Late Bronze I, yet earlier than Floor 2, and the floors in other areas which are contemporary with it.

The construction of the walls of the shrine complex in its south-west corner is of interest. Wall 732, the south wall of the main area of the West Shrine and Wall 728, the west wall of the area, make a smooth well-built corner. Wall 713, the south wall of Room A, is evidently of later construction than this corner, and does not in fact align properly with Wall 732. The various alterations which took place in this area were clearly prior to Floor 2 of Room A (and the material found with it) which is part of an important phase throughout the shrine complex as a whole. The earliest period is discussed further below.

(d) MLb Room B

During the 1976 excavation season that part of Room B which lay within grid square MLd was excavated. This, as described earlier, revealed the west, north and east walls of Room B, leaving an earth baulk to the south.

In the 1977 season, as first described, MLb Room A was excavated. At the same time the excavation was conducted also in Room B, to the north of Wall 821, still within grid square MLb, and leaving a one metre baulk at the north. At a later stage, as we shall see, much of that baulk was removed.

The simultaneous excavation of this area with Room A allowed careful consideration to be given to the correlation of the layers in each (across the intervening wall 821, whose doorway was left blocked), which much facilitated interpretation (see level charts, Appendix A).

As in Room A, packed stones were first removed, revealing the top of Wall 821, and then brown soil. In layer 962 the back half of a terracotta bovine figure, was found. It proved to join with the other half of the body and the head found in the niche in Room A (SF 2690). The effective floor level, Floor 6, equivalent to Floor 2 in Room A, was found a little lower (layer 1037).

At this point the north baulk of MLb was excavated, leaving a stub some 30 cm wide at its eastern end to give mechanical support to the blocking in the doorway between Walls 723 and 728, which forms the western end of the Blocking Wall, Wall 733. (The southern end in MLd of Wall 723, with its niche or aperture, had already been strengthened by us earlier in the 1977 season, by the construction of a wall of stones at its western side.)

Rubble was found at the top, analogous to that further south, but there was no indication that Wall 733 extended west through the doorway into this area.

Beneath the lowest layer of this rubble (Layer 1035) was found an earth surface, designated Floor 4, although this did not imply that it was a habitation or use level. It may possibly be the result of wall collapse upon weathered fill. The layer below this surface, layer 1036, contained much broken pottery. This included a deep bowl (Cat. No. 218), a tripod cauldron cooking pot (Cat. No. 377), and a large clay disc, SF 2873. Laboratory study revealed a number of significant joins with material from these levels, to be considered below. Clearly this was debris from a major phase of damage.

Continuing excavation yielded a further surface, designated Floor 5, which was again considered to be the result of the collapse of debris, perhaps from roof material, rather than a utilised, horizontal surface. This level, with much broken pottery, is the equivalent of layer 962 immediately to the south, in which the wheel-made terracotta bovid fragment was found (SF 2690). Continuing excavation of layer 1037 uncovered the surface of Floor 6, a real floor, with

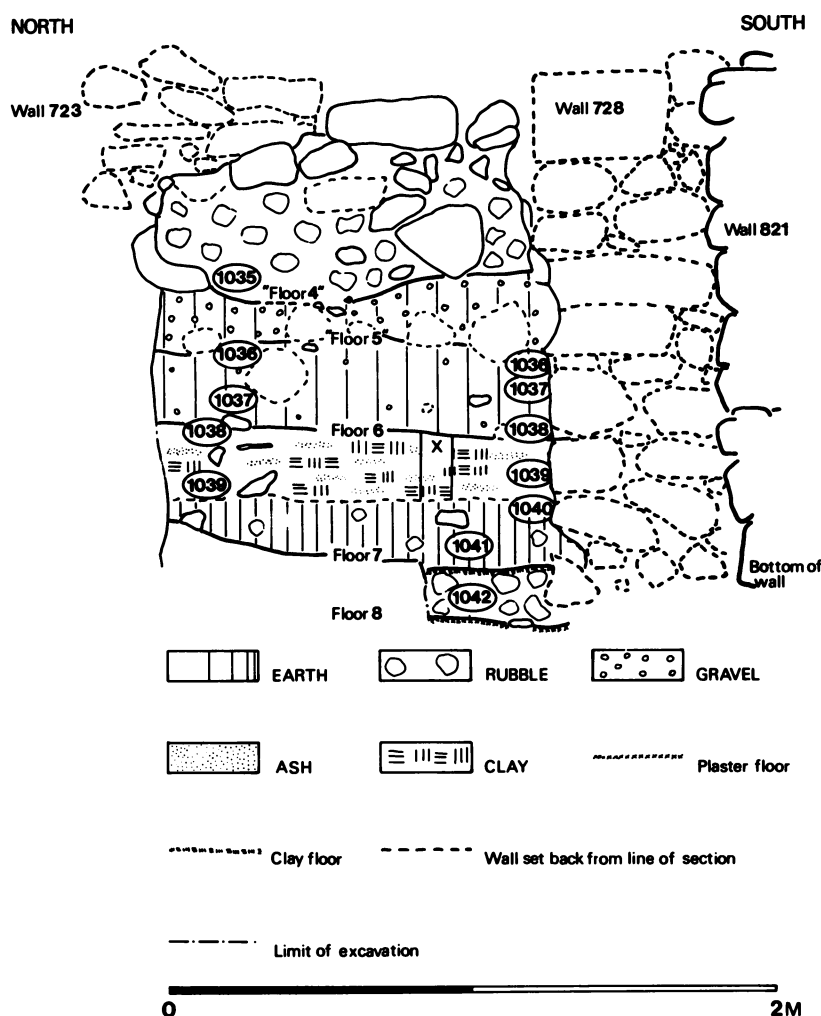


FIG. 2.14 Section 77/9: north-south section of the southern half of Room B, seen from the west. Scale 1:25

several small flat stones sitting on a clay surface. Floor 6, discussed further below, consisted of several layers of clay and plaster, attaining a total depth of 20 cm. Its character and position allow its correlation with Floor 4 of NLc and Floor 8 of NLc South.

Lying on it were fragments of two further pots, including a shallow angular bowl (Cat. No. 364), a stone disc (SF 2879) and a terracotta drain channel (SF 2877).

The pottery joins here are of great interest (see Appendix B):

Cat. No. 208 with pieces from layers 1036 and 1038, joining with a fragment from MLd Room B layer 512, and from NLe space c layers 77 and 84.

Cat. No. 206 from layers 1033, 1035 and 1037 joining again with MLd Room B layer 512, NLa layer 324 and NLd area 3 layer 36.

Cat. No. 81 from layers 1036 and 1037 joining with NLe space c layers 74 and 75, NLb layer 418, NLd space 4 layer 79.

Cat. No. 508 from layer 1036 with OLd layers 59, 61 and 62 and MMb layer 1002. Also a sherd

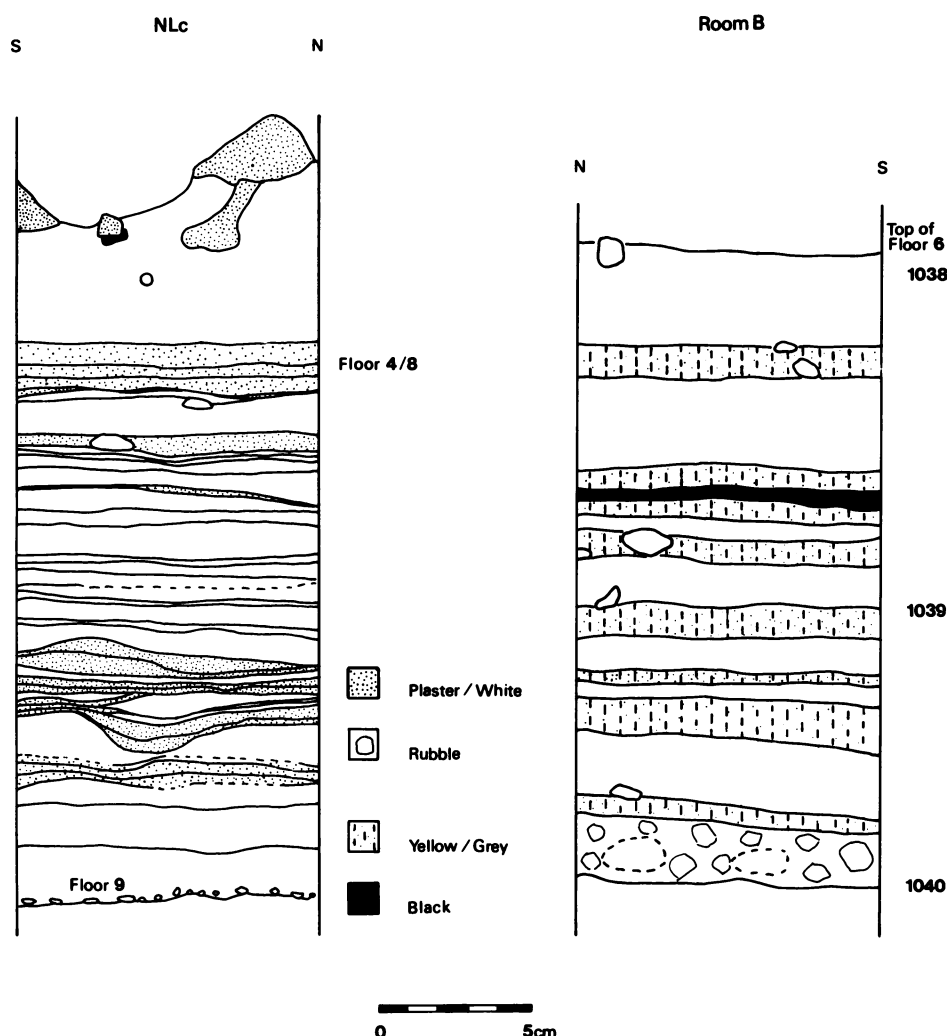


FIG. 2.15 Detailed sections of floors below phase 2b deposits at the positions indicated X on FIGS. 2.12 and 2.14

from layer 1035 joining with OLd 53 and from layer 1036 and 1037 joining with MLd Room B layer 512 (and from layer 1033 joining with NLc East baulk layer 258).

They confirm in general the correlation of Floor 6 with NLc Floor 4 and of this deposit with the collapse deposit in the West Shrine, and indeed the East Shrine also. The correlation with MLd Room B layer 512 (Floor 1 of MLd) is also very useful.

The removal of Floor 6 showed clearly that it was not a single surface, but an accretion of many surfaces, together some 20 cm thick, which had clearly accumulated over a long period of time. Its upper surface was marked by several small flat stones. In the eastern half of the doorway to Room A in Wall 821 a threshold block was found, and this floor was clearly associated with that door. Just to the east of the door jamb a stone with a hole some 3.4 cm in diameter (SF 2880) was found, embedded in white clay, with its top 2 cm above the surrounding floor. It may represent the lower socket for a door post.

Within this complex of floor surfaces were small pieces of plaster, charcoal and burnt brick, but very few stones. Small objects found within this complex included Pot 1430, many beads (SF

2882–5, 2893, 2897, 2902), some small pieces of bronze (SF 2887, 2890, 2904), a piece of tortoise-shell (SF 2894) and several small pieces of red-painted plaster (SF 2892, 2895–6, 2898–9, 2901, 2906). These last suggest, as have finds in other areas, that during this rather early phase of use, the shrine may have had some red plastered decoration or contained objects decorated with red plaster. During the removal of these levels (1038 and 1039) the top of Wall 740 appeared, running parallel to and beneath the existing west wall, Wall 722. Wall 740 may be considered the counterpart of Wall 822 in Room A, and is equivalent to Wall 726 in MLd. Beside it, to the east, a line of stones constituting a bench (Wall 741) was found. The removal of layer 1041 revealed Floor 7, a grey-green clay floor, which appeared to run under the bench (Wall 741). On it was found a deep semi-globular cup (Cat. No. 18). Twenty centimetres below this, in a small sounding, a thin white plaster floor, Floor 8, was located.

The interpretation of these lower levels is not easy, since they were excavated in so narrow a space. It is clear from FIG. 2.14 that Floor 6 and Floor 7 run up against the east wall of Room B, Wall 728. Floor 8 runs up to its foot: whether to end or to continue beneath it was not clear. Floor 8 appeared to underlie Wall 821 which is seen from the south (from Room A) in PLATE 17 *e*.

It is clear here that Wall 740 was superseded by the new West Wall, Wall 722; Wall 821 naturally lies over Wall 740. The chronological interpretation of these early features is further discussed in the next chapter.

(*e*) *Other areas: MMb, MLd, MLa, MKd*

During the 1977 season the opportunity was taken of making a superficial examination of the areas to the west and north of the shrine complex. Immediately to the north of Room B of MLd, at a high level, is a room (Room G) bounded on the east by Wall 601 (already encountered in NLc North) and to the north by Wall 841, an extension of the south wall of the street which runs right along the north side of the shrine complex. Room G's west wall is Wall 739 which runs south to (and abuts against) Wall 721, the north wall of Room B.

West of room G lies a space, designated room H. Its east wall is Wall 739. Its north wall, Wall 840 is an extension of Wall 841, although positioned a little (*ca.* 30 cm) to the north. Layer 1002 of square MMb, which lies within Room H yielded a sherd joining Pot 1515 which has sherds from the collapse phase both of squares MLb and OLd.

Clearance immediately to the west of Room B showed that at this point the thick west wall of the shrine in fact consists of the west wall proper, Wall 722, and an adjoining wall running alongside it, immediately to the west, Wall 737. At its north end it has a corner to the west with Wall 738 (the southern wall of space H). It is likely, although not certain, that walls 738 and 737 form part of a structure at a higher level than the shrine itself and unconnected with it.

To the west of Room A of MLb lies square MLa. Superficial investigations were carried out here to clear the surface of a massive feature. Its rectangular, roughly dressed stones suggested that this was of Late Bronze I date, and part of the fortification complex. Evidently the west wall of the shrine had been built right up against this massive structure. MLa was dug as a 5 by 5 metre trench occupying the whole of the grid square. The inside (north) face of the City Wall (Wall 950), running east-west was clearly revealed. A second such face (Wall 951) lay 1.6 m to the north, parallel to the first, and may represent a later phase of reinforcement.

With the intention of locating the south-face of the City Wall, Wall 950, a trench 1.5 m wide by 5 m long was excavated along the west side of grid square MKd, which lies immediately to the south of square MLb. The ground falls away rather steeply to the south at this point, and this may have prevented the location of a south face of Wall 950, although this may be further south. The east face of Wall 950 was followed southwards down the west face of Wall 712, the west wall of the West Shrine (Room A). No face for Wall 950 was seen south of the south-west corner of the

shrine. Wall 950 may have collapsed southwards at this point, where the ground falls away sharply.

(f) Area NKc/d

During the 1977 season, a small sounding, NKc/d, was conducted outside the West Shrine at its south-east corner. Its main purpose was to elucidate the relationship between the Extension Wall, Wall 661 and neighbouring structures: the excavation to the north of Wall 661, in NLb space 4, was conducted at the same time and with the same purpose.

Wall 661 was found to abut against the east wall of the West Shrine, Wall 662. Beneath Wall 661 and running up against Wall 662 was a layer of ash and carbon, layer 814, with indications of burning against the wall of the West Shrine. Stones of what may have been a hearth were found, *ca.* 70 cm south-east of the south-east corner of the shrine, with indications of burnt clay among them. This burnt layer runs underneath Wall 661 and was observed in NLb (as layer 454), where it also underlay the City Wall, Wall 100. This burning thus took place here prior to the construction of the City Wall and the East Shrine

Below Wall 662 were found indications of an earlier wall, Wall 782, which may either be footings for 662 or perhaps remains of an earlier (probably Late Bronze I) structure. It is intersected at right angles *ca.* 1.2 m north of the (subsequent) south-east corner of the shrine by Wall 783. Only some 50 cm of the length of Wall 783 could be observed in view of the narrowness of the sounding, and indeed it may merely be packed rubble. (Small stretches of walling, Wall 781, running south from the south end of Wall 662, and Wall 780 running east from Wall 781, were also noted. They are definitely later than the West Shrine but may antedate the construction of Wall 661. They were not systematically investigated; their construction is in any case not impressive or regular.)

(g) Unexplored areas

The main objective of the project in this area, following the discovery of the shrine in 1974, was the exploration and interpretation of its interior. This aim was largely fulfilled. It may be useful, for later workers on the site, to indicate the problems that remain.

The main unresolved issue is the nature of the area to the south of the shrine. Because the land falls away so steeply here, there can never have been many structures. But some fortification arrangements must have existed from the Late Bronze I period. It is not at present clear, despite the investigations in MLd, where the external face of the defensive wall 950 was located, nor how the defensive works were extended to the east.

Nor is it clear where the blocked door in the south side (Wall 622) of the West Shrine led. Our investigations in NKc/d were restricted by time and by the considerable overburden (mainly from Mackenzie's dump). It is unlikely that the floor of any structure to the south is preserved, unless that floor lay considerably below the level of the West Shrine floor.

Another interesting question is the original extent and function of the Extension Wall, Wall 661. It was traced for some three metres, running behind the later fortification wall, Wall 100. In order to investigate these questions adequately it would be necessary to examine systematically the defensive arrangements along the south side of the site. This would necessitate working also from the field to the south, and removing spoil into or through that field, and therefore productive preliminary negotiations with its owner.

The area to the north-west of the shrine complex would certainly repay further study. The Mycenaean levels should there be well preserved, and may prove to have suffered damage or destruction at the time of the main shrine collapse.

Chapter III

The Sanctuary Sequence

The almost complete excavation of the Phylakopi sanctuary, outlined in the preceding chapter, allows the resolution of many of the problems of chronology and interpretation which arose during the four seasons of field work. The sequence of events was an unusually complicated one, and stratigraphic interpretation was made more difficult by the compartmentation of the sanctuary area into a number of small rooms, often with little or no direct stratigraphic linkage between them. For instance there is no good direct stratigraphic link whatever between the deposits inside the West Shrine, and those to the east, in the East Shrine and the space to the south of it. Several well-founded arguments do nevertheless allow a resolution of the problem. Moreover the broad agreement of the various categories of evidence with the conclusions reached dispels doubt concerning the validity of the central points.

The procedure followed in the last chapter has been to describe in outline the stratigraphy in each separate area excavated, on the basis of direct observations made in the field. Inferences about correlations between these areas have been kept to a minimum, and those made earlier in large measure anticipate the discussion here. So far, therefore, we have built up several sound but localised stratigraphic sequences, which are presented in diagrammatic form with a minimum of interpretation (if the phase designations be for the moment ignored) in Appendix A. These level synopses are in many cases diagrammatic representations of the stratigraphic sections drawn in the field. FIG. 2.6 indicates the positions of the actual drawn sections which were made, of which a number have been re-drawn for publication here (FIGS. 2.7 to 2.10 and 2.12 to 2.14). The essential basis for the relative chronology is thus the stratigraphic sequence in each area taken in turn. Just a few important observations allow linkage between adjoining areas. The interior of the East Shrine, for instance, involves work in spaces a, b and 1 of square NLd/e, and the levels here can be directly linked. Linkage between these areas and those to the south was more difficult, but it was strongly suggested by features observed both within the western part of the East Shrine, in space 1, and outside it to the south, in space 4. These points are further discussed below. Similarly, the long sequence of plaster floors in the West Shrine (Floor 4 of NLc and Floor 8 of NLc South) may, by their similarity in character, be equated with Floor 6 of MLb East, in the area to the south, and with Floor 6 in MLb Room B. Thus, within the East Shrine area, and within the West Shrine area, some important equations can be made.

A second, and perhaps rather unexpected source of valuable stratigraphic information comes from the interpretation of join patterns.

Naturally joins on any excavation can be chronologically useful. Here they were particularly numerous, indeed at first bewilderingly so. A glance at Appendix B shows the wide range of stratigraphic contexts in which fragments from the same figurine or the same pot might be found.

Through the very systematic work of Mr C.B.H. Macfarlane for the figurines, and of Miss P.-A. Mountjoy and our vase mender Mr Petros Petrakis for the pots, a great number of joins were recognised. These were systematically recorded by Mr Macfarlane, and the patterns are of great significance. For although on any excavation there are sometimes some unexpected, individual joins which come from contexts so remote as virtually to defy explanation, here the links were so numerous that a more coherent approach was needed. Evidently there was an episode (or

episodes) of breakage in the sanctuary which resulted in the very widespread distribution of fragments.

It is not, of course, justifiable simply to assume that contexts in which fragments of the same vessel or figurine occur are contemporary. Fragments can knock around on a site for a long time before being ultimately buried, and in some cases they can be—and in fact sometimes clearly were—re-used after breakage before being finally discarded. The right procedure is to try to establish the *primary* context of the object—that is to say the location in which it was broken, and where some fragments of it still remain. In general this should be the earliest stratigraphic context where fragments are found. When there are occurrences in contemporary deposits, the primary context in some cases will be where the greatest number of fragments from the object are found in close proximity, although individual complications can disrupt even that simple rule. In such cases, other contexts where fragments from the same object occur may be either contemporary with, or later than, the primary context, but never earlier. When, therefore, two contexts, each primary in respect of a particular object, are linked by the presence in each of fragments from the other's object, their effective contemporaneity can be established. This is simply the application within a single site of the principle of cross-dating, widely applied between regions. It will be seen below that systematic recording of joins allowed some cross-datings of this kind to be established, and thus verified the hypothesis of the contemporaneity of the main 'collapse' phases in the East and the West shrines, which had been formulated on the other grounds.

The third source of chronological information, which has deliberately been left until the preceding two were stated, is that offered by the typology of the finds. The relative chronology of Mycenaean pottery, using the system of Furumark as modified by later workers, is well understood, and is a third major source of relative-chronological information for the site. Together with it must be taken the closely related relative chronology for the figurines, well established through the work of Dr Elizabeth French on a number of Mycenaean sites, and most effectively applied here. These considerations serve both to confirm the internal relative chronology for the site, and to give it meaning in a wider Aegean context and terminology. The considerable complication should be noted that in the later part of the sanctuary's use, the pottery did not change greatly in character, and it cannot be expected that the succession of ceramic styles in Melos will have been identical with that in the much better understood pottery-producing centres of the Argolid. The interpretation of the pottery presented some initial problems, and it is only the sound stratigraphic contexts of a relatively small number of diagnostic pots and sherds which allow the reliable ascription of the Furumark terminology to the material of the late sanctuary. These matters are discussed in chapter V, and the conclusions reached there are supported by those in chapter VI.

With the correlation by this means of the internal sequence for the Phylakopi sanctuary with the existing Mycenaean phase sequence for the Aegean, it is possible to give absolute dates for our local phases, which are based on those for the Mycenaean sequence as a whole.

1. The Main Chronological Elements

(a) *The East Shrine*

During the 1974 excavation season it became clear that there were three bodies of material from the East Shrine:

1. Finds associated with NLd/e Floors 3 and 5, the earliest floors in the East Shrine (Assemblage D).
2. Finds associated with Floor 2, above these (Assemblage H).

3. Finds associated with Floor 1, above these (Assemblage L).

In addition it was evident that the area between the East Shrine and the City Wall had been disrupted by a fall of massive stones from the City Wall (PLATE 5 a) Beneath these stones some pots were crushed (Assemblage E).

Stratigraphic evidence allowed the level beneath these great stones to be equated with the lowest floor (Floor 5) in the east Shrine.

There is, of course, no direct stratigraphic link between space a within the East Shrine, where its internal stratigraphy was best observed, and space c immediately to its south, where the street levels between the shrine and the City Wall (Wall 100) were most fully investigated. The south wall of the East Shrine (Wall 104/501) stands between the two areas.

It was, however, possible, to link stratigraphically the levels in space a, at the east end of the East Shrine, and those in space 1, immediately to the west. These stratigraphic equations were further checked when the east baulk of NLd was removed. They are seen on the appropriate phase diagram in Appendix A (FIG. 11.4).

Similarly the stratigraphic linkages between space c, immediately to the south of space a, and space 4 lying directly to the west of c, were clear enough, and were again confirmed by the removal of the appropriate part of the east baulk of square NLd. (The west face of this baulk, seen from the west, is drawn in FIG. 2.8.)

The doorway which joins space 1 of the East Shrine with space 4 to the south offered the hope of some stratigraphic linkage, a hope which was in fact fulfilled. Slight indications of burning in the region of the doorway, but which were not more widespread, were noted both to the north (in layer 56) and to the south (in layer 73). This indicated that Floor 3 in NLd space 1 should be equated with Floor 6 in NLd space 4.

These observations were confirmed by the pattern of joins between the two areas. We therefore have in the East Shrine a period of use, following its construction, then the collapse of the large stones with associated deposits, and then two further periods of use. With the last of these the small wall inside the East Shrine, Wall 105, is associated.

While there are a number of points of detail to be considered further, that is the unequivocal result of work in the East Shrine and the space immediately to its south.

(b) The West Shrine. (NLc)

The excavations in NLc during the 1976 season revealed:

1. The early floor of the West Shrine (NLc Floor 4) with a deposit of broken material upon it, including several figurines (Assemblage A).
2. The overlying deposit of material, associated with Floor 2 of NLc (Assemblage G).

Further work in the area to the south, NLc South, during 1977, indicated another phase, later than these:

3. A late surface with some material on it, NLc South Floor 5 (Assemblage J).

There is no doubt about these observations. Moreover the character of the lower floor, Floor 4 of NLc and Floor 8 of NLc South, allow its equation with Floor 6 of MLb East and Floor 6 of MLb Room B.

(c) The Blocking Wall in the West Shrine

During the 1976 and 1977 excavation seasons, great practical difficulties were caused by the presence in NLa of the large rounded stones, constituting a fill behind what was identified in 1977 as a wall, with a single north face, designated Wall 626 and 733. It was an obvious possibility that the 'collapse' in the East Shrine, with the large stones from it, could have resulted

from the same series of events which led to the decision to block off the southern part of the West Shrine with stones of similar character. But while that was a fair hypothesis, there was not at that stage the evidence to verify it.

Excavation during 1977 in NLa and the adjoining MLb East did serve to confirm that the assemblage of finds on the platform at the west end of the Room (Assemblage B) was to be regarded as contemporary with those on the early floor of the room to the north, NLc Floor 4. For the NLc South stratigraphy showed that the Blocking Wall was built later than this destruction, and built before the occupation of Floor 2 of NLc and the formation of Assemblage G. Some of the finds of Assemblage B underlay stones from the fill behind the Blocking Wall. And while this might not have been entirely conclusive, there was no later occupation in NLa and MLb East to compare with Assemblage G and J of NLc

(d) Four Periods in the West Shrine

The coherent picture thus emerged of a single, major phase of damage in the West Shrine, prior to the insertion within it of the Blocking Wall, Wall 626/733. The material associated with this major phase is:

1. Floor 4 of NLc, as mentioned above (Assemblage A).
2. The platform deposit of MLb East (Assemblage B).
3. The deposit resting on Floor 6 of MLb Room B, which can be related to NLc Floor 4.
4. The important finds from MLb Room A, including those from the niche (Assemblage C). This level equates with Floor 6 of MLb Room B. There is no later use of Room A, just as there is none in NLa and MLb East, to the east.
5. The group of finds from the room to the north of NLc proper, on Floor 1 of NLc North. These belong to the same phase of damage, although this room may not have been part of the shrine complex as such (Assemblage F).

There is clear evidence of occupation in the shrine earlier than this phase of damage. NLc Floor 4 itself represents at least 35 years of use. And although significant finds stratified within it were not found in NLc, there were several actually within the floor succession of Floor 6 of MLb Room B (layer 1038). In MLb East, at floor level, there is a sequence of floors which were there separately numbered (Floors 3 to 6) which together are the equivalent of NLc Floor 4. To the east in NLa the same is true (Floors 1 to 5) and a few finds were intercalated between the floors.

There are also finds of beads and other small objects *beneath* the lowest floors in NLc and NLa/MLb East. In rooms A and B to the west there is a more complicated stratigraphy beneath these floors which is considered further below.

If these two phases be regarded as 'pre-collapse', and 'collapse' respectively, the evidence of NLc indicates two 'post-collapse' phases. In the north-east corner of NLc is a platform (actually excavated as NLd space 3). On it were found several objects which are not only 'post-collapse', but must represent the very last use of this room (Assemblage K). They are to be equated chronologically with the last phase of use in NLc, namely Assemblage J.

(e) Relationship between East and West Shrines

The four main structural elements of the sanctuary complex, if we disregard the later Blocking Wall, are the West Shrine (with its rooms to the west), the East Shrine, the City Wall (Wall 100) to the south of the East Shrine, and the Extension Wall, Wall 661, which runs from the West Shrine east behind the City Wall.

During the 1976 excavation season, in a sounding in space c, the relationship between the south wall of the East Shrine, and the City Wall, Wall 100, was investigated. It was concluded

that the construction of the City Wall and of the East Shrine were separated by no great lapse of time and may be regarded as approximately contemporary, the City Wall being marginally earlier.

During the 1977 season the opportunity was taken to investigate the relationship between the Extension Wall and these structures, by soundings in NKc/d and NLb. It was determined that the Extension Wall, Wall 661, is later than the west wall of the West Shrine, Wall 662. This result is in no way surprising, since the Extension Wall appears to abut against the West Shrine, but the point is an important one, and worth the stratigraphic documentation.

Secondly, it was shown that the Extension Wall is earlier than the City Wall, Wall 100. This too is important, since it would have been quite as possible to imagine the Extension Wall being built behind the City Wall as to imagine the latter being built in front of the former.

The constructional sequence is thus: West Shrine—Extension Wall—City Wall (with East Shrine).

(f) Simultaneity of the Collapse in East and West Shrines

As stated earlier, the nature of the large rounded stones constituting the fill behind (south) of the Blocking Wall (Wall 733/626) and those in space c resulting from the partial collapse of the City Wall there, initially suggested that the collapse in space c was contemporary with the damage occurring in the West Shrine. We then have evidence for re-use both in the East Shrine and in the West Shrine (in NLc). This point does however require confirmation.

The pattern of joins is very useful at this point. It was established earlier that the collapse in space c of NLd/e was contemporary with the deposit on Floor 5 of the East Shrine. There are several important links between space c and the early phase of damage in NLc. Some of them include linkages within the East Shrine also. In a few cases the joins link up with Room B of MLb. It should be noted, however, that there are no joins with NLa or MLb East. The data are presented in Appendix B.

This evidence gives firm confirmation of the simultaneity of the damage in the two areas, and it is thus reasonable to speak of a single 'collapse phase' for the sanctuary area as a whole.

(g) Ascription of Numerical Phases

Using these results it is possible now to develop a phase sequence for the sanctuary area, based upon the internal evidence alone. It will be seen that the typological evidence is in harmony with this.

Phase 1 begins with the initiation of construction of the West Shrine.

Phase 2 begins with the construction of the City Wall and the East Shrine.

Phase 3 begins with the aftermath of the collapse and the building of the Blocking Wall in the West Shrine.

The subdivisions may be indicated in the following table.

The main assemblages from the shrines can now be phased in accordance with this sequence. Details of the phasing for each layer in each area are seen in Appendix A.

Table 3.1
The Stratigraphic sequence of the Phylakopi Sanctuary

EVENT	PHASE	USE/FINDS
Final stone fill		
Construction of Late Walls 604 and 105	3c	(East Shrine and NLc only)
Build Blocking Wall	3b	(East Shrine and NLc only)
	3a	Post-collapse: clearing East Shrine and NLc
Collapse	2b 2a	Collapse deposits Street levels in space c. Both shrines in use
Build City Wall and East Shrine		
Build Extension Wall	1c	Early use of the West Shrine
Early Occupation of West Shrine: first floors	1b	
	1a	Finds below first floors of the West Shrine
Begin Construction of West Shrine		
	o	Pre-Shrine Deposits

(h) The Early Use of Rooms A and B

The stratigraphy of Rooms A and B, and particularly the oddities of construction at the extreme west of the Shrine require further comment.

Fortunately the position at the time of the collapse phase is entirely clear. The floor in NLc underlying the main collapse deposit there (Floor 4) may be equated with the upper part of floor 6 in MLb Room B, and this with Floor 2 in MLb Room A. It was of course upon that floor in Room A that the important finds were made, and a join between a terracotta bovid in the niche (SF 2690) and a fragment from a layer overlying Floor 6 in MLb Room B confirms the relationship. As reviewed in the last chapter, there are several joins between this context in Room B and collapse materials elsewhere to confirm the equations. Floor 1 in MLd Room B was less evidently correlated with these floors, but joins between MLd layer 512, (the make-up of Floor 1) and other collapse deposits link it firmly with these others. This much seems perfectly clear. It is the earlier phases that appear more complex.

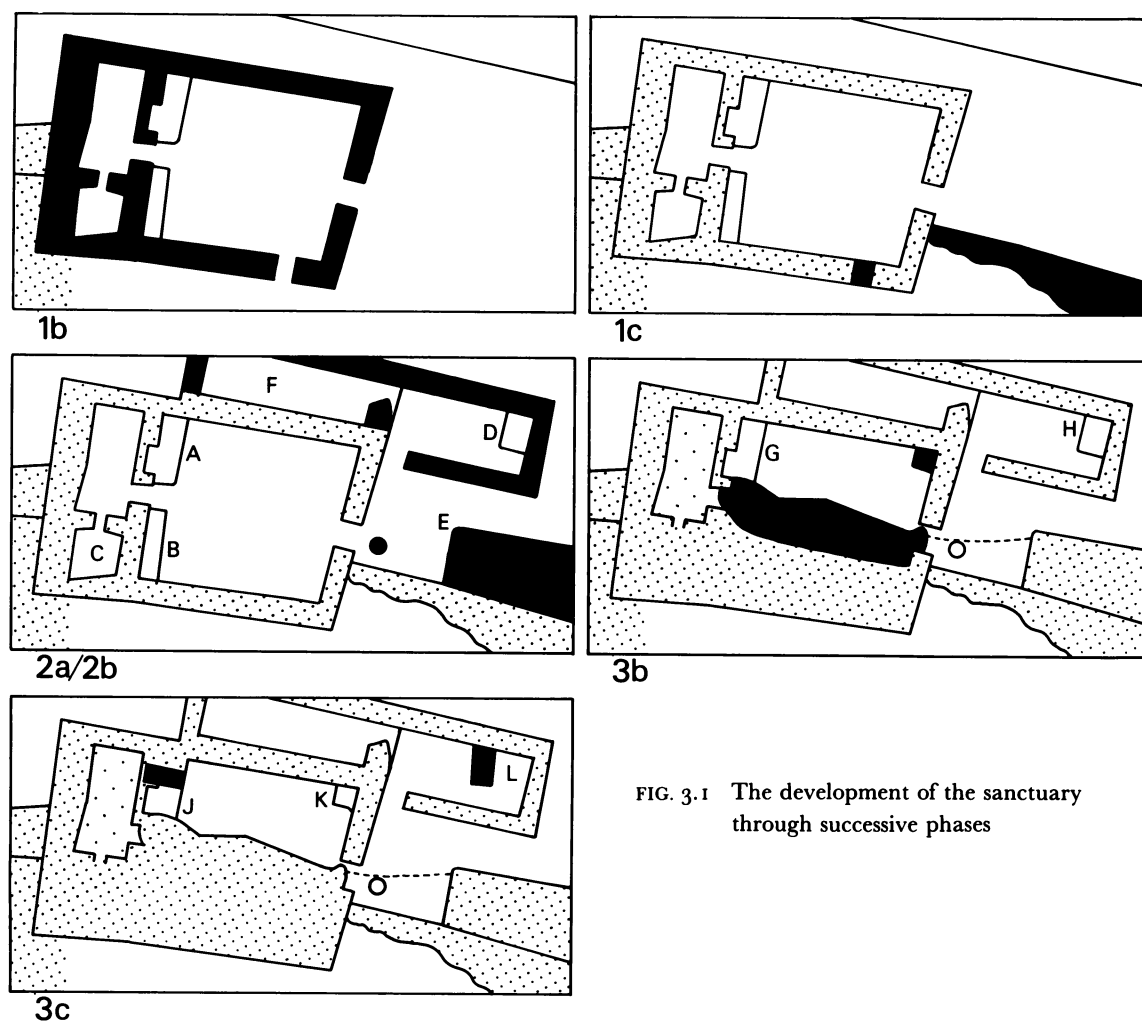


FIG. 3.1 The development of the sanctuary through successive phases

One complicating circumstance is the curiously irregular construction of the south-west corner of the shrine. As stated earlier it is perfectly clear that Wall 713 abuts onto the south-west corner of NLa, i.e. onto Wall 728. But it is also clear that the counterpart of Wall 728 to the north, namely Wall 723, abuts onto the north wall of the shrine at that point, namely Wall 721.

It may be that one possible explanation is simply in terms of constructional phases. Our architect Mr Alec Daykin has independently suggested (personal communication) that the well-constructed south-east corner of the West Shrine could be the initial corner stone for the enterprise. If construction had simultaneously developed north and west from there, completion of the work could conceivably have resulted in this configuration (see FIG. 3.2). Wall 821 appeared to bond with Wall 728 to the east and with Wall 712 and 722 to the west. The high threshold of the doorway in it, level with the later floor—Floor 6 to the north, and Floor 2 to the south—but some 0.6 and 0.3 m respectively above Floor 8 to the north and Floor 3 to the south should be noted.

The second complication is that at the foot of the west walls 712 and 722, there are constructions of earlier 'walls' or rather benches, in Room A labelled 823, in MLb Room B labelled 741. These abut against the Late Bronze I wall at the west of the West Shrine, on which the shrine walls were constructed. Thus Wall 722, the west wall of Room B, overlies the Late Bronze I Wall 726/740, and Wall 712, which is simply the southward continuation of Wall 722, being the west wall of Room A, overlies Wall 822, the southward continuation of 726 and 740. Partly because of the very limited space for excavation, the stratigraphy is not entirely clear, although there is no doubt that the floors immediately prior to the collapse phase ran over these earlier constructions and up to Walls 712 and 722.

It seems likely that the west wall of the West Shrine was built on partially demolished, pre-existing walls, Walls 822, 740 and 726, so that the early floor levels in this area in some cases run up against these earlier, re-used walls. But there are circumstances, as well as the way Wall 723 abuts against Wall 721 (the north wall), which at first led us to wonder whether the west wall of the West Shrine underwent some reconstruction or modification during phase 1 or 2a of the sanctuary, well prior to the phase 2b collapse. Although this view was finally rejected in favour of the single, initial construction phase, it is appropriate to review the evidence. The complexity of the nomenclature makes reference to the phase diagrams of Appendix A essential.

In each of the three area units, Room A, Room B within MLb and Room B within MLd, the floor underlying the phase 2b collapse runs normally and naturally against the shrine walls, including the Wall between Rooms A and B, Wall 821. These floors are Floor 2 of Room A, Floor 6 of MLb Room B and Floor 1 of MLd Room B.

In Room A only one lower floor was observed, Floor 3. It ran up to the bench, Wall 823, although its chronological relationship with the bench could not be ascertained, nor was its contact with the other walls in the room observed. In Room B, Floor 7 of MLb ran up to and under the bench, Wall 741, which likewise adjoins the Late Bronze I west wall which itself underlies the shrine west wall. Here the bench, 741, and the floor, Floor 7, appear to be contemporary. Floor 7 here runs up against and is later than Wall 821. Further north, in MLd Room B, Floor 2 seemed to sit at a lower level than the base of the east wall, Wall 723, but may run up against its footings.

It is with the lowest series of floors, Floor 8 in MLb Room B and Floor 3 in MLd Room B, that some problems arise, although in each trench the area excavated at this depth was a very small one. For in MLd Room B, Floor 3 is at a depth well below the base of Wall 723, and Floor 8 of MLb Room B may be similarly related to some of the walls around it. These observations at first raised the question as to whether these floors might relate to some earlier arrangement in this area, perhaps prior to the construction of Wall 723, and possibly before the shrine Walls 722 and 712 were built on the Late Bronze I walls now supporting them (Walls 726, 740, and 822).

There is no doubt however that the north wall of Room B, Wall 721 was already standing before Floor 3 there was laid and used, and it does bond with Wall 722. It seems therefore more likely that the construction sequence entailed the early and more deeply founded construction of Wall 721 at the north-west corner, with Wall 723 following. The very early floor levels in Room B were set lower than the lowest courses of Wall 723. The next floors (Floor 7 of MLb Room B and Floor 2 of MLd Room B) were at a rather higher level and associated with the benches at the west side. The final floors, before the collapse, were at a higher level again and now ran over these former bench features to the west.

In the last analysis, therefore, these are rather minor and local modifications of no great significance, and our initial uncertainties arose mainly from the very limited area available for investigation. Clearly any conclusion of substantial re-shaping at the west end of the shrine

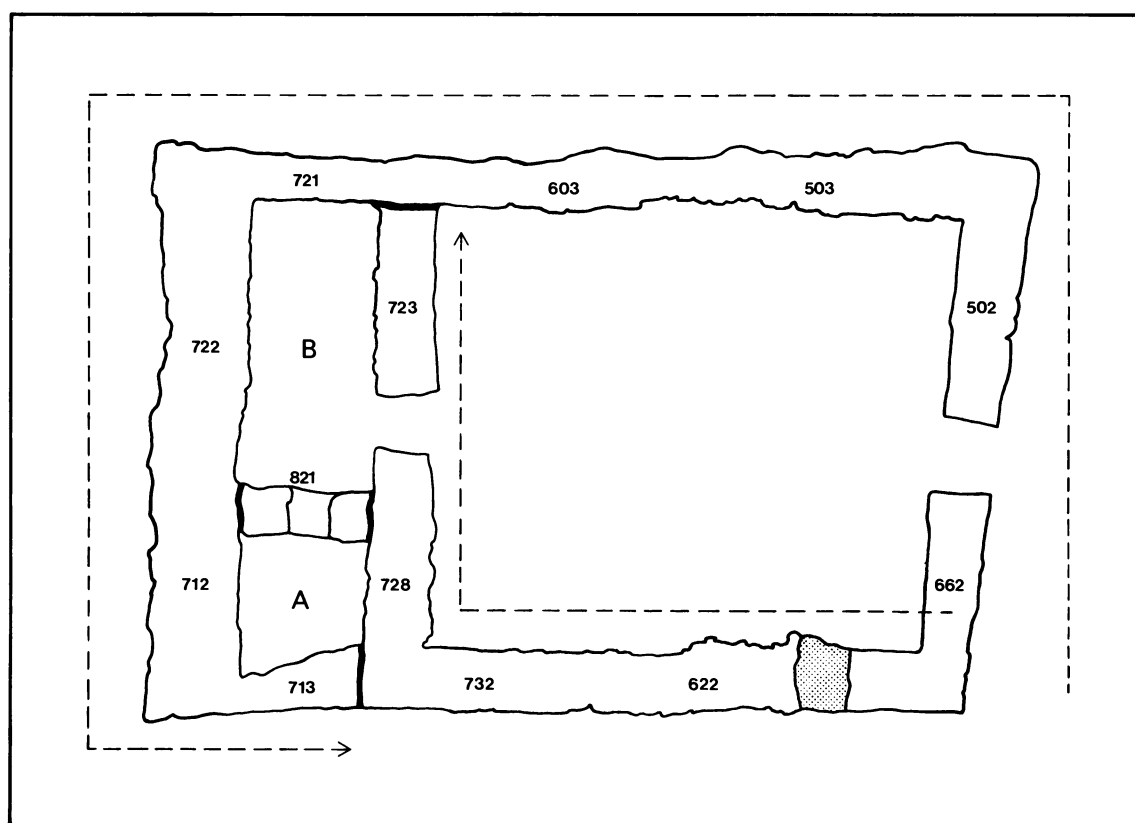


FIG. 3.2 Hypothetical construction sequence for the West Shrine

would have been of more general interest, but detailed consideration of the stratigraphy does not sustain such a view. There is no evidence for more than one actual constructional period here, and Late Bronze I walling was indeed used at the west end of the shrine. It may well be that the odd shape of the south-west corner arose, as suggested earlier, from the completion of the corner to the east of Walls 728 and 732 before it was itself constructed.

(j) Before the Shrine

In several areas it was possible to make soundings below the shrine deposits. These are shown in FIG. 2.111. In several of these, earlier walls were found, in positions which bore no apparent relation to the shrine walls which followed. In general material of Late Bronze I date was found in association with these. In some cases, floors were reached which were associated with these walls, notably Floor 16 in NLd/e space c, layer 120, and Floor 12 in NLc, layer 257.

In general the finds in these early layers were not such as to suggest any very special use, of the kind reflected in the later sanctuary. A blossom bowl, SF 1717, from NLe space c layer 117, is certainly an important find. But it joins with a fragment in the Melos Museum from the earlier excavations of Dawkins and Droop (1911, 22). It may have come from the area which they excavated *ca.* 20 metres to the east. So one should not assume that its primary context was in space c, although this is possible.

At the west end of the shrine, the Late Bronze I fortification Wall 950 (with 951) determines the western extremity of the shrine area. But this need not suggest that the shrine plan took shape in this early phase, since Wall 950 remained a prominent feature long after the Late Bronze I period. As discussed in the last section, Walls 726, 740 and 822, of which the first seems definitely and the other possibly of Late Bronze I date, were used as a foundation for the construction of the later Walls 712 and 722 at the west of the shrine. To this extent the construction of the shrine was influenced by pre-existing works. But there seems no suggestion that the shrine was on the site of an earlier religious complex.

The column at the south end of the platform in MLb East (PLATE 14 c) may not have been manufactured for its present position. But if it was a re-used piece, which is perfectly possible, there is no reason to assume that it came from an earlier structure located in this precise area.

Dr French in chapter VI suggests the possibility that one or two pieces of the figurine material found in the shrine might actually ante-date the construction of the West Shrine. That raises interesting issues, but we have no evidence for an earlier religious building at this location within the Phylakopi site.

2. Ceramic Chronology of the Sanctuary

The ceramic evidence relating to the sanctuary sequence is fully discussed in Chapter V below. There were few major assemblages of well-preserved, relatively complete pots other than those relating to the collapse phase, 2b. Moreover during the later phases (2 and 3) of the sanctuary there is relatively little stylistic evolution in the bulk of the pottery. The appropriate descriptive procedure followed by Miss Mountjoy is therefore to relate the pottery found in the successive phases of the sanctuary (which are stratigraphically well defined) to the well-established relative chronology for the Mycenaean pottery of the Aegean as a whole established by Furumark (1941; 1944) and extended by later workers. The high degree of inter-regional standardisation within the Aegean during the Late Helladic IIIA and IIIB periods makes this a valid procedure, since the changes in form and decoration established by typological means, largely from finds in the Argolid, may be documented very much more widely. It is convenient therefore first to deal with these earlier phases.

(a) Construction of the West Shrine

In several areas the walls of the West Shrine rest on structures of Late Bronze I date, as documented above. The relevant deposits below the floors of the West Shrine were found mainly in MLd Room B. As set out in chapter V there were considerable quantities of pottery dateable to the LH IIIA1 phase, along with earlier material, and two sherds which could be assigned to LH IIIA2 (Cat. Nos. 1 and 2).

It is appropriate, therefore, to set the construction of the West Shrine within the Late Helladic IIIA2 period. The material from early levels following the construction of the West Shrine (phase 1b) is predominantly LH IIIA1, and in subsequent levels (phase 2a) material of LH IIIB—C character is found, although in general the small quantity of LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 material is notable.

In general the figurine finds conform with this picture. One of the animal figurines from Floor 4 in square NLc of the West Shrine, SF 1557, belongs to a type generally found in LH IIIA1 contexts, but the remainder are of stylistically later types. The Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2660) is early LH IIIA2 in type.

(b) Construction of the City Wall and East Shrine

Phase 2a of the Phylakopi sanctuary sequence is defined by the construction of the fortification wall (Wall 100). The building of the East Shrine is stratigraphically only a little later, as discussed above and in Chapter IV. The date for the construction of the city fortification wall is established by finds below it in trench PK, immediately to the east of the sanctuary area. These are discussed in Chapter V (Cat. Nos. 39 and 40) and assigned to the Late Helladic IIIB₁ phase, establishing a *terminus post quem* for the building of the City Wall. It is concluded that the City Wall and the East Shrine were built in LH IIIB₁, perhaps early in this phase.

The sherds found below the City Wall in square NLe space c harmonise with this view, although none could be placed with certainty later than LH IIIA₂. There is however LH IIIB₁ material (Cat. Nos. 49 to 52) in levels at the foot of the fortification wall and underlying the south wall of the East Shrine, together with sherds of earlier date.

The relative dates for the construction of both West and East Shrines can thus be fixed with confidence.

(c) Chronological Problems of Late Helladic IIIC

The typological periodisation of the LH IIIC period in the Aegean on the basis of ceramic form and decoration is much less straightforward than for LH IIIA and B. Desborough (1964, 9) stressed the diversity of local styles for this period, which contrasts with the relative uniformity of earlier phases. It is no longer easy to correlate the finds in all areas of the Aegean by reference to a single relatively standardised classification, and the terminology used must be more closely defined in relation to specific areas. As we shall see below, and as Miss Mountjoy shows in detail in Chapter V, these points are highly relevant to the pottery of Melos at this time.

The terminology to be used has therefore to be worked out in relation to areas where the ceramic sequence can be well established, and where local variations can be studied in the light of secure stratigraphic relationships. Much of the most important material comes, as for the earlier phases, from Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid. The cemetery of Perati in Attica has yielded much important tomb material. The excavations at Lefkandi in Euboia, although limited in area, have given perhaps the clearest settlement stratigraphy for this period (Popham and Sackett 1968) with a division into three phases. The ceramic evolution has been well set out in a preliminary report (Popham and Milburn 1971) which allows the definition of phases 1a and 1b, and 2a and 2b, while phase 3 remains undivided. This sequence has been used in an informative study by Rutter (1977) to set up a wider classification, including sites in the Argolid and the Corinthia. Its main features are indicated below (Table 3.2).

Recent important work at Tiryns, in the Unterburg and in the north-west part of the town, has allowed Kilian and Podzuweit (1978, 1979, 1980) to subdivide the sequence found after the destruction of the Upper City at the end of LH IIIB into four phases: Übergangshorizont IIIB/C; Frühes IIIC; IIIC Entwickelt; and IIIC Spät. Frühes IIIC can be further subdivided into three phases on the basis of the stratigraphy and typological development in the north-west sector of the town.

Numerous ceramic similarities link Frühes IIIC with Lefkandi 1, and particularly the 1b phase. Podzuweit (1978, 497) writing of the IIIC Entwickelt phase states:

“... these phases at Tiryns begin with the Granary at Mycenae and correspondingly with Lefkandi Phase 2a . . .”

The end of IIIC Entwickelt should correspond to the end of Rutter's phase 4: Kilian (1980, Zusammenfassung) speaks of a “fortgeschrittene Phase” seen in certain buildings whose destruction marks the end of IIIC Entwickelt and which is equated by him with the destruction

of the Granary at Mycenae. Phase IIIC Entwickelt is thus indeed the equivalent of Rutter's phase 4, and its later part would therefore be the contemporary of Lefkandi phase 2b. Phase IIIC Spät may be regarded as the approximate equivalent of Rutter's phase 5, and of Lefkandi phase 3.

Podzuweit's Übergangshorizont may be equated approximately with Rutter's phase 1 which, in the terminology adopted at Lefkandi, falls in late LH IIIB₂, immediately preceding phase 1 of LH IIIC as defined there at that site.

Table 3.2 Suggested subdivisions for the LH IIIC₁ period of the Argolid, Corinthia, Attica and Euboea, with proposed equivalences for the Phylakopi sanctuary. (The absolute chronology is discussed below)

Approx. date BC	Rutter (1977)	Lefkandi	Tiryns	Perati	Other sites	Phylakopi Sanctuary
1030						
	Furumark LH IIIC ₂				Salamis Kermeikos cists Mycenae grave	
1060	5	3	Spät	III	Asine House G Kea temple Mycenae Lion Gate X, XI	
1090						Abandonment
(1100)		2b	(Fortgeschrittenes Entwickelt)		Granary destruction House W at Tiryns Argive Close Style Lefkandi pictorial	
1110	4			II		3c 3b 3a
(1120)		2a	Entwickelt		Beginning of Octopus Style	2b collapse
1130	3	1b	3		Korakou Mycenae N. Baulk	
1150			Früh 2			2a
	2	1a	1	I	Korakou	
1170						
	1	(LH IIIB)	Übergang		Iria N. slope of Acropolis	2a (cont)
1190						

In order to construct Table 3.2 these equivalences have been added to Rutter's scheme, in the interpretation of which I have benefitted from information from Dr Elizabeth French concerning her 1974 phasing for LH IIIC, as revised in the light of her work during 1980 on the Mycenae stratification, as well as from her suggestions on the chronological equivalences of Perati.

This emerging relative chronological structure for the LH IIIC period seems the most useful for the purposes of comparison. But it should be firmly stressed that we are dealing now with *areas of high regional autonomy* from the ceramic standpoint. It is notable for instance that many Octopus Style stirrup jars are found at Perati, and hardly any in the Argolid. Or again the lipless conical bowl (FS 242) is common at Lefkandi phase 2 (see also Cat. No. 161 below) and at Perati, yet is extremely rare in the Argolid.

(d) The later pottery of the Sanctuary

At first sight the later pottery of the Phylakopi sanctuary,—that is to say the stylistically later part of the material found in phase 2a and the pottery of phases 2b and 3,—is largely lacking in diagnostic character. It is dominated by deep bowls, both patterned and monochrome, and a large number of monochrome kylikes. These shapes begin in LH IIIA2: monochrome decoration is prevalent and in general the sanctuary pottery shows little internal evolution. It lacks many of the more obvious features of LH IIIC seen on other sites, such as the splendid Octopus Style stirrup jars found on Naxos (Kardara 1977), or material in the Argive Close Style or indeed in the Lefkandi Pictorial Style. At a superficial inspection it is so characterless that our pottery experts, at an early stage in its examination, began to speak of it as a 'Limbo' Style, on account of the paucity of diagnostic features. At first glance it might well be dismissed as provincial LH IIIB with an admixture of some features which in other areas would be reminiscent of LH IIIC.

Closer examination, as documented in Miss Mountjoy's meticulous study, altogether changes this assessment. For despite the generally nondescript impression conveyed by much of the material, there are numerous points of specific resemblance with LH IIIC material from Euboea and the Argolid which are sufficiently well-defined to be chronologically significant.

It should be borne in mind that one of the most significant features of the assemblage is the absence of imported pottery in substantial quantities. The absence of sherds in the Argive Close Style (which is in any case vanishingly rare outside the Argolid) or the Octopus Style need not, therefore, indicate that the collapse of phase 2b occurred before the inception of Rutter's phase 4 or of Lefkandi phase 2. Indeed the term 'Developed LH IIIC' as used by Miss Mountjoy implies an equivalence with the first part of Rutter's phase 4, and with Lefkandi phase 2a.

There are many well-stratified ceramic finds from various parts of the sanctuary, although the pottery is much broken, with many joins between different areas and sometimes between strata belonging to different stratigraphic phases. As discussed above this need cause little surprise: for instance it is clear that debris cleared out of the East Shrine during phase 2a accumulated in the street immediately to the south (NLe space c). The crucial principle must be borne in mind that a well defined layer, sealed by the superposition of subsequent strata, is to be dated by the latest material found within it. The presence of much other material of typologically earlier form or decoration need cause no surprise: it indicates either the continuing use of such pottery or its continued presence in the same area for some considerable time after its breakage. Equally, when we are speaking of a vessel pieced together from potsherds found in several different strata, that vessel was already in use at the time of (or possibly earlier than) the earliest stratigraphic context from which sherds of it occur.

Account must be taken, of course, of the possibility of later disturbance to the deposits which was not noticed during excavation, and of the risk of mislabelling of finds during excavation or in the laboratory: it would be unwise to lay too much emphasis upon the context of a single, small sherd. But the evidence from the sanctuary is both abundant and consistent.

This point may be illustrated by reference to pottery cited in chapter V as typologically significant from just three of the many contexts documented there. Each represents an association of finds securely stratified together by the collapse of the sanctuary and thus belonging to phase 2b of the sequence. In some cases sherds from the same pot are found also in other areas and in later levels, but this in no way diminishes the validity of the context:

1. *Room B at the west of the West Shrine*: deep bowls (FS 284) decorated with a variety of motifs (Cat. Nos. 206, 207, 208. 218); shallow angular bowl (FS 295), undecorated (Cat. No. 364); tripod cooking pot (Cat. No. 377), and other finds.

2. *Cult bench at south-west corner of West Shrine*: stirrup jar (Cat. No. 114); double jars (Cat. Nos. 93 and 94), Late Psi figurine of developed LH IIIC type (SF 2007).
3. *Large collection of pottery from street south of East Shrine*: conical disc of stirrup jar (Cat. No. 123); complete piriform jar with developed LH IIIC decoration (Cat. No. 81); complete collar-necked jar, mended with lead rivets (Cat. No. 86); crater with chequer panel decoration (fragments of this vessel were found in floor make-up, and it may have been broken already in phase 2a) (Cat. No. 127); decorated mug (FS 226) (Cat. No. 150); dipper (Cat. No. 160); deep bowl (Cat. No. 218); kylix (Cat. No. 350), and other finds.

In addition there were a few finds of LH IIIC pottery from phase 2a levels, in contexts antedating the collapse, e.g. plate base (Cat. No. 307); deep bowls with sherds also in levels of phase 2b (Cat. Nos. 207 and 208); deep bowls, from levels immediately below collapse phase floors (Cat. Nos. 205 and 209).

These ceramic indications set the collapse (phase 2b) of the Phylakopi sanctuary within Rutter's fourth phase for LH IIIC, although not necessarily far into that phase, and hence probably within the time span Lefkandi phase 2a.

The material from phases 3b and 3c at the sanctuary support this impression, for again there are several pieces (medium band deep bowls (Cat. Nos. 254 and 255); monochrome bowl with reserved rim (Cat. No. 266); lipless conical bowl (Cat. No. 161); tray (Cat. No. 315)) which fall typologically within Rutter's phase 4. The duration of phases 3b and 3c of the sanctuary is not clear, but it is possible that the final abandonment there took place before the end of Rutter's fourth phase, i.e. before the end of Lefkandi phase 2. It could, however, be set later, perhaps even as late as the abandonment of the Kea shrine.

The evidence of the figurines was one of the first indicators of this chronological picture. Dr French drew attention to the Late Psi figurine, SF 2007 (PLATE 38 *b*), found in the collapse phase in the southern part of the West Shrine (MLb East layer 13). (It matches closely a figurine, SF 1521, found in a phase 3b context in the north-west corner, NLc layer 214.) There is no published chronology for the development of Mycenaean figurines during the LH IIIC period but Mr Popham kindly allows Dr French to refer to the Lefkandi evidence. Figurines of this class with a cross painted on the body are known throughout the LH IIIC period there.

A similar inference may be drawn from the Late Linear animal, SF 1575 (PLATE 47 *a*) from a collapse phase deposit in the north-west corner of the West Shrine (NLc layer 218). Its particular features of simplified bands along the sides of the body distinguish it as a form which is again well known at Lefkandi in LH IIIC.

The Lefkandi evidence does not, unfortunately, allow of closer dating, but these first chronological indications for Phylakopi are now well supported by the pottery evidence. The particular features of the sanctuary ceramics do not arise from an early (e.g. LH IIIB) date but from other factors, notably the apparent isolation of Melos during the Late Helladic IIIC period.

3. Absolute Chronology

The absolute chronology for the Phylakopi sanctuary must rest entirely upon the synchronisms attempted between Phylakopi and the Mycenaean ceramic sequence established for the Argolid, together with Attica and Euboia, and upon the relationships between this sequence and the historically established chronologies of Egypt and the East Mediterranean. The direct imports from these regions to Phylakopi are exceedingly few: the faience scarab (SF 766), perhaps the two bronze 'Smiting God' figurines (SF 518 and 1802), and probably the ostrich egg shell. They are not of great help chronologically. There are no convenient laboratory methods of dating

available, in the absence both of wood or charcoal samples for dendrochronology and the lack of abundant organic materials for radiocarbon dating, whose precision is in any case not great. Nor is that of thermoluminescence dating.

Dates in calendar years can thus only be assigned to the sanctuary by arriving at absolute dates for the significant points in the Late Helladic ceramic sequence, as set out above. For the earlier stages (LH IIIA and B) there is fairly widespread agreement about the Mycenaean chronology, since links within the Aegean and beyond are fairly common. For the LH IIIC period the relative lack of such links makes the task much more problematical.

The LH IIIA2 period was originally set by Furumark (1941b, 115) at 1400 to 1300 BC. Later writers, such as Mylonas (1966, 236) have brought the beginning of the LH IIIA1 period up to *ca.* 1400 BC, beginning LH IIIA2 between *ca.* 1385 and 1370 BC (Hankey and Warren 1973, 401). Since the construction of the West Shrine began early in the LH IIIA2 period, the absolute date may be set at somewhere near 1360 BC, although it could differ from this date by at least 20 years in either direction.

The next significant point in our sequence is the construction of the City Wall and of the East Shrine during LH IIIB1. Furumark (1941b, 115) originally set the LH IIIB period at *ca.* 1300 to 1230 BC, but later writers have tended to lower the end of the period to *ca.* 1190 BC (e.g. Mylonas 1966, 236). It may therefore be appropriate to set the construction of the City Wall at Phylakopi, and hence the beginning of phase 2a within about 20 years of 1270 BC. These dates do not differ radically from those which would have been offered by Furumark forty years ago, and most scholars are in agreement to within 20 years or so (see Table 3.3). Furumark originally divided the LH IIIC period into IIIC1 early, IIIC1 late and IIIC2, assigning a range of *ca.* 1230 to 1100 BC for the totality (Furumark 1941b, 115). Later he divided the IIIC1 period into three sub-phases, a, b and c instead of two, and assigned a range of 1230 to 1025 BC (Furumark 1944). Desborough (1964, 241) has re-evaluated the evidence for the beginning of LH IIIC and Hankey and Warren (1973, 339) cite other relevant evidence to suggest the initial date of 1190 BC quoted above. Iakovidis, using his Perati material, would set the inception between 1190 and 1185 BC. It does not seem likely that the destruction at Mycenae and Tiryns, which may be taken as defining the end of IIIB and hence the inception of IIIC, occurred at a date differing by more than two or three decades from these figures.

With the end of LH IIIC the matter is much less clear. The end of the Sub-Mycenaean (or LH IIIC2) phase, as seen in the Salamis and Kerameikos cemeteries, is defined by the inception of the Protogeometric ceramic style in Athens. The dating of this event is arrived at largely by extrapolation backwards from a date of *ca.* 750 BC for the beginning of the Late Geometric style. Desborough (1972, 79) set it between 1075 and 1050 BC, after a duration of some 50 years for the Sub-Mycenaean style, but already (*ibid.* note 10) saw the implications of evidence from Mycenae for a suggested date of 1120 BC or after for the final (Granary) destruction there. If we were to accept this point of Desborough's, we should return to the later chronology of Furumark (1944) of *ca.* 1025 or 1030 for the end of the sub-Mycenaean (LH IIIC2) period. This date will be assumed here, although it could be shifted by at least half a century either way without doing violence to the uncertain evidence upon which it is based.

A beginning of *ca.* 1060 BC for the Sub-Mycenaean period would allow it a duration of 30 years, compared to the 50 allowed by Furumark (1944) and the 25 proposed by Iakovidis (1979, 462).

These suggestions leave us with a span of *ca.* 1190 to 1060 BC for the LH IIIC1 period, with its subdivisions as set out in Table 3.2: some 130 years compared with the 155 proposed by Furumark (1944), and the 115 allowed by Iakovidis. The further subdivision must be completely

Table 3.3
Suggested absolute chronology for the Phylakopi Sanctuary

Date BC	Argolid Period	Phase	Event	Use
(1060)	Late LH IIIC			
(1090)			Abandonment	
1100	Mid LH IIIC	3c 3b 3a	Build Blocking Wall	Re-use of East and West Shrine
1120		2b	Collapse	
(1130)	Early LH IIIC			
(1190)				Use of East and West Shrines
	LH IIIB	2a		
1270			Build City Wall and East Shrine	
(1300)		1c		
	LH IIIA ₂	1b		Early use of West Shrine
		1a		
1360			Construct West Shrine	
(1370)				
	LH IIIA ₁			
(1400)				

arbitrary: one approach is to allow a span of 20 to 30 years for each of the six subdivisions in the table. This would have the effect of setting the final destruction (Granary) at Mycenae within a few decades of 1090 BC.

The collapse at the Phylakopi sanctuary was set above as within Lefkandi phase 2a, and a date within a few decades of 1120 BC is here proposed. The duration of phase 3 is a matter of guesswork: if we allow 20 to 30 years, then the final abandonment of the Phylakopi sanctuary would be within a few decades of 1100 BC or 1090 BC. These dates are set out in the table below (Table 3.3) but it should again be stressed that each date could be moved by several decades in either direction without seriously contradicting the available data.

Chapter IV

The Material

The course of the excavation has now been described, and the reasoning set out which allows the relative chronology of the sanctuary area to be established. The phase sequence arrived at was described in the last chapter. There, anticipating the discussion of chapters V and VI, the relative chronology for the sanctuary was correlated with the Mycenaean ceramic sequence for the Aegean as a whole. All of this is a useful preliminary for the discussion, in chronological order, of the development of the sanctuary buildings, and of the artifactual material associated with successive phases. The phase diagrams in Appendix A are relevant at this stage.

1. Use of the area prior to the construction of the West Shrine (Phase O/1a)

The most prominent architectural features during the Late Bronze I period in what was later to become the sanctuary area were the massive walls 950 and 951 (FIG. 2.111). The southern face of Wall 950 was not located in the course of the excavation of trench MKd, and this face may well have collapsed southwards at some time, down the steep slope here. Excavation at greater depth would be required to locate the lower course of the outer face of the fortification wall here.

Twenty metres to the west, a small sounding in square KKd exposed (and dated) the south face of the Late Bronze I fortification wall in that position but the manner of its continuation eastward is not clear. The plans of the earlier (1896–9) excavations are ambiguous on this point, since in this area only the tops of walls were followed, and much of these superficially exposed remains were covered by the excavation's spoil tip before they could be accurately recorded for the final plan published in 1904.

Our other relevant information comes from trench PK, 25 metres to the east of MKd, where the outer face of the Late Bronze I fortification wall was located some 8.5 m south of the inner face of the Late Helladic IIIB fortification wall. The excavations in KKd and PK will be reported in a subsequent volume. The possibility cannot be excluded that there was a gate along this stretch of walling south of the sanctuary area, but it is perhaps more likely that the north face of the Late Bronze I fortification wall ran no more than some five metres south of the position of the south wall of the subsequent West Shrine. These are matters which only subsequent excavation can resolve.

The northern limits of this area are fortunately much clearer. In NLc North, to the north of the West Shrine, Walls 605 and 606 of Late Bronze I date, were found immediately beneath the Late Helladic III floor (FIG. 2.111). The floor here was some 1.6 m higher than the floor of the West Shrine immediately to the south, and it is clear that this disparity in absolute levels, the result of terracing down the natural slope of the hill, follows approximately the earlier Late Bronze I configuration.

To the north of this room the Mycenaean street runs eastward into NLe space d, and on into OLd and PLc. The top of Wall 512, to which a Late Bronze I date was assigned, was found some 1.3 m below the latest Mycenaean street level. This confirms that the structures in Late Bronze I times to the north of Wall 500 were, as later, at a much higher level. It also indicates some re-adjustment in the direction or position of the street between Late Bronze I and Late Bronze III times.

Excavation below the Mycenaean levels of this street did not take place in OLd or PLc, but the difference in level in Mycenaean times is amply documented for both. Moreover the southern face of the Late Bronze I predecessor of the southern wall of this street (Wall 1) was investigated in PLa/PLc, and there can be little doubt that it performed a function of terracing at that time as well as later. That it retained a street at higher level on its north side in Late Bronze I times as well as later is clearly implied by the excavations of Dawkins and Droop (1911, plate I) where the Mycenaean ("Third City") and the Late Bronze I walls ("Second City") are clearly indicated in square G5. The excavation in PLa and PLc will be published in a subsequent volume.

These observations, and the soundings below the shrine area itself, indicate that already in Late Bronze I times the configuration of the hill, with its terracing, was much as in Mycenaean times. What became the sanctuary area was bounded at the west by Wall 950 and at the north by terrace walling along the line of Wall 500 or Wall 605. To the east we have the Late Bronze I structures revealed in PLa, and beyond in G5 and H5 of Dawkins' and Droop's "Second City". To the south the matter is less clear, but it may be assumed that such structures in PLa extended south to the northern (inner) face of the Late Bronze I fortification wall.

The nature of the Late Bronze I structures which preceded that later Mycenaean shrine could be investigated only through soundings as occasion offered. Most of these have already been concisely reported above, and may be recapitulated here (see FIG. 2.11).

(i) *NLc* In the eastern part of grid square NLc, excavation was continued beneath Floor 4, the earliest floor of the West Shrine. As reported above, a Late Bronze I wall, Wall 607, was found running very approximately parallel to (but not aligned with) the north wall of the West Shrine, Wall 603.

(ii) *NLc South* In this area excavation was conducted below Floors 8 and 9, the equivalent of Floor 4 in NLc. this revealed a wall of Late Bronze I date, Wall 736, with Floor 12 in association with it. It is likely that Wall 736 intersects with Wall 607. The puzzling occurrence in this sounding of a stretch of wall, Wall 734, clearly later than 607 and 736 and resting on the latter, yet preceding the construction of the West Shrine, was reported earlier.

(iii) *NLa* Here, towards the south-east corner of the West Shrine, two intersecting walls, Wall 624 and Wall 625, of Late Bronze I date, were found below the earliest floor of the West Shrine. An earthen surface, Floor 6, was associated with them, at a depth of 1.4 m below the floor (Floor 5) of the West Shrine.

(iv) *MLd Room B and MLb Rooms A and B* In Room B, the west wall of the West Shrine complex, Wall 722, was underlain by Wall 726. Wall 726 was intersected at right angles by Wall 727. Although pure Late Bronze I levels were not reached there can be no doubt that these are Late Bronze I walls, and that the West Shrine was built on top of them, using Wall 726 as a foundation.

During the 1977 excavation season, Wall 726 was found to continue to the south (designated Wall 740 in MLb Room B) and continue under the east-west Wall 821 of the subsequent shrine to reappear as Wall 822 in MLb Room A.

It is clear therefore that in Late Bronze I times a building already stood immediately against the massive fortification wall, Wall 950, and that the west wall of this building was at least 6 m long.

(v) *NKc/d* Excavations outside the south-east corner of the West Shrine revealed indications of a wall, Wall 782, underlying the east wall of the shrine, Wall 662. It was not however clear whether this was a genuine earlier wall, possibly of Late Bronze I date, or simply a footing wall for the shrine construction. Intersecting it at right angles at its northern end (and hence running roughly east west, approximately in line with and beneath Wall 661) were found indications of

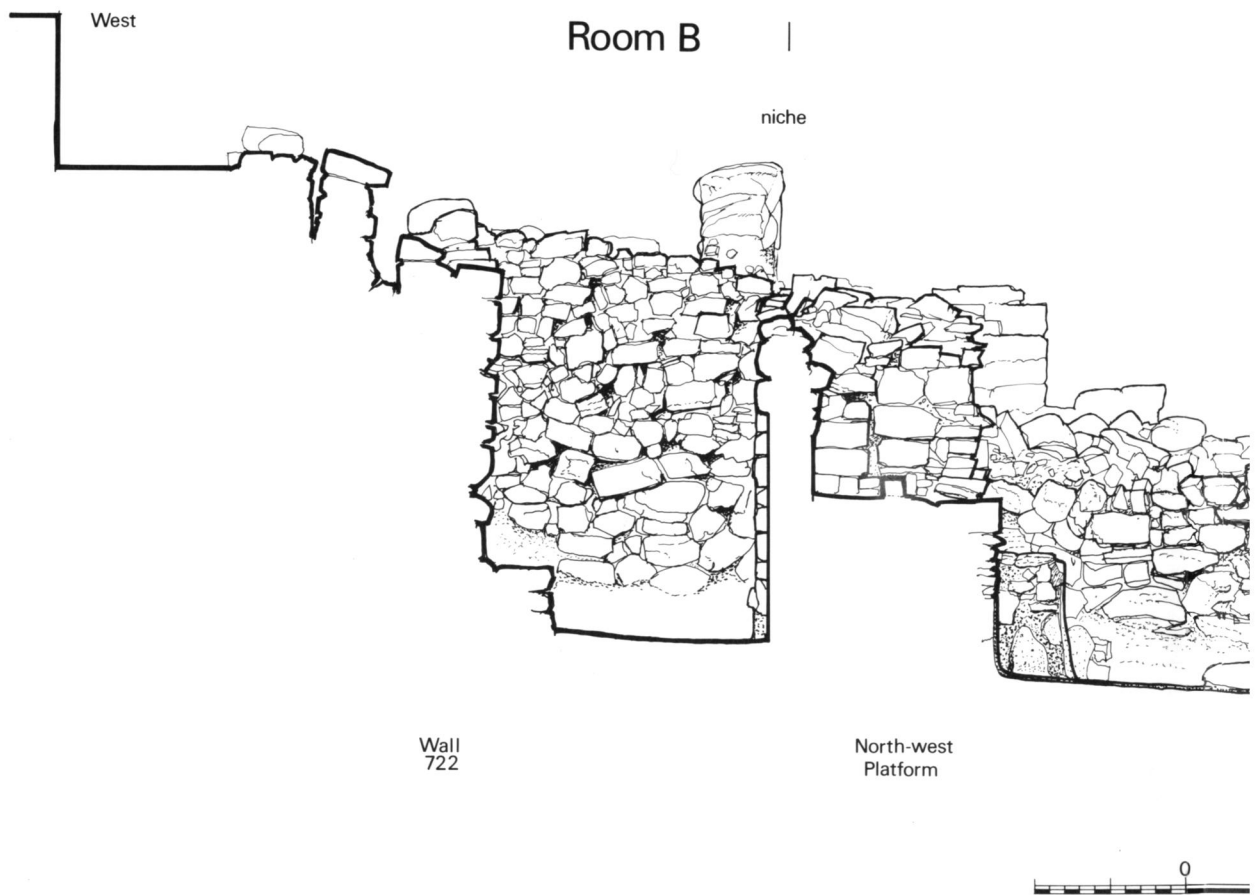
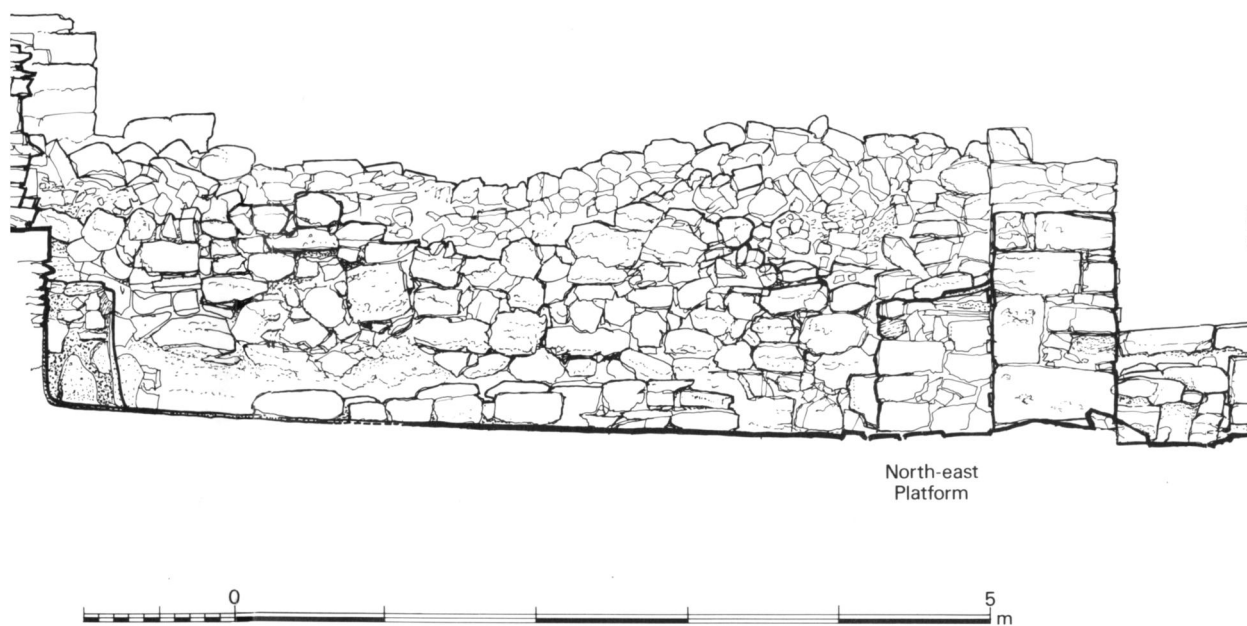


FIG. 4.2 East-west elevation of the san

West Shrine

Wall
502

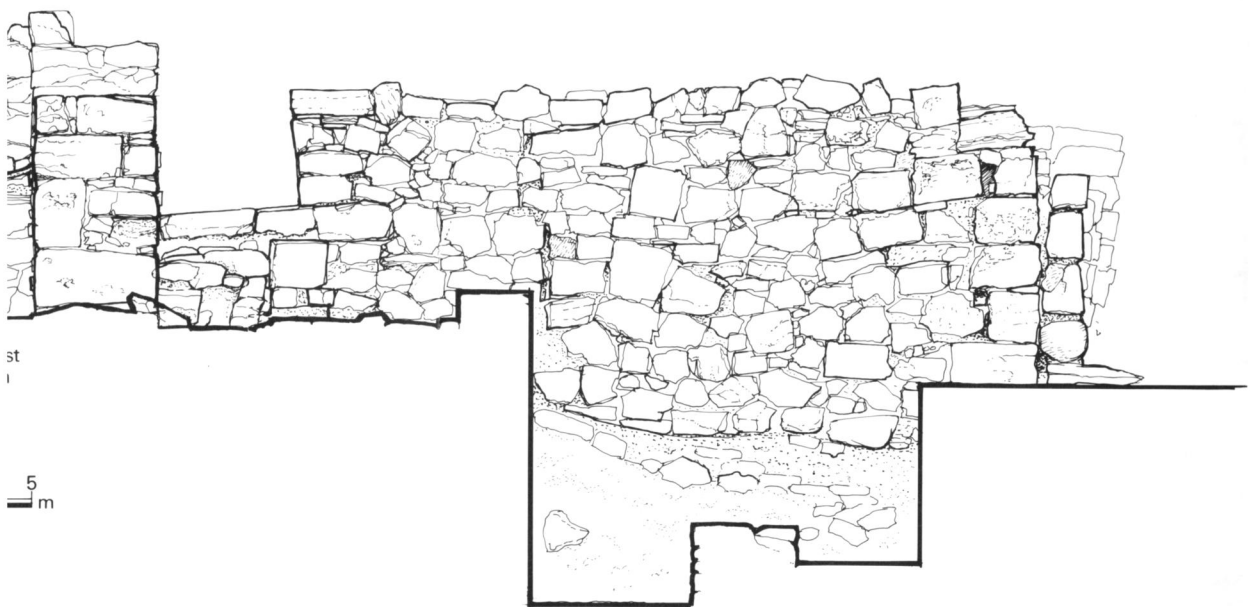


East-west elevation of the sanctuary by Alec Daykin (along the line indicated on FIG. 2.6). Looking north. Scale 1:50.

East Shrine

East

Wall
502



ing north. Scale 1:50.

East

Street and Courtyard

Wall 100

Wall 661

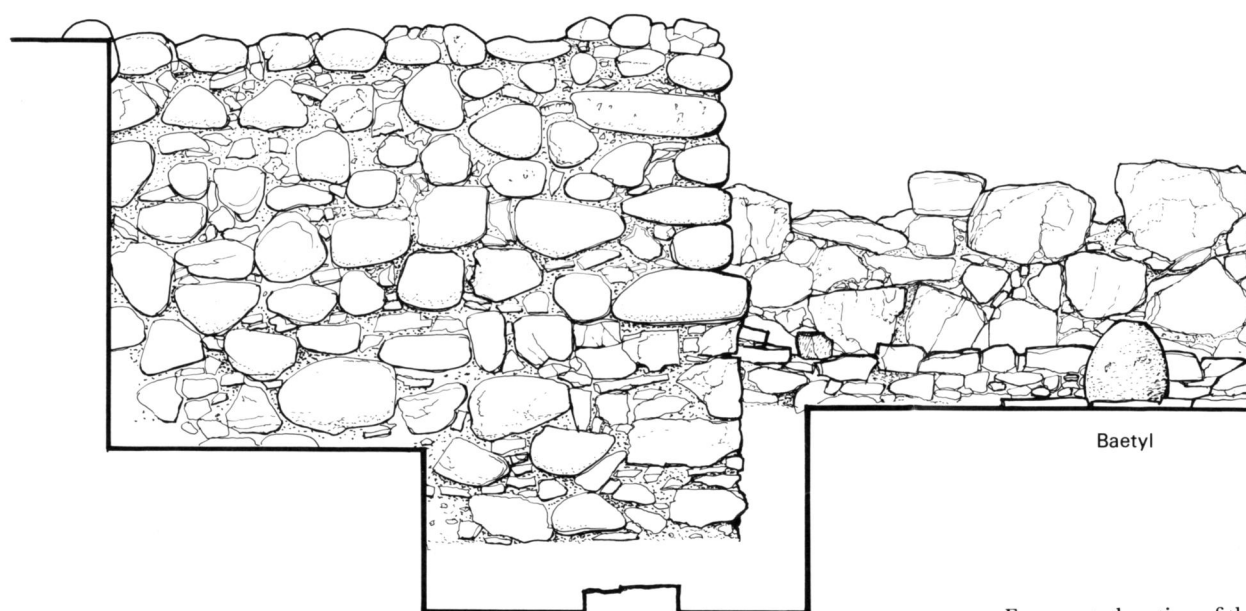
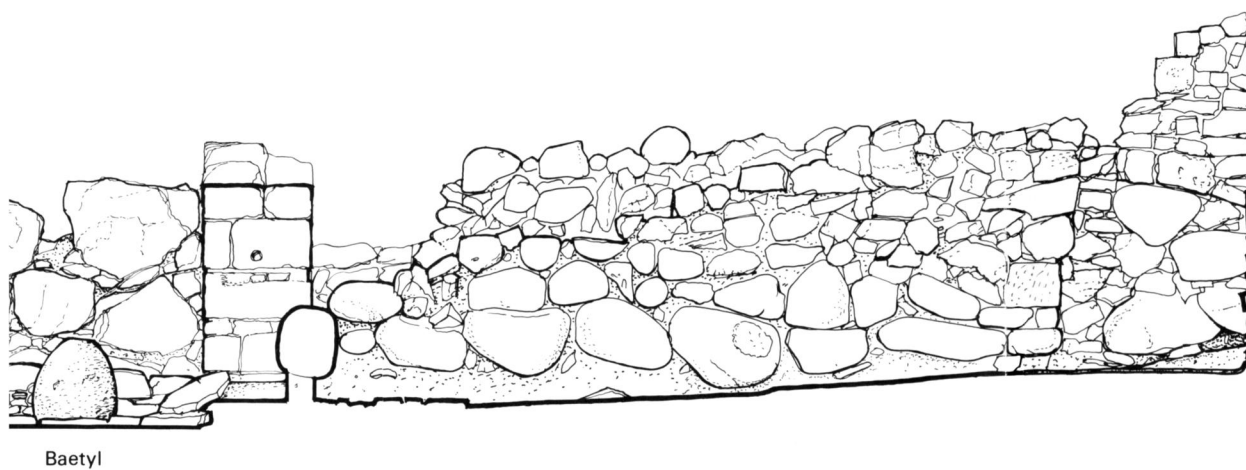


FIG. 4.3 East-west elevation of the

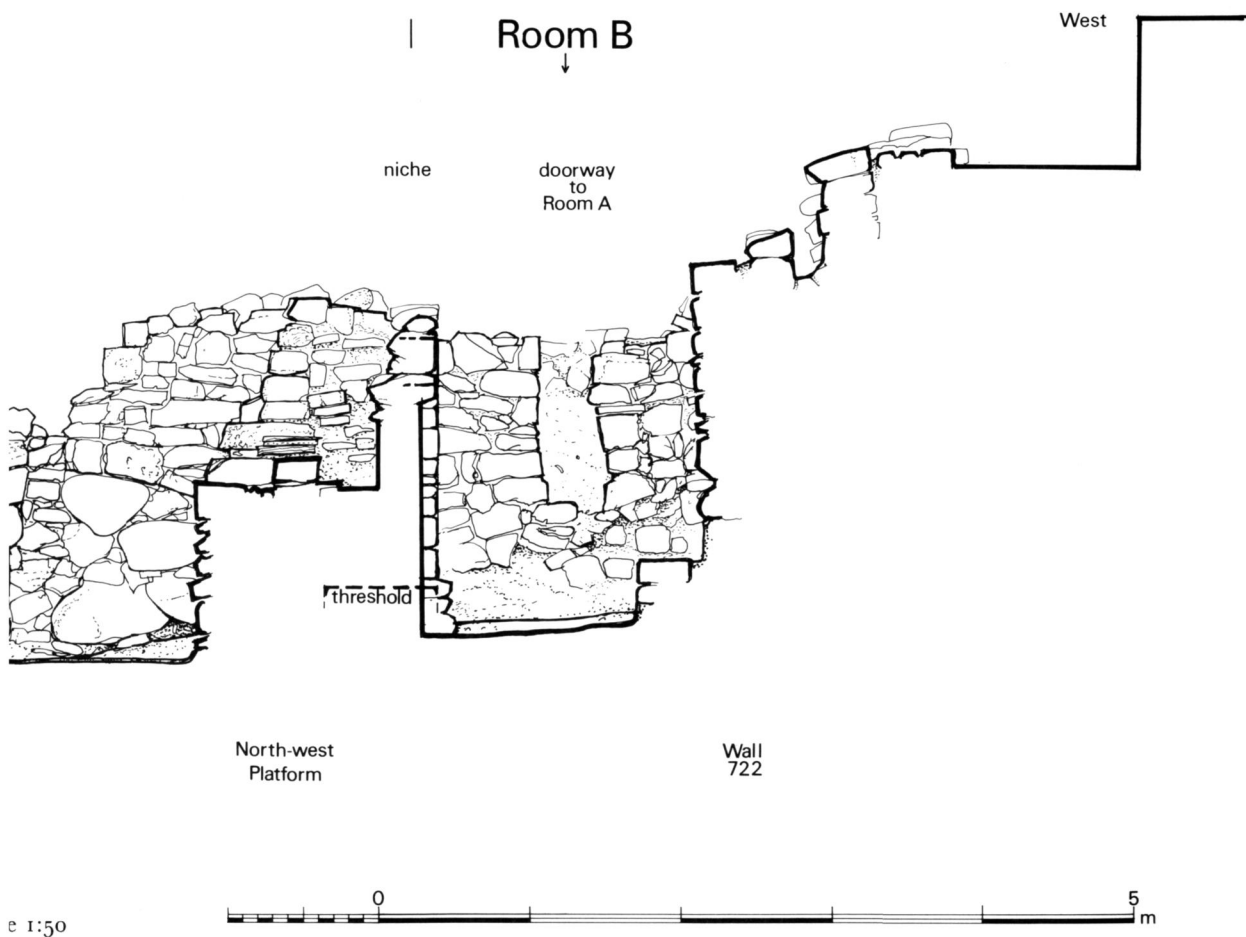
West Shrine

Wall
662

Wall 626/733



West elevation of the sanctuary by Alec Daykin (along the line indicated on FIG. 2.6). Looking south. Scale 1:50



Wall 783. In the narrow sounding no more than 0.7 m of this wall was uncovered, and neither its date nor its nature was investigated. It is likely to be another part of the pre-shrine structures in this area.

(vi) *NLe space a/b* In a small sounding below the East Shrine, it was possible to establish that the bottom of the north wall, Wall 101, lies some 0.6 m below the lowest floor Floor 5. Some 0.4 m lower, below the rough footings of Wall 101, the Late Bronze I wall, Wall 642 was revealed, running beneath and in roughly the same direction as Wall 101. A white clay floor, Floor 17, was found in association with this wall, at a depth of 1.3 m below Floor 5 (see FIG. 2.7)

During the period of early use of the East Shrine its floor (in space a/b) was initially about 1 m above the exterior street level in NLe space c to the south. It is interesting, therefore, to note that the Late Bronze I predecessor, Floor 17, in space a/b was about 1.1 m above its contemporary equivalent in space c, Floor 16. This implies that the terracing effect of Wall 501, the south wall of the East Shrine, was anticipated in the Late Bronze I period by some earlier and analogous arrangement.

(vii) *NLe space c* In the western part of this area a sounding was undertaken beneath Floor 12, the earliest street level of the shrine period. Wall 641 of Late Bronze age date was found running north-south, and hence directly under the City Wall, Wall 100, and the south wall of the East Shrine, Wall 501 (FIG. 2.8). On its east side, a clear plaster floor, Floor 16 was revealed, with associated Late Bronze I material. Floor 16 is some 1.4 m below the early street level, Floor 12.

(viii) *PLa* Trench PLa, to the east of the sanctuary area, was the only one in this part of the site where more extensive Late Bronze I levels were uncovered. This work will be discussed in a subsequent volume. As noted earlier, the Late Bronze I levels there may probably be equated with what Dawkins and Droop (1911, Plate 1) term those of the "Second City".

Pre-Shrine Material in the West Shrine Area: Table 4.1

(Material from the East Shrine area is listed in Section 3. Further relevant material is also listed in the next section.)

Table 4.1: Early Finds from the West Shrine

(i) *West Shrine, north of later blocking wall (Phase 0)*

Pottery

P. 805		Possible shallow bowl	NLc layer 224
P. 808		Shallow cup or bowl	NLc layer 225
P. 810		Shallow cup or bowl	NLc layer 225
P. 893		Possible shallow bowl	NLc South layer 257

Primary Figurine

Minor Fragment

SF 2170	PL. 47 e	Legs of seated figurine	NLc layer 224
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Organic

SF 2390	PL. 61 a	Shell	NLc South layer 257
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Terracotta

SF 2215		Loomweight, fragment	NLc layer 224
SF 2216		Loomweight, fragment	NLc layer 224

Plaster

SF 2391		Scraps, painted red	NLc South layer 257
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Coarse stone

SF 1587	Hammer stone	NLc layer 224
SF 1588	Marble hammer stone	NLc layer 225
SF 2388	Marble grinder?	NLc South layer 257

*(ii) NLa: West Shrine, south of later blocking wall (phase o/1a)***Metals**

SF 1616	Bronze fragment	NLa layer 327
SF 1618	Bronze fragment	NLa layer 327

Terracotta

SF 1615	Spindle whorl	NLa layer 327
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Plaster

SF 1096	Scrap, with painted bands of yellow and red-brown	NLa layer 328
SF 2175	Scrap, painted pale blue	NLa layer 330

*(iii) Room B (MLd) Phase o/1a***Pottery**

P. 694	Middle Cycladic spouted bowl	MLd Room B layer 522
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Metals

SF 2043	Bronze fragment, possibly slag	MLd Room B layer 520
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Terracotta

SF 2217	Loom weight	MLd Room B layer 523
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Plaster

SF 2042	Scraps, painted dark blue and pale blue	MLd Room B layer 520
SF 2044	Scrap, painted red	MLd Room B layer 520
SF 2045	Scraps, painted red and black	MLd Room B layer 520
SF 2047	Scrap, yellow and black bands, red circles	MLd Room B layer 521
SF 2049	Scrap, with red band	MLd Room B layer 521

Fine stone

SF 2046	FIG. 8.11	Possible double bowl, serpentine	MLd Room B layer 521
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Coarse stone

SF 2048	Pounder/grindstone	MLd Room B layer 521
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2. The construction and early use of the West Shrine (Phases 1a to 1c, with 2a)

The West Shrine appears to have been built in a single phase of construction. In plan, with certain significant differences, it was essentially the structure seen in the final plan, FIG. 4.1 (in pocket at rear). The most obvious later changes are the post-collapse insertion of the Blocking Wall, Wall 626/733, and the addition of the platform or altar in the north-east corner, feature 505.

There were also alterations in the arrangement of the niches and platforms of the west wall (including the very late addition of wall 604), and additional 'benches' were set out along the foot of certain walls after the construction of the shrine.

The axis of the West Shrine is approximately east-west. A bearing along the inner face of the east wall (Wall 662/502) reads 11° east of magnetic north (in 1977). The south wall runs east-west (in relation to magnetic north) to within one degree. It forms a rectangular complex with a main central room, of interior measurements 5.8 m north-south by 6 m east-west. The principal entrance was from the east, in the middle of the east wall (PLATE 9). A central doorway in the west wall led into the much narrower room behind. This was divided by a cross-wall, Wall 821, into a small southern room, Room A, with interior measurements *ca.* 1.6 m north-south by 1.6 m east-west (although the room is not perfectly square), and a larger northern room, Room B, measuring 3.8 m north-south by 1.6 m east-west (PLATE 15 *a*). A subsidiary doorway into the main room from the south, and about 1 m from the east wall, was later blocked (PLATE 17 *a*).

The original work of the West Shrine is clearly seen at the south-east corner, where large blocks (up to 60 by 32 by 25 cm) of dressed, white conglomerate tuff were used (FIG. 4.5). (This stone is the material preferred for dressed building stone on the site, the re-used pillar of the altar in the south-west corner (PLATE 14 *c*), and the two decorated pillars or lamps found (SF 2004 and 2309) are of this material.) The wall is well laid of roughly-dressed stone, so that the overall result is a smooth outer and inner face. Some of the stones are squared, but there is little regularity of size, so that the wall is not laid in regular courses. The walling contains a few pieces of the reddish rhyolite preferred by the builders of the Late Bronze I city wall, and the predominant colour is white to cream or pale brown. The big, black sea boulders, later used in the Late Helladic IIIB1 City Wall (and then in the Blocking Wall 626/733 and the fill to its south) are not used, and their rounded surfaces and dark colouring are not seen except in a few cases.

The excavation's architect, Mr Alec Daykin, suggests that this south-east corner was first laid out, as a corner "Pillar", and construction continued, both to north and to east, from there (FIG. 3.2). The four courses preserved at the corner are together 95 cm in height. The east facade is not specially ornamented. A few small stones of thickness only *ca.* 7 cm are used in its construction. The wall is *ca.* 70 cms (65 to 75 cm) in thickness.

The handsome doorway (PLATES 7 *b* and 9) is not in fact centrally placed in the east wall, but is some 2.9 m from its south end, and 3.4 m from the north. It is 84 cm wide. We did not dig down below the large boulder which blocked it to seek a threshold slab. The lowest slab on the north side, and the slab forming the second course on the south, both stretched the full wall thickness of 70 cm. Here the first four courses give a height of 1.35 m. This is excellent ashlar, given the rough nature of the conglomerate tuff employed. A hole in the middle of the south side, 80 cm above the floor, measured 6 cm in diameter and 5 cm in depth. It may have taken a door bolt, thus implying that this room was closed by a door.

There is little evidence for the use at this time of the space to the east. However a small 'hearth' of stones was found some 60 cm south-east of the south-east corner, with traces of burning against Wall 662, and a layer of ash and charcoal extending to north and east for some 5 m.

The north-east corner (PLATE 18 *a*) incorporates at the outside a slab of conglomerate tuff 73 cm long. Wall 504 to the north was apparently added later. On the inside the east wall stands to a height of 1.4 m in its original work, with what seems a rather rubbly later work overlying it, with smaller stones, rarely showing more than 50 cm long in the face.

The north wall, Wall 603 (FIG. 4.2) is of the same character as the east wall in its lower courses, up to a height of 1.2 m. Above this is a further metre of later work employing undressed stone. This presumably represents rebuilding, possibly following the collapse of phase 2b, and may therefore not belong to the early phase of construction. There are indications in the north-east corner that the interior of this wall was plastered. (The bench at the foot of this wall is a later addition, and the platform in the north-east corner is later still.)

At the western end of this room, its west wall, Wall 723, abuts onto the north wall, Wall 603/721, which was clearly built as a single unit: it is only 55 cm thick at this point. (It should be noted that this junction at the western face of Wall 723 is partly obscured by a late field wall or *mandra*, which has nothing to do with the shrine itself.)

The south wall of this main room is 65 cm wide. Its most notable feature is the doorway, 70 cm in width, and neatly blocked (PLATE 17 *a*). Both sides of the doorway are clearly visible from the inside, the jambs showing clearly. But at the outside only the eastern jamb may be discerned, as at the time of blocking there seems to have been some rebuilding of the outer, western face of the wall which merges with the blocking. This blocking of course was later than the initial construction here under consideration. The threshold level is clear on the inside, and a threshold slab is seen on the outside. (At 1.08 metres west of the doorway, a rubbly wall abuts the outside of the shrine, Wall 784. Only its east face was seen and it was not further investigated. Clearly it is a later addition.) West of the doorway a low bench, 'Wall' 623, runs along the foot of the south wall (PLATE 14 *c*). It apparently belongs with the initial construction of the shrine, running deeper than the earliest observed floor. (The bench at the foot of the north wall lies on the plaster floor of the early phase.) The south wall of the shrine, Wall 622/732 makes a neat corner at the south-west, turning north as Wall 728. Here then it is the westward continuation (Wall 713) which abuts onto this corner, and the arrangement is not symmetrical with that at the north-west corner.

The west wall, Wall 728 and 723, (FIG. 4.4), is interrupted by a doorway the canonical 70 cm wide. At this point Wall 728 is 74 cm thick. The doorway itself is much obscured by the Blocking Wall 626/733 which we were not authorised to remove.

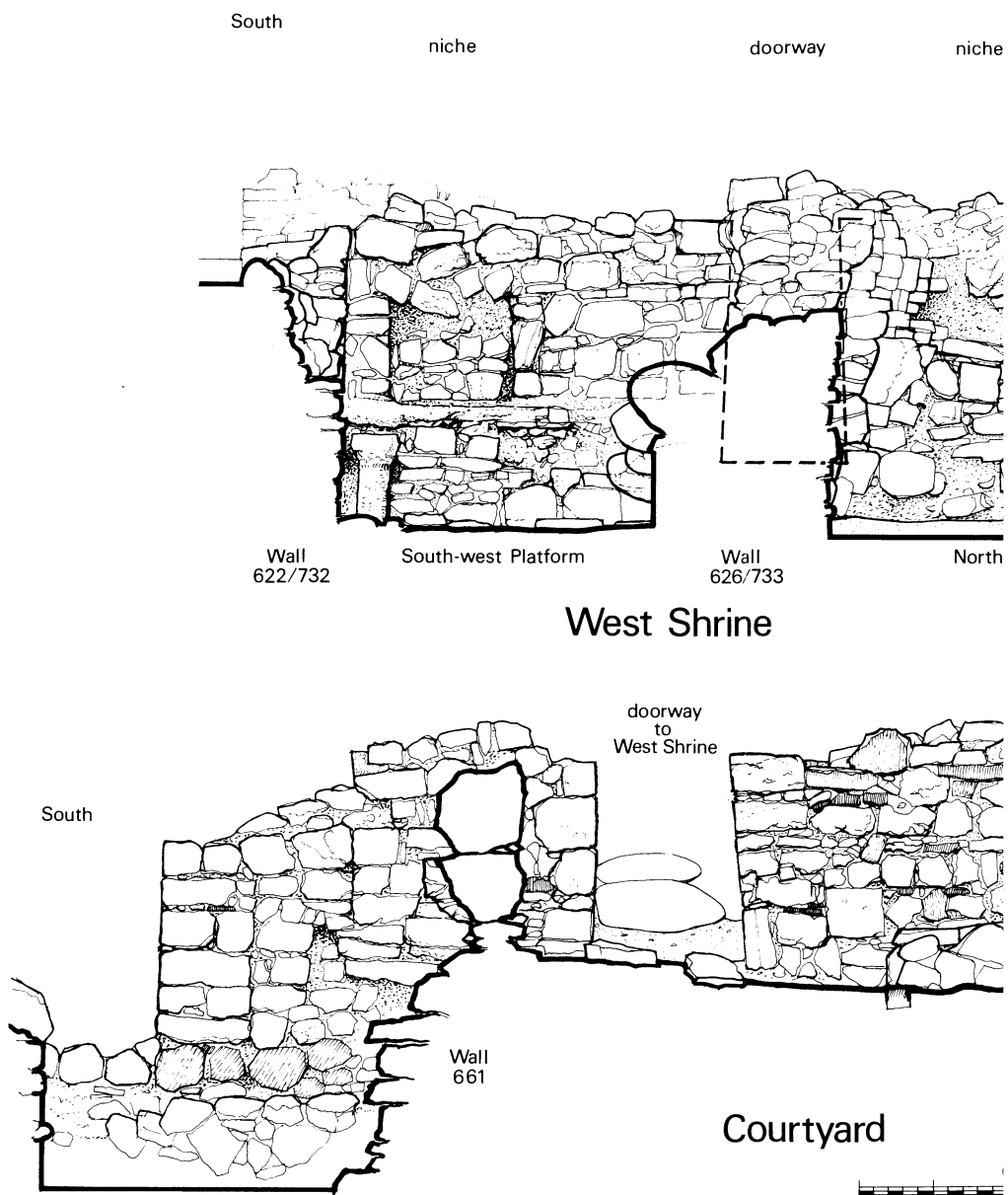
In the south-west corner of the West Shrine was a platform measuring some 1 m north-south, and with a depth of *ca.* 80 cm east-west (PLATE 14 *a-c*). It incorporates a circular column of conglomerate tuff at the southern end of its front (i.e. east face), whose diameter is 23 cm. The height of the column (from its base 15 cm below Floor 6/10) was *ca.* 80 cm. The platform and column stand at a height of *ca.* 64 cm above the original floor, Floor 6/10. East of the platform and at the same height runs a narrower platform or shelf some 50 cm wide. The bench in front of this, and at a lower level, may have been added later. Both may have extended as far as the doorway, but the arrangement here is now obscured by the Blocking Wall 626/733.

Immediately above the platform, a niche opened in the west wall, Wall 728, communicating with MLb Room A to the west (FIG. 4.4). This niche was 75 cm wide, and although its lower part was subsequently blocked, its position is clearly seen in PLATES 13 and 14 *a*.

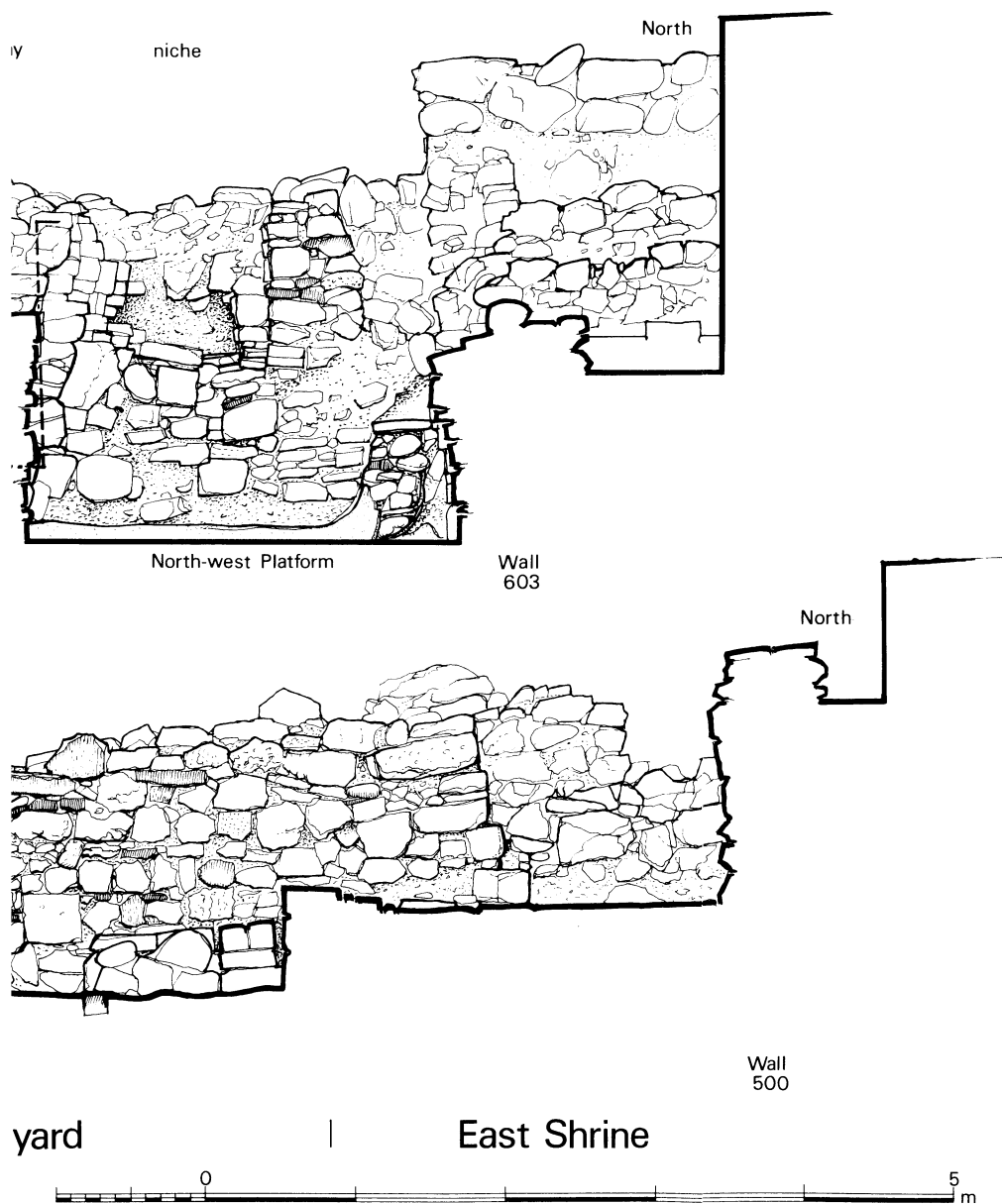
A second platform was located in the north-west corner of the West Shrine (FIG. 4.4). The arrangement here was much obscured by the later addition of Wall 604, which we were not authorised to remove (PLATE 11 *c*). The platform measures 1.10 m from north to south, and stood to a height of 85 cm above Floor 4/8 of NLc (PLATE 10 *a*). It seems that some bench arrangement possibly of later construction, extended to the south. Above this, but south of the platform, a niche appears to have opened, connecting with MLd Room B in a manner closely analogous with the niche to the south.

The main room of the West Shrine may now be visualised, with its main doorways at west and east, with a pair of niches in the west wall, and with platform and shelf arrangements in the north-west and south-west corners (FIGS. 9.4 and 9.5). The roofing of the room is more problematical. No settings for columns, to act as supports for roof beams, were observed. These could well have been located along the central, east-west, axis of the room and would therefore be obscured by the later Blocking Wall which we were not authorised to remove.

The question of roofing is further discussed in chapter IX.



FIGS. 4.4 and 4.5 North-south elevations of the West Shrine
 Above: interior, looking west. Below: the facade, looking west.



tions of the West Shrine by Alec Daykin (along the line indicated on FIG. 2.6.)
: the facade, looking west from the street area. Scale 1:50

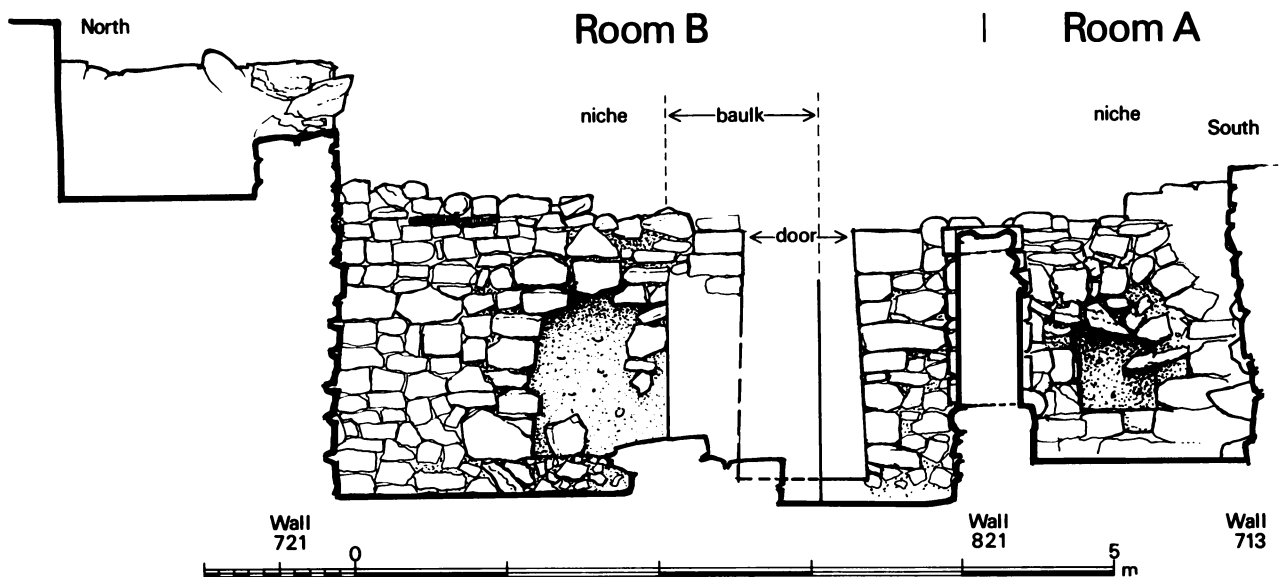


FIG. 4.6 North-south elevation in Rooms A and B by Alec Daykin, looking east. Scale 1:50

The door in the west wall, Wall 728/723, later obstructed by the Blocking Wall, Wall 733/626, gave access to the west rooms A and B, opening directly onto Room B (PLATE 18 *b*, FIG. 4.6). No indication of a threshold stone was noted, and it is probable that there was none. The floor level at the west end of the larger room (Floor 4/8 of NLc) is approximately the same as that of the lowest floor, Floor 3, of MLd.

At the west side of Room B at this time the floor ran up against the stub of the Late Bronze I wall (Wall 726/740) on which the west wall of the shrine proper was built. At the north Wall 721 (FIG. 4.2) stood firm from floor level (and indeed from below) but the east wall, Wall 723, was not so deeply founded, resting on rubble and earth, as was the south wall, Wall 821. At this time there were no benches in Room B. Subsequently, however, the floor level was raised by some 40 cm, and north and east benches (Walls 725 and 724) were constructed, and a bench (Wall 741) along the southern part of the west wall.

Between Room B and the main room of the West Shrine there appears to have been a niche, perhaps analogous to that in Room A (FIG. 4.6 and PLATE 15 *b*). The level of the base of the niche is not however clear, and the later additions, which we were not able to remove, prevented the resolution of this point.

Room A to the south was entered from Room B by the doorway in Wall 821 (FIG. 4.3), whose threshold was 60 cm above Floor 7 of Room B and 30 cm above Floor 3 of Room A. This doorway was *ca.* 40 cm wide (PLATE 17 *e*). The floor level in Room A was initially some 30 cm higher than that in Room B. Already, from the outset, there was a bench (Wall 823) against the west wall. The niche connecting with the main room of the West Shrine opened into Room A (PLATE 17 *d*), its base being some 35 cm above Floor 3. The irregular construction of the south-west corner of Room A was notable, the corner itself being less than a right angle. The south wall of Room A (Wall 713) abuts against the east wall (Wall 728). As indicated earlier, the south-west corner of the main room of the West Shrine was constructed in a single operation (FIG. 3.2). As discussed earlier, it does not follow that Room A was constructed significantly later. There are arguments

for thinking that these differences are merely constructional episodes within the single major enterprise of building the West Shrine as a whole.

The Extension Wall, Wall 661, was added to the West Shrine at some later time, and its construction is taken to mark phase 1c of the shrine sequence. Only its north face is preserved, running eastwards from the east wall of the West Shrine (FIG. 4.3, PLATE 6 c). This north face is some 40 cm south of the south side of the doorway at the east end of the West Shrine. It consists of large irregular boulders, mainly of reddish rhyolite, up to 75 by 55 cm in size. The north face is neat and flat, suggesting that the boulders have been roughly dressed on this side, but not on other faces. This face was traced for some 7 metres to the east, behind the south side of the subsequent Late Helladic IIIB1 fortification wall (see PLATE 1 b). There is no reason to suppose that the Extension Wall stops after 7 metres, and it may extend much further. Only some 3 metres of the north face is clearly seen, however, before the later City Wall obscures it, and even here the lower part is obscured by the later bench, Wall 663. The position of the southern face of this wall is now uncertain: the sounding in NKc/d, while revealing the layer of charcoal and ash running under it, did not clarify its original thickness.

With the construction of this wall (the blocking of the doorway in the south wall of the West Shrine could well be a contemporary modification), the space to the east of the West Shrine was considerably restricted. The blocking of the doorway took place prior to the use of Floor 2 in NLa.

It is not possible to synchronise developments in the West Shrine with those in the East Shrine prior to the collapse of phase 2b. However it is clear that certain modifications did take place around the time of the construction of the East Shrine. The passage of time is represented also by the sequence of floor levels most clearly seen in NLa and in MLb Room B.

In the northern part of the West Shrine's main room, the long sequence of re-plastering and re-surfacing of the floor represented by NLc floor 4/8 was taking place (PLATE 10 b). A bench was constructed on top of the uppermost of these floors against the north wall. Some re-shaping and certainly some re-plastering of the platform at the west was taking place.

In the southern part of the same room, in NLa, the sequence of six floors, Floors 6 to 1 was in use, the doorway there being blocked prior to the use of Floor 2. At the south-west corner, the bench, Wall 623 was in use with Floors 6 and 5, but Floors 4, 3 and 2 go over it. At some time during this period the niche connecting with Room A was partially blocked with two courses of stones. It may be that the platform below it was widened by the addition of a bench.

In the rooms to the west, the floor level in Room B had risen greatly. Floor 2 of MLd Room B was already 25 cm above the initial floor, Floor 3, and Floor 1 was now 65 cm above Floor 2 obscuring the bench at the north (Wall 725) and the bench to the west (Wall 741) as well as the Late Bronze I walling below the west wall. In Room A the floor level had now risen to a height some 10 or 15 cm above the base of the original niche, obscuring the bench, Wall 823, and the stub of Late Bronze I walling, Wall 822. These were, however, minor changes, consequent upon the passage of time, and there is nothing to suggest that the functioning of the different parts of the West Shrine changed significantly.

The finds

Throughout the sanctuary area, the most prolific finds were associated with the collapse phase, phase 2b. Here we are concerned with those finds which antedate that phase. We are therefore considering first materials which underlay the lowest floor recognised in the West Shrine, but which can plausibly be associated with shrine usage, such as finds from MLb East layer 25. And secondly there are those materials found on or above the earliest floors, but below the latest floors on which the collapse material of phase 2b was found.

The assemblage in Room B is of interest on several grounds. The quantity of red and pink painted plaster is so great that these fragments cannot be assumed to be derived from underlying Late Bronze I levels. But at the same time they need not denote mural decoration in the sanctuary during the LH III period. It is perfectly possible that they derive from some movable object decorated with plaster rather than from a wall.

Much obsidian debris was found in this room in levels of phase 2 (see Appendix C), as well as several pieces of coarse stone, and these may indicate some utilitarian function for it. Nonetheless it contained several objects related to the cult functions of the West Shrine, including a number of beads, four metal objects, and the magnificent sealstone of rock crystal, SF 2036 (PLATE 49).

Table 4.2: Finds from the Early Use of the West Shrine

(i) *NLc: West shrine, north of the blocking wall (Phase 1a/2a)*

Pottery			
P. 894		Possible shallow bowl	NLc South layer 246
Beads			
SF 2352	FIG. 8.7	White, glass	NLc South layer 242
SF 2353		Black, glass	NLc South layer 242
SF 2355	FIG. 8.7	Black, glass	NLc South layer 243
SF 2356		Green-white, glass	NLc South layer 244
SF 2357		Grey, glass	NLc South layer 244
SF 2359a		Grey, glass	NLc South layer 244
SF 2359b		Grey, glass	NLc South layer 244
SF 2362	FIG. 8.7	Stone, purple amethyst?	NLc South layer 245
Organic			
SF 2351	PL. 61 a	Cowrie shell	NLc South layer 242
Plaster			
SF 2365		2 scraps, painted red	NLc South layer 246
Fine stone			
SF 2350	FIG. 8.12	Steatite dress weight	NLc South layer 242
SF 2354	FIG. 8.12	Steatite dress weight	NLc South layer 243

(ii) *Finds from below the earliest floor near the S. W. Platform of the West Shrine Phase 1a (MLb East layer 25)*

Metals			
SF 2819		Bronze fragment	MLb East layer 25
SF 2825		Bronze fragment	MLb East layer 25
Beads			
SF 2814	PL. 60 a, FIG. 8.7	Stone	MLb East layer 25
SF 2821	PL. 60 a, FIG. 8.7	Blue faience	MLb East layer 25
SF 2809	PL. 60 a	Cylindrical, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2810	PL. 60 a	Glass, black with white spots	MLb East layer 25
SF 2811	PL. 60 a	White, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2812	PL. 60 a, FIG. 8.7	Cylindrical, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2813		Half, white glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2815		Black, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2816	PL. 60 b	White, glass	MLb East layer 25

SF 2817	PL. 6o <i>b</i>	Grey, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2818	PL. 6o <i>b</i>	Grey, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2822	PL. 6o <i>b</i>	Grey-green, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2823	PL. 6o <i>b</i>	Grey, glass	MLb East layer 25
SF 2824	PL. 6o <i>b</i>	Black, glass	MLb East layer 25

Terracotta

SF 2820	FIG. 8.10	Spindle whorl	MLb East layer 25
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*(iii) West Shrine south of the blocking wall, near the S. W. Platform (Phase 1b/2a)**MLb East***Metals**

SF 2802	FIG. 8.6	Lead ring bezel	MLb East layer 23
SF 2807		Bronze rod, fragment	MLb East layer 23

Beads

SF 2803	FIG. 8.7, PL. 6o <i>a</i>	Grey schist, rosette shaped	MLb East layer 23
SF 2805		White, glass	MLb East layer 23
SF 2804		White, glass or shell	MLb East layer 23
SF 2806	PL. 6o <i>b</i>	White, probably glass	MLb East layer 23

Fine stone

SF 2808	FIG. 8.12	Steatite dressweight	MLb East layer 24
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*NLa***Plaster**

SF 1094		Scrap, painted red	NLa layer 322
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*(iv) MLb Room A (Phase 1b/2a)***Pottery**

P. 1512, Cat. No. 463		Goblet/Kylix	MLb Room A layer 972
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Primary Figurine**Minor Fragment**

SF 2679	PL. 33 <i>e-f</i>	Female figure, right shoulder and arm only	MLb Room A layer 972
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Metals

SF 2681		Bronze strip, fragment	MLb Room A layer 972
SF 2676		Bronze fragment	MLb Room A layer 971

Beads

SF 2678		Half, grey glass	MLb Room A layer 972
SF 2694		Grey, glass	MLb Room A layer 973
SF 2695		Grey, glass	MLb Room A layer 974

Organic

SF 2677		Bone point	MLb Room A layer 972
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Terracotta

SF 2684		Spindle whorl, fragment	MLb Room A layer 973
SF 2683		Spindle whorl	MLb Room A layer 973

Plaster

SF 2259		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room A layer 974
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Coarse stone

SF 2680		Marble slab	MLb Room A layer 972
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(v) *West Shrine, Room B (Phase 1b/2a)*

Pottery

P. 675		Possible shallow bowl	MLd Room B layer 519
P. 680, Cat. No. 25	PL. 19	Stirrup jar	MLd Room B layer 519
P. 1408, Cat. No. 33	PL. 19	Cooking pot	MLd Room B layer 519
P. 1414, Cat. No. 18		Deep semi-globular cup	MLb Room B layer 1041
P. 1500, Cat. No. 31	PL. 19	Jug	MLd Room B layer 519
P. 1501, Cat. No. 32		Miniature bowl	MLd Room B layer 519

Sealstone

SF 2036, Cat. No. 1	PL. 49	Lentoid of grey rock crystal	MLd Room B layer 518
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Metals

SF 2041		Bronze fragment	MLd Room B layer 518
SF 2887		Bronze awl fragment and small fragment	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2890	FIG. 8.6	Bronze fragment, perforated	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2904	FIG. 8.6	Bronze arrowhead fragment	MLb Room B layer 1040

Beads

SF 2037		Grey-white, glass	MLd Room B layer 518
SF 2039		Grey, glass	MLd Room B layer 518
SF 2882		Half, glass	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2883		Glass, disc shaped	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2884		7 Glass beads, 4 yellow, 3 grey-blue	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2885		Yellow, glass	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2893	FIG. 8.7	Glass	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2897		Grey, glass	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2902		2, whitish glass disc shaped	MLb Room B layer 1039

Organic

SF 2264		Ivory cylindrical object	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2894		Tortoise-shell, fragments	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2900	PL. 61 a	Murex shell, fragment	MLb Room B layer 1039

Terracotta

SF 2886		Fragments of ?larnax	MLb Room B layer 1038
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Plaster

SF 2028		2 scraps, painted red	MLd Room B layer 515
SF 2029		Scrap, painted pink	MLd Room B layer 517
SF 2030		Scrap, painted red	MLd Room B layer 517
SF 2038		Scrap with traces of pink paint	MLd Room B layer 518
SF 2040		Scrap, painted pink	MLd Room B layer 518
SF 2892		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2895		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2896		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2898		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2899		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2901		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room B layer 1039
SF 2906		Scrap, painted red	MLb Room B layer 1040

Fine stone

SF 2881	FIG. 8.12	Rectangular plaque, pierced	MLb Room B layer 1038
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Coarse stone

SF 2031		Quern	MLd Room B layer 516
SF 2035		Quern, fragment	MLd Room B layer 519
SF 2034		Spouted vessel	MLd Room B layer 519
SF 2880		Door socket	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2266		Two flat discs, possibly pithos caps	MLb Room B layer 1038
SF 2903		Marble slab	MLb Room B layer 1039
SF 2905		Marble slab	MLb Room B layer 1040

(vi) *NLc north: Area north of the West Shrine (Phase 2a) : 2a)*

Metals

SF 1573		Bronze ring	NLc North layer 222
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Coarse stone

SF 1574		Pounder	NLc North layer 222
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(vii) *NKc/d: Area south of the West Shrine (Phase 1b)*

P. 898, Cat. No. 36	PL. 19	Stemmed bowl	NKc/d layer 814
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Primary Figurine**Minor Fragment**

SF 2281		Throne, arm only	NKc/d layer 816
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Metals

SF 2505		Lead strip	NKc/d layer 816
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Organic

SF 2507	FIG. 8.8	Bone pin	NKc/d layer 816
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Coarse stone

SF 2504		Stone rubber?	NKc/d layer 814
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3. The Construction of the East Shrine and the use of the Area prior to the Collapse Phase (Phase 0 to 2a)

Prior to the construction of the City Wall and of the East Shrine, the area to the east of the West Shrine may have been an open courtyard. The space subsequently occupied by the East Shrine was certainly already at a higher level than that to the south which subsequently became the courtyard and street as seen at the time of excavation.

Before the construction of the Extension Wall, Wall 661, the doorway of the West Shrine opened eastwards out into an open space, which was not immediately bounded to the south. A stratum with charcoal (NLb layer 454) was found here, as described in Chapter II, and this could conceivably indicate the deliberate use of fire in relation to offerings, although no evidence was found for this. The stratigraphy of the street area, prior to the construction of the City Wall, Wall 100, allows the recognition of levels from this period. They include a horn fragment of a bovine figure (SF 1713) which may be interpreted as debris from the West Shrine.

At some time during the Late Helladic IIIB₁ period, as indicated by the pottery recovered beneath it, notably in trench PK, the massive City Wall (Wall 100) was constructed (FIG. 4.3, PLATES 3 *a* and 5 *b*, left). It was built along the line of the Extension wall, Wall 661, and immediately against it. The City Wall is some 2.5 metres thick and is built of massive and rounded boulders up to 90 cm long. Such black stones come from the seashore immediately to the east of the site. This great wall stands today to a height of 3 m: its original height is unknown.

At about the same time the south wall of the East Shrine, Wall 501/104 was constructed (FIG. 4.2, PLATE 5 *b*, right), defining a rather narrow street between it and the City Wall which was now the only approach to the shrine complex.

The north wall of the East Shrine is a terrace wall, Wall 500, which forms the south wall of a street (PLATE 3 *b*). It, and the street, continue east to OLD, PLa and beyond, and west, along the north of the West Shrine and away. It is important to appreciate the differences in level here. The street level to the north of the East Shrine is perhaps a metre above the lowest floor (Floor 5) of the East Shrine (FIGS. 2.7 and 2.8), and this in turn is 1 m above the lowest street or floor level in the space to the south (NLc space c Floor 12).

In essence the construction of the East Shrine required only the addition of the south and east walls (Wall 501/104 and 106) to the existing north terrace wall. In addition, some walling (Wall 504) was added, apparently to extend the east wall of the West Shrine (Wall 502) northwards (PLATE 11 *d*). But as discussed earlier, this may not have extended north as far as Wall 500, which it would have to do to produce an adequate west wall for the East Shrine. The nature of the small area to the west (NLd space 2) at this time is not clear. (It should here be mentioned that in the western part of the East Shrine an earlier wall, Wall 509, was noted, running below Floor 3/5. It was however, definitely later in date than the Late Bronze I wall (Wall 642) discussed earlier. It runs north-south, from just north of the rubble underlying Wall 501 up to Wall 500. There are no floor levels associated with it.)

The main constructional feature of the East Shrine is its handsome south wall. It is built with care using mainly small and irregular blocks of conglomerate tuff, well laid to present an even surface. It contains also numerous pieces of ashlar masonry, which may be re-used. In its care of construction it may be compared with the east wall of the West Shrine. Both are very different in style from the massively built City Wall, with its rounded boulders. The east wall of the East Shrine was later strengthened by the addition of a parallel supporting wall to the east, Wall 107 (PLATE 1 *b*). The East Shrine thus forms a narrow rectangular room, 4.8 metres in length (internally) and 2.5 metres in width.

Prior to the construction of Wall 105 in phase 3c (discussed below) there was only one feature of significance in the East Shrine, a rectangular platform in the north east corner (Wall 508) (PLATE 3 *b*), 1.2 m north-south by 90 cm east-west. As excavated it stood only 20 cm to 30 cm above the level of Floor 5. The flat stones forming its upper surface are so smooth and regular in effect that it seems likely never to have stood any higher.

The East Shrine is entered by a doorway 1 m wide at the west end of the south wall. It has a stone threshold (PLATE 9). Outside is a small stone platform or step, 1 metre wide (east-west) and 1.5 m long (north-south) formed of flat stones lying horizontally (Wall 510). Its surface is about 15 cm below the shrine threshold, and it is itself about 20 cm above the floor surface outside (NLd space 4, Floor 9).

The extension Wall, 661, here forms the south side of what is in effect a square courtyard, bounded on the west by the east wall of the West Shrine, on the north by the south wall of the East Shrine, and on the east partly by the west end of the City Wall (PLATE 6 *c*). Investigations in the south-east of the area showed that initially there was an earth floor (NLb Floor 56), and the

bedding hole in it suggested the possibility that initially the baetyl may have stood here. The bench, Wall 663, was now constructed against the Extension Wall, standing to a height of 45 cm above the new floor of flat stones (NLd Floor 55). The quadrant kerb of stones was now set up (PLATE 7 *a*), and used in conjunction with Floor 55 (and with the stone floor in NLd space 4, Floor 6) on which the 'baetyl' rests in its present position (PLATE 7 *b-c*).

The relative complexity of this sequence of events need occasion no surprise, since there was clearly a considerable lapse of time between the construction of the East Shrine and the City Wall and the collapse itself. Although this period is represented within the East Shrine by a single floor (Floor 3/5), there is a sequence of street levels, to be discussed below, in the street between the Shrine and the City Wall.

The importance of this courtyard area may best be judged by the configuration prior to the collapse, much as it is now preserved. In terms of connectivity it is the focal point of the sanctuary complex, the 'baetyl' (in its present position) standing effectively at the intersection of the axes through the doorways to the East and West Shrines, with the street to the east giving access from the outside world. The quarter-circle kerb immediately to the east of the baetyl or 'omphalos', with its traces of burning, must likewise be of significance.

The bench, Wall 663 is of very neat construction. At its west end it is 50 cm broad, occupying the space between the Extension Wall and the southern jamb of the doorway into the West Shrine. At its eastern end, where it abuts against the City Wall, it is 80 cm broad. Its height above Floor 6 is 35 cm. The so-called 'baetyl' is a stone of conglomerate tuff, almost circular in plan (its diameter north-south being 49 cm, and east-west 53 cm) (PLATE 7 *c*). Its surface is clearly shaped to give a fairly regular rounded form, with approximate circular symmetry about the vertical axis. In vertical section it approximates to half an ellipse. In height it measures 47 cm. Conglomerate tuff is not susceptible to polish, but the surface is smoothed, and there is no doubt that the form is deliberate, as indeed is the placing. Its significance is considered further in later chapters.

The street surface between shrine and City Wall slopes downwards to the east. So that while the depth at the west between the uppermost floor (NLd space 4 Floor 6) and the lowest after the construction of the City Wall (NLb Floor 56) is only some 35 cm, further east the depth between NLe space c Floor 7 and Floor 12 is 50 to 60 cm.

In this space, a sequence of four floors was observed (PLATE 5 *a-c*). The lowest, Floor 12, was an earth surface, with a number of flat stones, up to 20 cm long. The floors above, Floors 11, 10 and 7 were of similar character. These were surfaces for the street which gave access to the entrance courtyard and to the East and West Shrines during phase 2a.

Finds from the East Shrine area prior to the phase 2b collapse

The finds from the street and courtyard areas of phases 0 to 1c, prior to the construction of the City Wall and East Shrine include pieces which may have been thrown out of the West Shrine.

Since the lowest floor in the East Shrine, Floor 5, was in use at the time of the phase 2b collapse, it is not possible to distinguish clearly within the shrine, strata of phase 2a, deriving from its use before the collapse phase. The levels below Floor 5 (TABLE 4.3 (*i*) below) must no doubt contain material from the period before the construction of the East Shrine and that of its first use. It is noteworthy, however, that the levels of phase 2a in the street to the south (TABLE 4.3 (*iii*)) contain far more figurine fragments and other finds than do the underlying strata of phases 0 to 1c (TABLE 4.3 (*ii*)) which derive from the earlier period, when only the West Shrine was in use. This suggests that much of the material found below Floor 5 in the East Shrine may have originated within the East Shrine during phase 2a. It is possible that Floor 5 represents a

subsequent floor laid within phase 2a in such a way as to destroy the indications of any floors that may have been in use earlier in that period.

The existence of several pots of phase 2a found in the courtyard, in the area where the quarter-circle kerb was later constructed, is of interest (TABLE 4.3 (*iii*)). There are several which have joins from different although neighbouring contexts, and this indicates a destruction episode, albeit a minor one and limited to this group of pottery alone, definitely well prior to the collapse phase. A depression was found in Floor 56 in NLb (see Chapter II) in a position in the middle of what later became the quadrant kerb. The use and perhaps the breakage of these pots may have been related to it, or to the stone which it may originally have contained. It is of note that one of these joins (Pot 676: see Appendix B) is from a context in MLd Room B of the West Shrine, albeit within a layer of phase 2b.

Table 4.3: Finds in the East Shrine Area Antedating its Collapse

(i) *East Shrine and earlier (Phase o/2a)*

Primary Figurines

Substantial Pieces

SF 867	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, horns broken and legs missing	NLe space a/b layer 63
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Minor Fragments

SF 2274	PL. 33 <i>g-h</i>	Human figure, possibly female, shoulder fragment only	NLd space 1 layer 66
SF 1032	FIG. 6.24	Bovine figure, hindquarters only, 4 joining and 1 matching fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 124 et al.
SF 1726	PL. 43 <i>f</i>	Bovine figure, head only missing left horn	NLe space a/b layer 124
SF 2166	PL. 43 <i>c</i>	Bovine figure, body fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 123
SF 860		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLe space a/b layer 63
SF 864		Animal figurine, horn fragment	NLd space 1 layer 66
SF 1091		Animal figurine, possible leg fragment	NLe space a/b layer 137
SF 1753		Animal figurine, horn fragment	NLe layer 155
SF 2261		Animal figurine, nose only	NLe layer 153
SF 1089		Animal figurine fragments	NLe space a/b layer 125

Metals

SF 1728		Bronze pin, fragment	NLe space a/b layer 132
SF 1749		Bronze chisel, fragment	NLe layer 153

Beads

SF 861	FIG. 8.7	Carnelian	NLe space a/b layer 63
SF 863		White fragments, glass	NLe space a/b layer 63

Organic

SF 1723		Boar's tusk	NLe space a/b layer 123
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Terracotta

SF 1062		Drain channel	NLe space a/b layer 128
SF 1088		Possible drain channel, fragment	NLe space a/b layer 123
SF 1724	FIG. 8.9	Drain channel, fragment	NLe space a/b layer 123
SF 1025		Possible rubber, re-used sherd	NLe space a/b layer 130

Fine stone

SF 1024		White marble bowl, fragment	NLe space a/b layer 129
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Coarse stone

SF 1752		Mortar, fragment	NLe layer 155
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*(ii) Street and Courtyard before construction of the East Shrine (Phase o/1c)***Pottery**

P. 451, Cat. No. 53	PL. 19	Piriform Jar, fragments (see joins Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 110
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Primary Figurine**Minor Fragment**

SF 1713		Bovine figure, horn fragment	NLe space c layer 110
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Organic

SF 1830		Bone point	NLb layer 456
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Plaster

SF 1714		Scrap, with taces of yellow and red paint	NLe space c layer 111
SF 1716		Scrap, painted red and pink with incision	NLe space c layer 111
SF 1720		Four scraps, painted red to pink	NLe space c layer 120

Fine stone

SF 1717	FIG. 8.11, PL. 65 a	Black serpentine blossom bowl fragment	NLe space c layer 117
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Coarse stone

SF 1721		Quern	NLe space c layer 121
SF 1712		Small mortar	NLe space c layer 110
SF 1722		Mortar	NLe space c layer 121
SF 1718		Marble slab, joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 117

*(iii) Street and Courtyard (Phase 2a)***Pottery**

P. 419		Possible shallow bowl	NLe space c layer 88
P. 676, Cat. No. 207		Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 207
P. 1508, Cat. No. 252		Miniature deep bowl (see Appendix B)	NLd space 4 layer 80
P. 1513, Cat. No. 205		Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 205
P. 1533, Cat. No. 172		Kylix (see Appendix B)	NLb layer 445
P. 1537, Cat. No. 174		Kylix (see Appendix B)	NLb layer 451
Cat. No. 149		Mug	NLe space c layer 90
Cat. No. 176		Kylix	NLe space c layer 89

Primary Figurines**Minor Fragments**

SF 1029		Female figurine, possible arm fragment	NLe space c layer 86
SF 1030		Female figurine, stem/base fragment	NLd space 4 layer 80
SF 1087	PL. 48 e	Possible fish rhyton (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 89
SF 883	FIG. 6.26	Chariot group, right horse head and cross bar only	NLe space c layer 76
SF 1019	PL. 47 e	Tall throne, half back only (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 102
SF 1707		Animal figurine, head only	NLe space c layer 100
SF 888		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLe space c layer 82
SF 2191		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLe space c layer 84
SF 2245		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLe space c layer 76

Metals

SF 884	FIG. 8.6	Bronze awl	NLd space 4 layer 79
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Beads

SF 1709		Fragments of glass	NLe space c layer 101
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Organic

SF 890		Spondylus shell, pierced	NLe space c layer 84
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Terracotta

SF 1061	Possible loomweight	NLe space c layer 76
SF 1027	Two drain channel fragments	NLe space c layer 89

Fine stone

SF 889	Vase fragment, ?serpentine	NLe space c layer 84
SF 891	Small stone axe, polished	NLe space c layer 87

Coarse stone

SF 1711	Quern fragment	NLe space c layer 105
SF 1708	Small mortar	NLe space c layer 101
SF 1172	Marble slab, fragment	NLe space c layer 89
SF 1710	Marble slab, part of SF 1718 phase o/1c (Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 101

(iv) *Area North of East Shrine (Phase o/1c)*

Terracotta

SF 1715	FIG. 8.10	Spindle whorl	NLe space d layer 115
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4. The Collapse (Phase 2b) and its Immediate Aftermath (Phase 3a)

At a time which the study of the pottery and figurines has placed during the Late Helladic IIIC period, the entire sanctuary area suffered a major disaster. The detailed stratigraphic arguments have been set out earlier which allows us to determine that the deposits associated with this collapse in the different parts of the sanctuary area are indeed contemporary.

The damage is most conspicuous in the area immediately to the north of the City Wall. Here several great boulders fell into the street, smashing pots which were at the foot of the wall in this area (PLATES 4 c; 5 a) and in the square courtyard, immediately adjoining, to the west. The damage was so severe that these stones were not subsequently cleared away, but lay amongst the debris.

Within the East Shrine, there was significant damage, and an important assemblage was found, especially in the neighbourhood of the platform in the north-east corner (PLATE 2 b–c). This material was not cleared away, but later buried by a new floor, Floor 2.

In the West Shrine, there was considerable breakage, well represented by the deposits on NLe Floor 4. This material was presumably associated with the platform in the north-west corner. In the south-west corner, the material was left in situ, to be buried by the Blocking Wall and the debris which went with it. The construction of this Blocking Wall is discussed in the next section.

Little of importance seems to have been stored in Room B at the west, or at any rate little was found. In Room A, however, there was a whole series of terracotta pottery objects, some of them within the niche. These rooms were never used again. These assemblages, and the other finds, will now be taken in turn.

(a) *The north-west platform of the West Shrine: Assemblage A (Phase 2b)*

The collapse clearly wrought great destruction in the West Shrine, and a significant assemblage of material was found at the north-west corner. Much of it may have been sitting on the platform, and was found spread around at the foot of that platform, lying on the floor (FIG. 4.7). Much of the material, for instance the chariot group (SF 1558; PLATE 44 a) was in badly shattered condition, and the fragments spread rather widely. The material of Assemblage A may be interpreted as a closed association. But this does not mean that it was buried immediately following the collapse. As the list below indicates, at least one figure originally belonging to this assemblage was later re-used, and only a small fragment was found in this original context (SF 1550).

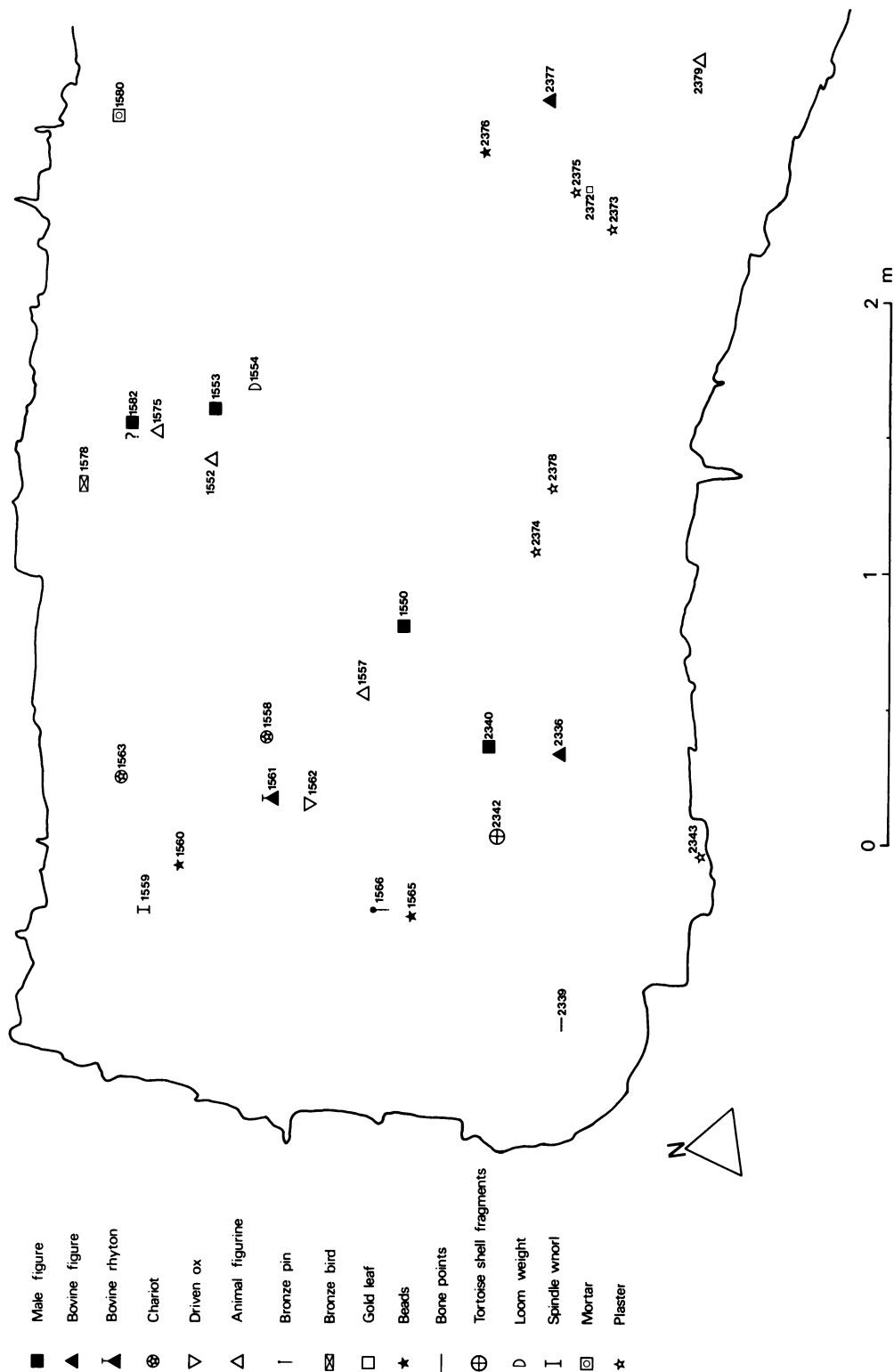


FIG. 4.7 Sketch diagram of Assemblage A of Phase 2b in the northern part of the West Shrine (bounded at the south by the later Blocking Wall)

It should be noted that NLc layer 218 was in parts stratified above layer 221, and some of the finds within layer 218 may represent material which was displaced in the cleaning-up operations immediately following the collapse, or during the construction of the Blocking Wall in phase 3a.

The finds from NLc South layer 235 and 250, mainly beads, should probably be regarded as belonging to the period of construction of the Blocking Wall, and thus may be slightly later than the collapse material of Assemblage A in the strictest sense.

Amongst the most notable finds are the hand of a male figure (SF 1550; PLATE 35), the remainder of which was re-used in this area in phase 3b, a male figure with painted criss-cross decoration on the torso (SF 1553; PLATE 36 *b*) and a third male figure (SF 2340; PLATE 36 *a*). Nearly all the terracotta finds were in very fragmentary condition, most notably an almost completely restorable chariot group (SF 1558; PLATE 44 *a*). This appears also to have been the primary context for a bovine rhyton (SF 1561; PLATE 32 *b*), most of which was found in fragmentary condition in street levels south of the East Shrine. The bronze bird (SF 1578; PLATE 59) is also of note.

The findspots of these objects are seen in FIG. 4.7.

Table 4.4: Finds from the West Shrine, Assemblage A etc.

(i) *West Shrine, on or near N. W. Platform (Phase 2b): Assemblage A*

Pottery

P. 884, Cat. No. 115

Stirrup jar fragments (see Appendix B)

NLc layer 221

Primary Figurines

Substantial Pieces

SF 1550	FIG. 6.14, PL. 35	Male figure, hand fragment. Remainder subsequently re-used in Phase 3b (see Appendix B)	NLc c layer 218
SF 1553	FIG. 6.12, PL. 36 <i>b</i>	Male figure, head missing (see Appendix B)	NLc layer 218
SF 2340	FIG. 6.12, PL. 36 <i>a</i>	Male figure, 2 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLc South layer 237 et al.
SF 1561	FIG. 6.23, PL. 32 <i>b</i>	Bovine rhyton, almost complete, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLc layer 221 et al.
SF 1558	FIG. 6.25, PL. 44 <i>a</i>	Chariot group, missing left horse-tail one head and ?parasol, 12 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLc layer 221 et al.
SF 1563	FIG. 6.26	Chariot group, left horse and forequarter of right horse only, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLc layer 221 et al.
SF 1562	PL. 44 <i>b</i>	Driven ox, missing right horn, figure and part of reins	NLc layer 221
SF 1557	PL. 46 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, missing left horn and right hind leg	NLc layer 221
SF 1575	PL. 47 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete	NLc layer 218

Minor Fragments

SF 1582		?Human figure, possible hand or finial of throne	NLc layer 218
SF 2336	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, leg fragment	NLc South layer 236
SF 2377	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, leg fragment	NLc South layer 252
SF 1552		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLc layer 218
SF 2379		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLc South layer 252
SF 1584		Animal body fragments	NLc layer 218

Metals

SF 2372		Gold leaf fragment	NLc South layer 251
SF 1566		Bronze pin	NLc layer 221
SF 1578	FIG. 8.5, PL. 59	Bronze figurine of bird	NLc layer 218

Beads

SF 1560		Fragment, faience?	NLc layer 221
SF 1565	FIG. 8.7	White, glass	NLc layer 221
SF 2337		Fragments of glass	NLc South layer 237
SF 2376	FIG. 8.7	Shell, pierced	NLc South layer 252

Organic

SF 2339	FIG. 8.8	Bone needle	NLc South layer 237
SF 2342		Tortoise shell fragment	NLc South layer 237

Terracotta

SF 1554		Loomweight, fragment	NLc layer 218
SF 1559		Spindle whorl	NLc layer 221

Plaster

SF 2343		Scrap, painted red	NLc South layer 237
SF 2373		Scrap, painted red	NLc South layer 251
SF 2374		Scrap, painted pink	NLc South layer 252
SF 2375		Scrap, painted red	NLc South layer 251
SF 2378		Scrap, painted red, part of offering table?	NLc South layer 252

Coarse stone

SF 1580		Mortar	NLc layer 218
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*(ii) West Shrine on or near N. W. Platform (Phase 2b/3a)***Beads**

SF 2327		Possible fragment, glass	NLc South layer 235
SF 2328		Possible fragment, glass	NLc South layer 235
SF 2329		Fragment, yellow glass	NLc South layer 235
SF 2331	FIG. 8.7	White, glass	NLc South layer 235
SF 2332		Yellow, glass	NLc South layer 235
SF 2333		Fragment, white glass	NLc South layer 235
SF 2334		Glass	NLc South layer 235
SF 2335		Possible fragments, glass	NLc South layer 235

Organic

SF 2370	FIG. 8.8	Bone pin	NLc South layer 250
SF 2371	FIG. 8.8	Bone pin	NLc South layer 250

Plaster

SF 2330		Scrap, traces of orange paint	NLc South layer 235
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Coarse stone

SF 2369		Stone lamp, fragment	NLc South layer 250
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(b) The south-west platform of the West Shrine: Assemblage B (phase 2b)

The finds of Assemblage B are of particular interest, since they were found *in situ*, on the platform at the west end of the West Shrine, south of the doorway giving access to Rooms A and B. They are seen as they were discovered in PLATE 14 *b*.

Most notable among the finds were a Late Psi figurine (SF 2007; PLATE 38 *b*) and a female figurine of unusual form (SF 2015; PLATE 38 *a*). There were two double jars (P. 891 and P. 892, Cat. Nos. 93 and 34; PLATE 20) and a stirrup jar (P. 895; PLATE 21). Also of note was a columnar lamp (SF 2004; PLATE 66 *a*). The find spots of these finds are seen in FIG. 4.8.

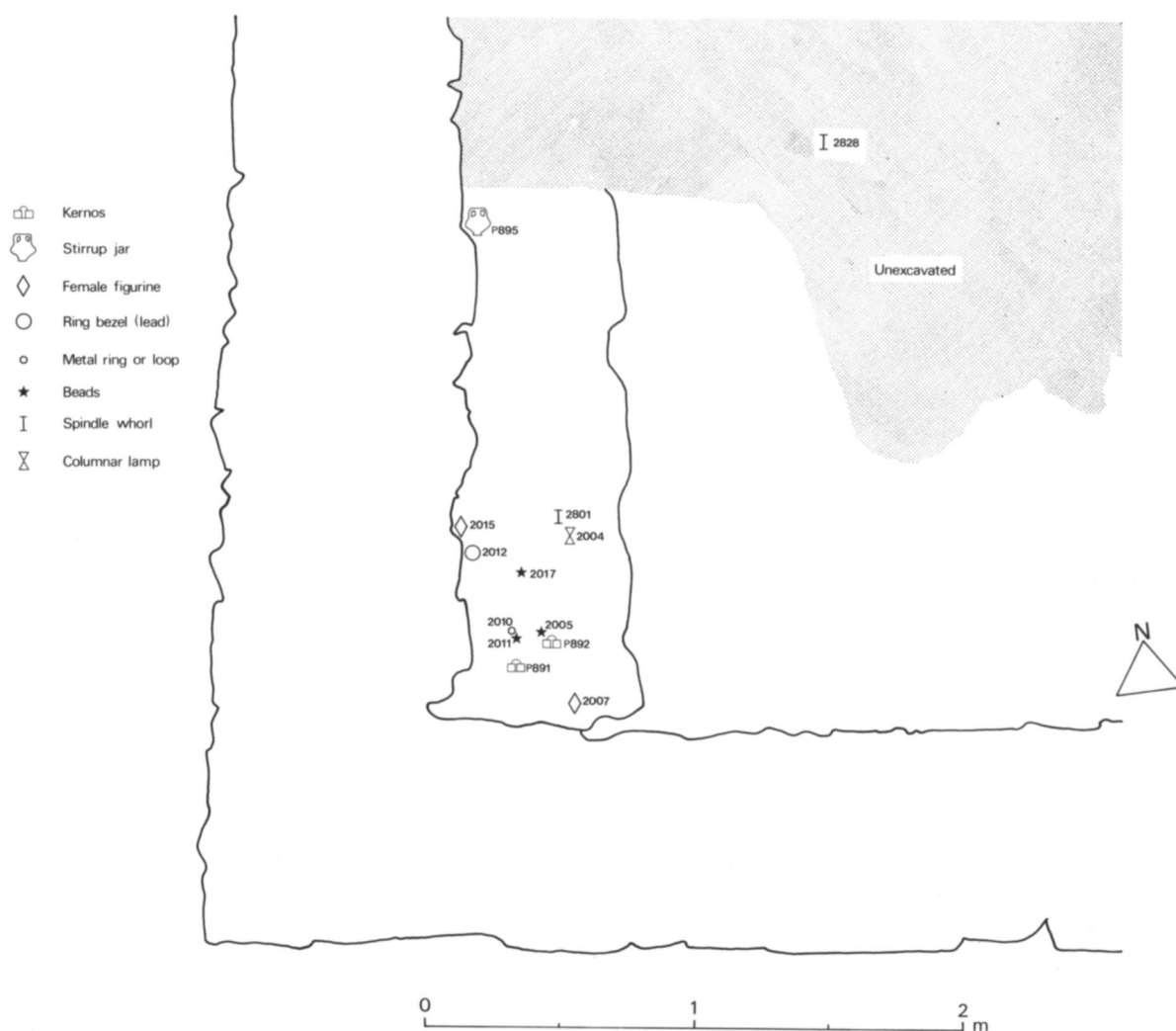


FIG. 4.8 Sketch diagram of Assemblage B of phase 2b in the southern part of the West Shrine (bounded at the north by the later Blocking Wall)

Table 4.5: Finds from the West Shrine
on or near S. W. Platform (Phase 2b): Assemblage B

Pottery

P. 891, Cat. No. 93	PL. 20	Double jar	MLb East layer 13
P. 892, Cat. No. 94	PL. 20	Double jar	MLb East layer 13
P. 895, Cat. No. 114	PL. 21	Stirrup jar	MLb East layer 26

Primary Figurines**Substantial Pieces**

SF 2007	FIG. 6.2, PL. 38 <i>b</i>	Female figurine, right arm broken	MLb East layer 13
SF 2015	FIG. 6.9, PL. 38 <i>a</i>	Female figurine, complete	MLb East layer 13

Metals

SF 2012	FIG. 8.6	Tin ring bezel	MLb East layer 13
SF 2010		Bronze ring	MLb East layer 13

Beads

SF 2005		Black, glass	MLb East layer 13
SF 2011	FIG. 8.7	Greyish white, glass	MLb East layer 13
SF 2017		Glass	MLb East layer 13
SF 2009	FIG. 8.7	Shell or bone	MLb East layer 13
SF 2013	FIG. 8.7	Shell or glass	MLb East layer 13
SF 2014	FIG. 8.7	Possibly shell	MLb East layer 13

Terracotta

SF 2801	FIG. 8.10	Spindle whorl	MLb East layer 13
SF 2828		Spindle whorl	MLb East layer 27

Plaster

SF 2263		Scrap, painted red possibly from offering table	MLb East layer 26
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Fine stone

SF 2008	FIG. 8.12, PL. 61 <i>b</i>	Pendant, fragment of carved animal	MLb East layer 13
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Coarse stone

SF 2004	PL. 66 <i>a</i>	Columnar lamp	MLb East layer 13
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(c) Other Finds from the West Shrine

Assemblage A from the north-west platform, and assemblage B from the south-west platform constitute the two clear associated groups from the main room of the West Shrine at the time of the collapse. In the first case the finds seem to have fallen from the platform above, and they both thus give a valuable indication of the objects placed upon such platforms.

Further objects were found sporadically within the West Shrine. Their stratigraphic position is not in doubt. They are listed below. Those from NLa were found south of the (subsequent) Blocking Wall, those from NLc were found north of it.

It is convenient to make a stratigraphic distinction between finds found actually on the floor level of the shrine, which can be assigned to phase 2b in the narrower sense, and those found in the soil above the floor. These may be regarded as belonging to the period of the construction of the Blocking Wall, following the collapse (phase 3a). But it would be wrong to place too much weight upon this distinction: it is likely that the area NLa was not used again after the collapse. It was filled up with stones following the construction of the Blocking Wall.

Table 4.6: Other Finds from the West Shrine

*(i) West Shrine (Phase 2b)***Pottery**

P. 199, Cat. No. 130	PL. 23	Krater, fragments	NLc East baulk layer 258
P. 463, Cat. No. 158		Dipper	NLa layer 320
P. 466, Cat. No. 376	PL. 21	Tripod cauldron cooking pot, fragments	NLa layer 321
P. 716, Cat. No. 264		Deep bowl	NLd space 3 layer 36
P. 1508, Cat. No. 252		Deep bowl, fragments (see Appendix B)	NLd space 3 layer 39
P. 1522, Cat. No. 161		Lipless conical bowl fragments	NLd space 3 layer 39
P. 1534, Cat. No. 177		Kylix, fragments (see Appendix B)	NLd space 3 layer 36

Metals

SF 1613	FIG. 8.6	Silver ring	NLa layer 321
SF 2196		Possible ore fragment	NLd space 3 layer 36

Beads

SF 754	FIG. 8.7	White/yellow, glass	NLd space 3 layer 36
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Terracotta

SF 2192		Drain channel fragments	NLd space 3 layer 321
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Coarse stone

SF 2200		Grindstone	NLd space 3 layer 37
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(ii) West Shrine (Phase 2b/3a)

P. 91		Tripod cauldron cooking pot	NLd space 3 layer 31
P. 459		Small jar	NLa layer 315
P. 676, Cat. No. 207		Deep bowl, fragments	NLa layer 315
P. 1531, Cat. No. 128		Krater, fragments	NLa layer 315

Primary Figurines**Minor Fragments**

SF 1608		Female figurine, stem fragment	NLa layer 316
SF 1624	PL. 42 e	Bovine figure, head only	NLa layer 335

Beads

SF 600		Fragment, white glass	NLd space 3 layer 33
SF 753	FIG. 8.7	Whitish, glass	NLd space 3 layer 33

Organic

SF 2382	PL. 61 a	Shell	NLc East baulk layer 256
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Terracotta

SF 2193	FIG. 8.9	Drain channel	NLa layer 315
SF 2252		Drain channel, fragments	NLa layer 316

Plaster

SF 2188		Scrap, plain	NLa layer 316
SF 2197		Scrap, painted red	NLd space 3 layer 35
SF 2386		Scrap, painted yellow	NLc East baulk layer 256

(d) Room A of the West Shrine, including the niche (phase 2b): Assemblage C

Several very interesting and significant objects were found in Room B, and in the niche to the east (PLATE 16 *b*). The most important are undoubtedly the Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2660; PLATE 31) found headless in the corner in an upright position, with a complete female figure (SF 2658) standing beside her (PLATE 16 *a*). The head of the Lady was located 50 cm to the east, but the arms were not found and were certainly not within Room A at the time of burial. The head of an analogous figure, without body, was found at the north side of Room A (SF 2672; PLATE 34 *b*).

In the south-east corner a large flat stone, 50 by 40 cm, was found with a pithos base trimmed to give a circular disc (SF 2675; PLATE 65 *d*). A comparable disc (SF 2667) was found against the south wall. The findspots of these various finds are seen in FIG. 4.9.

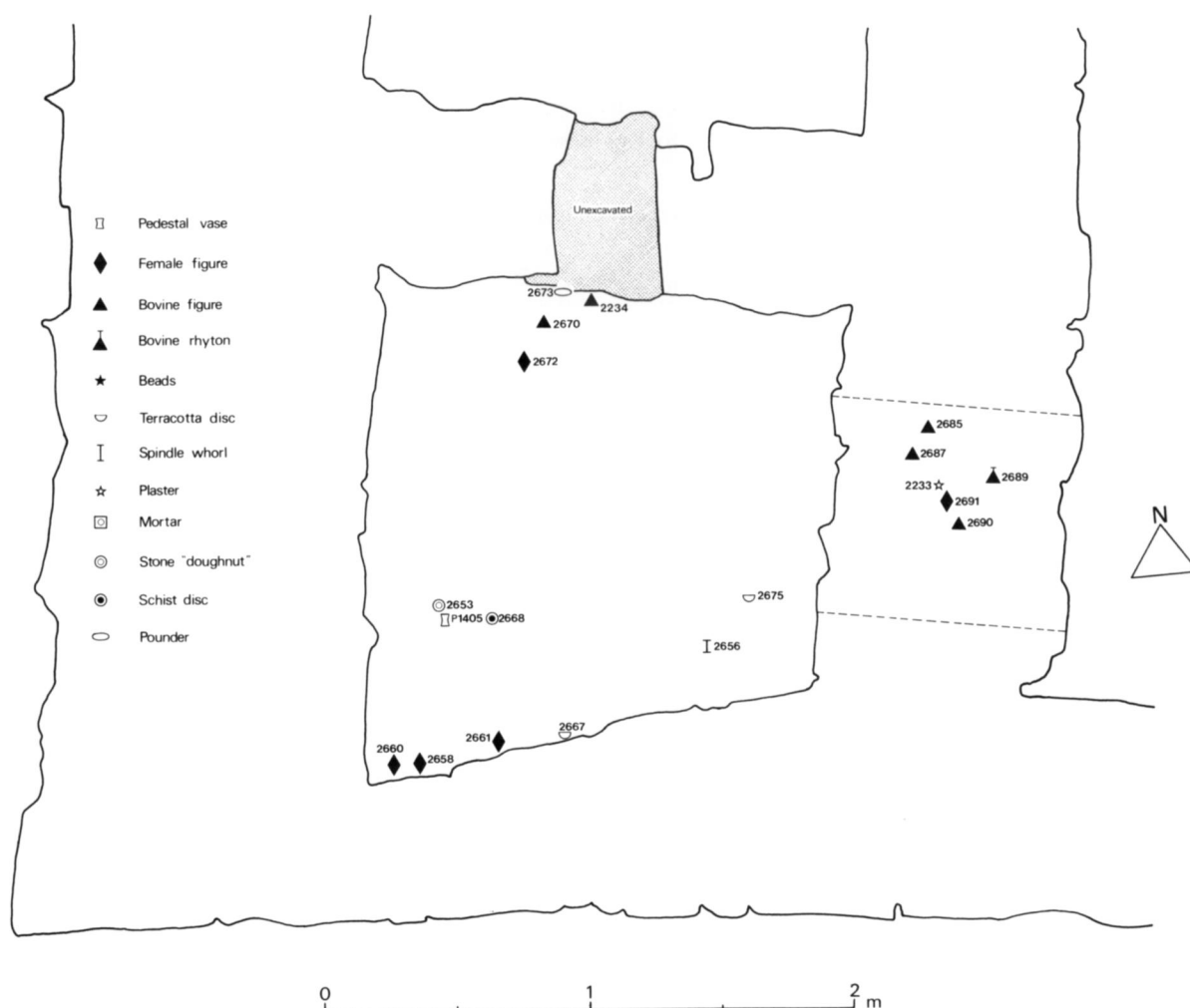


FIG. 4.9 Sketch diagram of Assemblage C of phase 2b in Room A and the niche

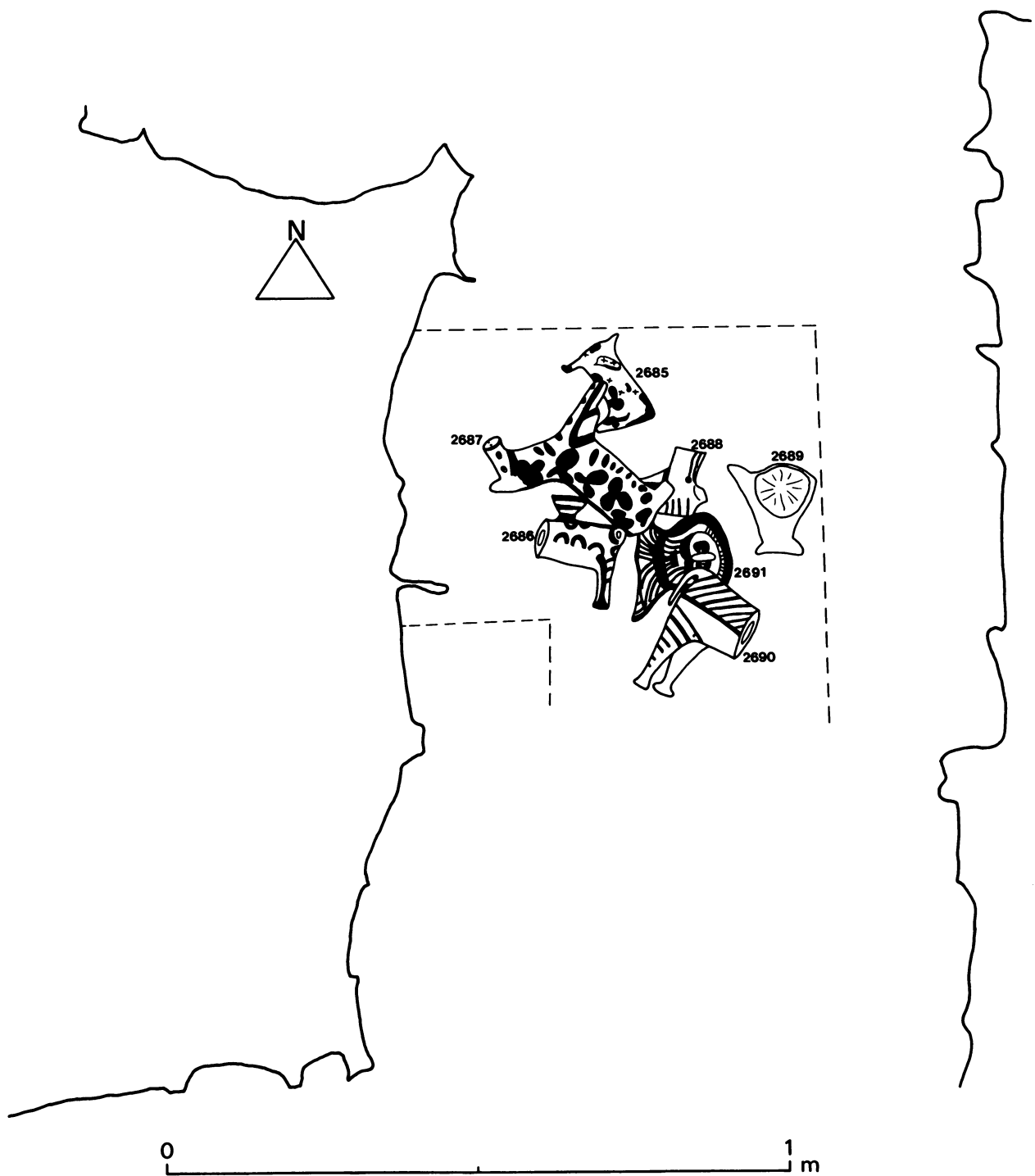


FIG. 4.10 Sketch of objects in the niche in Room A (phase 2b)

Also of note in Room A were the pedestal vase (Cat. No. 373; PLATE 20) and five fragments which joined together to form a handsome bovine figure (SF 2670; PLATE 41 *c-d*). It is of note that all the fragments of SF 2670 were found *within* Room A, two at the south side, and three at the north side of the room. (Only a single findspot for each object is shown in the diagrams accompanying Chapter IV, irrespective of whether the object was found complete or in several pieces.) However, while SF 2670 joined to give an almost complete restored figure, the bovine leg, SF 2234, did not: no other parts of it were found.

The objects found within the niche represent a very special group. A sketch indicating the positions of each of the fragments (FIG. 4.10) is instructive. The ugly head (SF 2691; PLATE 32 *c-d*) was found without a body. The rather naturalistic (not wheel-made) bovine figure SF 2685 (PLATE 40 *c*), which has a decoration of crosses and splodges in red paint was found headless within the niche. The bovine figure, SF 2689 (PLATE 40 *a*), was found in two pieces there, which on joining formed a complete animal, save three legs and the horns. The bovine figure with clover-leaf decoration, SF 2687 (PLATE 39) was found likewise missing the horns and three legs. And finally the hind quarters of a bovine figure with striped decoration (SF 2690; PLATE 41 *a-b*) together with its head were found in the niche, while the forequarters were found at the south in Room B.

These circumstances are worth detailing in this way, particularly since it seems clear that the contents of the niche were deliberately placed there: they could not have fallen into position as a result of weathering or by some other natural process. Some were certainly broken before they went into the niche, (e.g. the ugly head SF 2691 for which no body was found). With one significant exception the niche material does not join up with any other finds from the site. The exception, of course, is the forequarters of the striped bovine figure, SF 2690, which were found nearby in Room B. Moreover the breakages in Room A (namely the body and head of the Lady, SF 2660, and the five fragments of the bovine figure SF 2670) were restricted to Room A.

This circumstance suggests that they were broken actually within Room A, perhaps during the collapse process. In the aftermath, on this view, several items were placed in the niche, and the Lady and her companion (SF 2658) left standing, upright, before the room was abandoned for the last time.

It should be noted that these figures were found in much less shattered condition than was the case with those in the East Shrine or the north-west platform of the West Shrine. This same observation holds for the finds of Assemblage B, and it is notable that in the case of these Assemblages B and C, the areas in question were not re-used after the collapse.

This point leads to another alternative hypothesis, namely that the contents of Assemblages B and C were not in general damaged during the collapse, but that much of the damage now observed in fact arose earlier, during the use of the objects. The objects in the niche would then have been broken prior to the collapse and stowed for safe keeping in the niche. This would explain why some of them, notably the ugly head (SF 2691) are simply parts of a missing, larger figure. The same would apply to the isolated head (SF 2672) and the headless body (SF 2661; FIG. 6.7) from Room A. Only the bovine figure (SF 2670) might represent damage *in situ* at the time of the collapse.

In either instance, whether the objects in the niche were placed there prior to the collapse because they were broken, or subsequent to the collapse, it seems likely that they were in damaged condition before they were put there.

Table 4.7: Finds from the West Shrine
Room A and the niche (Phase 2b): Assemblage C

Pottery			
P. 1405, Cat. No. 373	PL. 20	Pedestal vase	MLb Room A layer 965
Primary Figurines			
Substantial Pieces			
SF 2658	FIG. 6.3, PL. 34 <i>d</i>	Female figure, arms missing	MLb Room A layer 961
SF 2660	FIG. 6.4, PL. 31	Female figure, arms broken, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	MLb Room A layer 963 et al.
SF 2661	FIG. 6.7	Female figure, missing head and arms	MLb Room A layer 963
SF 2672	FIG. 6.5, PL. 34 <i>b</i>	Female figure, head only	MLb Room A layer 970
SF 2691	PL. 32 <i>c-d</i>	Female figure, head only and start of left arm	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
SF 2670	FIG. 6.15–17, PL. 41 <i>c-d</i>	Bovine figure, missing right horn and tail, 4 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	MLb Room A layer 970 et al.
SF 2685	PL. 40 <i>c</i>	Bovine figure, missing head and right rear leg, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
SF 2687	PL. 39	Bovine figure, horns and three legs missing	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
SF 2690	FIG. 6.18–20, PL. 41 <i>a-b</i>	Bovine figure, missing horns and lower part of front left leg, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
SF 2689	FIG. 6.21–22, PL. 40 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, missing horns front legs and right back leg, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
Minor Fragments			
SF 2251		Female figure, fragment of plait	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
SF 2234	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, leg fragment	MLb Room A layer 970
Beads			
SF 2232		Half, glass	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
Terracotta			
SF 2656		Spindle whorl, fragment	MLb Room A layer 961
SF 2667		Disc, reworked sherd	MLb Room A layer 965
SF 2675	PL. 65 <i>d</i>	Disc, re-used pot base	MLb Room A layer 970
Plaster			
SF 2233		Scrap, painted yellow	MLb Room A layer 976 (niche)
Coarse stone			
SF 2244		Mortar, fragment	MLb Room A layer 970
SF 2653		Possible loomweight, half	MLb Room A layer 975
SF 2668		Disc of schist	MLb Room A layer 970
SF 2673		Rubber	MLb Room A layer 970

(e) *Finds from Room B of the West Shrine (phase 2b/3a)*

The finds from Room B were not found clustered together in such a manner as to suggest they formed a deliberately associated group of objects, meriting the designation 'assemblage'. They are, nonetheless, all in a clear and well-stratified context. They must date from the time of the collapse itself, or from its immediate aftermath. For while there is no evidence that Room B was in use during phases 3b and 3c, the doorway to Room B will have remained open until it was closed by the completion of the Blocking Wall. As discussed in Chapter II, it is likely that the niche between Room B and the north-west corner of the West Shrine remained open during the later use of the sanctuary.

Attention is drawn in Appendix C to the concentration of obsidian found in Room B during phase 2 in comparison with other areas of the sanctuary or of the site. Attention was drawn above, in considering the finds there from phases 1 and 2a, to the significant number of coarse stone objects, and the same applies in the collapse deposit. On the other hand finds pertaining directly to cult practice are less common: the fragment of a bovine figure (SF 2690; PLATE 41 a—b) joins with other pieces found within the niche in Room A and probably derives from that room. It is possible, therefore, that Room B was used largely for more utilitarian purposes than some other areas of the sanctuary.

The pattern of pottery joins for Room B also merits comment (see Appendix B). Pots 197 (PLATE 22), 676, 1410 (PLATE 21) and 1515 have a number of joins with areas outside Room B. That is not at all notable in itself. What is remarkable, however, is that these joined consistently with the pottery deposit in the courtyard by the East Shrine, Assemblage E.

The obvious explanation for this would simply be that during some of the cleaning out operations immediately following the collapse, some material from Room B was carried across and dumped in the courtyard south of the East Shrine, or vice versa. Indeed since the phase 2b levels in the courtyard were largely obscured by the fall of large stones from the City Wall, the more appropriate answer on this argument would be that debris thrown up by the breakage in the courtyard would, for some reason, be carried across to Room B. (There are several joins for the phase 2b material in the courtyard with later levels in the same area.)

The alternative explanation, however, would be that the movement of sherds was effected *before* the collapse, perhaps as the result of deliberate action, or as a by-product of deliberate action. This notion is prompted in the first place by Pot 676, parts of which are found in a phase 2a context in NLe space c. But this might merely indicate that the sherd in question originated in the courtyard and remained there till the aftermath of the collapse before being transported to Room B: it does, however, document the direction of the movement.

This argument could be invoked only with difficulty for Pots 1524 and 1529, however, from which sherds are found in floor make-up in Room B and in phase 2a levels of the courtyard and of the West Shrine respectively. Obviously these sherds were moved during phase 2a, perhaps in the course of clearing broken material out of Room B. We must therefore accept that sherds were transported during phase 2, either from the courtyard to Room B, or from Room B to the courtyard, or both. The matter is further discussed in relation to the pottery deposit in the courtyard, Assemblage E.

Table 4.8: Finds from the West Shrine, Room B (Phase 2b/3a)

P. 197, Cat. No. 81	PL. 22	Fragments of piriform jar (see Appendix B)	MLb Room B layer 1037
P. 455, Cat. No. 132	PL. 27 <i>b</i>	Krater	MLd Room B layer 510
P. 676, Cat. No. 207		Fragment of deep bowl (see Appendix B)	MLd Room B layer 511
P. 1409, Cat. No. 377	PL. 21	Tripod cauldron cooking pot	MLb Room B layer 1036
P. 1410, Cat. No. 218	PL. 21	Fragment of deep bowl (see Appendix B)	MLb Room B layer 1036
P. 1415, Cat. No. 364		Shallow angular bowl	MLb Room B layer 1037
Primary Figurines			
Minor Fragments			
SF 2163		Female figurine, waist fragment	MLd Room B layer 509
SF 2162		Askos fragment	MLd Room B layer 509
Secondary Figurine			
SF 2659	PL. 41 <i>a–b</i>	Bovine figure, part of SF 2690, phase 2b (see Appendix B)	MLb Room B layer 962
Metal			
SF 2655		Piece of slag	MLb Room B layer 960
Organic			
SF 2023		Bone pin	MLd Room B layer 509
Terracotta			
SF 2873	FIG. 8.10	Disc	MLb Room B layer 1036
SF 2877	FIG. 8.9	Drain channel	MLb Room B layer 1037
Coarse stone			
SF 2026		Fragment of quern	MLd Room B layer 511
SF 2024		Mortar, third missing	MLd Room B layer 511
SF 1063		Serpentine grind stone, fragment	MLd Room B layer 510
SF 2025		Pair of hammerstones	MLd Room B layer 511
SF 2879		Disc	MLb Room B layer 1037
SF 2027		Marble slab	MLd Room B layer 511

(f) East Shrine: Platform Area (phase 2b) Assemblage D

The rich finds of Assemblage D were found, in very fragmentary condition, along the foot (i.e. the south and west sides) of the platform (PLATE 2 *c*). Nothing remained on the platform at all, and all the material had clearly been swept from it before the phase 3b floor, Floor 2, was established. The findspots are seen on FIG. 4.11 but each object is shown there with a single location even if found in several pieces. In fact the debris was almost as thick along the west side of the platform as on the south side. There can be little doubt, however, that most of the finds were on the platform during use.

The breakages are numerous, so that there are many joins with fragments found in higher levels or in the street to the south. Many figurines are represented by only a single small fragment, but it is likely that many or most of them were more or less complete before the collapse, and that the missing fragments were lost after that time.

The sealstones are of particular note (PLATES 50–54), as is the occurrence of the shells of 3 or 4 tortoises (PLATE 63): in one case (SF 814) some of the fragments are drilled (PLATE 64 *d*).

There are no substantial human figures or figurines. Among the bovine figures are the head and forequarters of an impressive specimen (SF 836; PLATE 40 *d*) and an almost complete figure

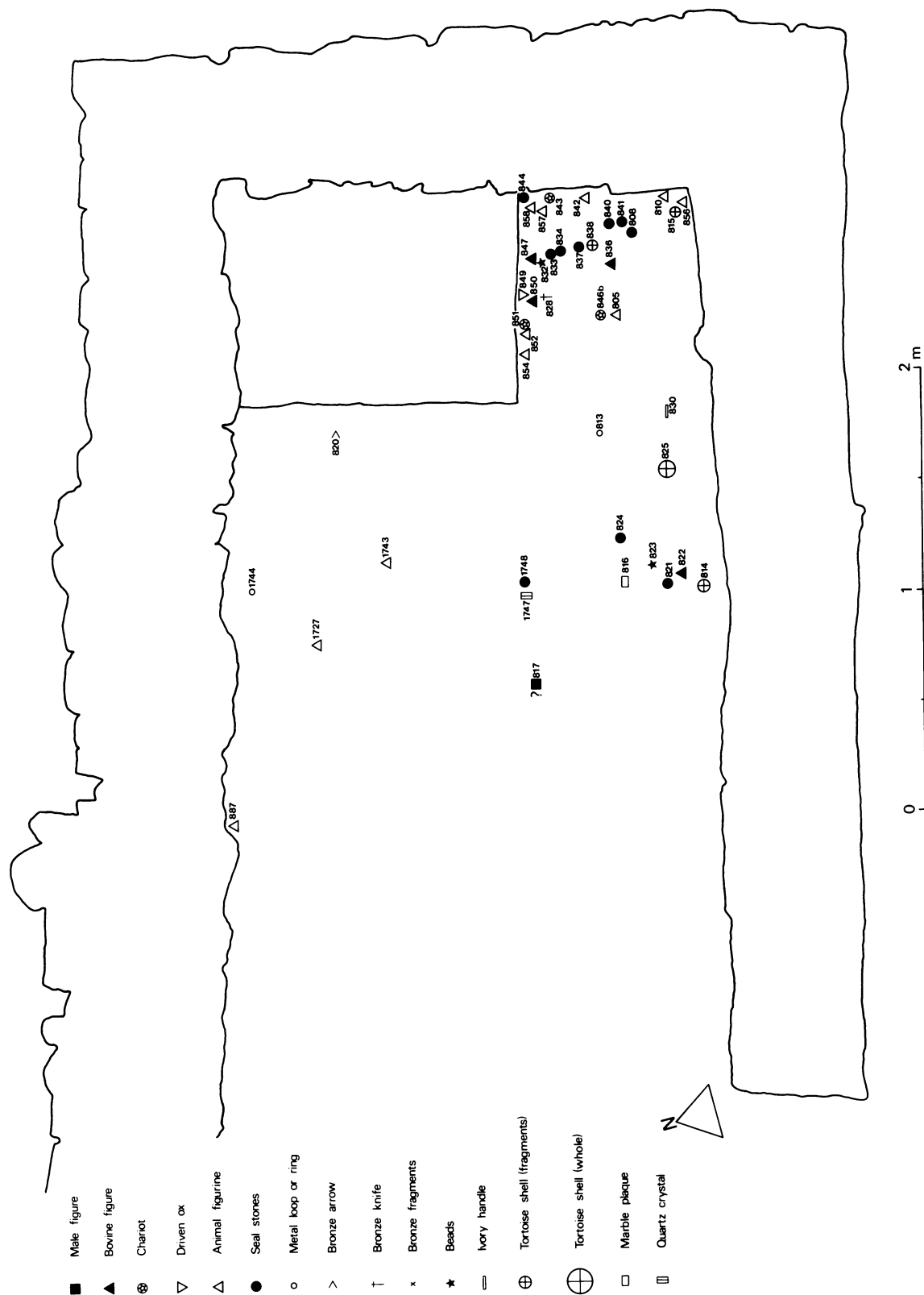


FIG. 4.11 Sketch diagram of Assemblage D of phase 2b in the East Shrine

of very white fabric (SF 850; PLATE 40 *b*). There are several substantial fragments of a chariot group (SF 851; FIG. 6.27) and an almost complete driven ox (SF 849; PLATE 44 *c*) as well as numerous animal figurines. Smaller pieces have been listed below as minor fragments, but several of them may have been complete prior to the phase 2b collapse.

Other finds from the East Shrine, but not found immediately by the platform, are also listed in TABLE 4.9.

Table 4.9: Finds from the East Shrine, Phase 2b

(i) *Assemblage D*

Primary Figurines

Substantial Pieces

SF 836	FIG. 6.15 – 17, PL. 40 <i>d</i>	Bovine figure, forequarters and tail: 4 joining and 1 matching fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62 et al.
SF 847	FIG. 6.19	Bovine figure, head and neck: 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 850	FIG. 6.23, PL. 40 <i>b</i>	Bovine figure, missing right horn, right front leg and some body fragments: 4 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62 et al.
SF 851	FIG. 6.27	Chariot group, left horse and forequarters of right horse: 2 matching fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62 et al.
SF 849	PL. 44 <i>c</i>	Driven ox, almost complete: 3 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62 et al.
SF 805	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, forequarters: 3 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a layer 61 et al.
SF 810	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, forequarters and matching hindquarters: 1 matching fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe space a layer 61 et al.
SF 842	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, body and forequarters: 2 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62 et al.
SF 852	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 854	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, complete (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 856	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 857	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 858	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, hindquarters only (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 887	PL. 45 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 1727	PL. 46 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete: horn fragment only found in this phase, possibly re-used in phase 3c (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 63, 123 or 124
SF 1743		Animal figurine, leg fragment: matches SF 504 phase 3b (see Appendix B)	NLe layer 152

Minor Fragments

SF 817	FIG. 6.11	Possible male figure, legs only	NLe space a layer 61
SF 822	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, leg fragment	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 843	FIG. 6.28	Group figure, probably umbrella fragment, possible match of SF 851 (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 846b	FIG. 6.26	Chariot group, left forequarters only: 2 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62 et al.

SF 2247	PL. 43 <i>d</i>	Chariot group, left forequarters	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 2248		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 2249		Animal figurine, horn fragment	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 2258		Animal figurine, body and possible leg fragment	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 1130		Animal figurine, fragment	NLe space a layer 61
Secondary Figurine			
SF 846a		Bovine figure, hindquarters, part of SF 1032 phase 0/2a: 4 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62 et al.
Sealstones			
SF 808, Cat. No. 5	PL. 51	Elongated cushion seal	NLe space a layer 61
SF 821, Cat. No. 6	PL. 52	Rectangular plate seal	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 824, Cat. No. 11	PL. 54	Lentoid	NLe space a/c layer 62
SF 833, Cat. No. 9	PL. 53	Lentoid	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 834, Cat. No. 7	PL. 52	Lentoid	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 837, Cat. No. 4	PL. 51	Lentoid	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 840, Cat. No. 8	PL. 53	Lentoid	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 841, Cat. No. 10	PL. 54	Lentoid	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 844, Cat. No. 2	PL. 50	Lentoid	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 1748, Cat. No. 3	PL. 50	Lentoid	NLe layer 152
Metals			
SF 813	FIG. 8.6	Lead ring or loop	NLe space a layer 61
SF 820	FIG. 8.6	Bronze arrowhead	NLe space a layer 61
SF 828	FIG. 8.6	Bronze knife	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 1744		Bronze loop	NLe layer 152
SF 1745		Bronze fragment	NLe layer 152
Beads			
SF 823		Black-brown glass/faience	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 832	FIG. 8.7	Whitish glass/faience	NLe space a/b layer 62
Organic			
SF 830	FIG. 8.8, PL. 61 <i>d</i>	Ivory handle	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 814	PL. 64 <i>d</i>	Seventeen fragments tortoise shell, some joining, several drilled	NLe space a layer 61
SF 815		Twelve fragments tortoise shell, 1 possibly drilled	NLe space a layer 61
SF 825	PL. 63	Tortoise shell, complete	NLe space a/b layer 62
SF 838		One fragment tortoise shell	NLe space a/b layer 62
Fine stone			
SF 816		Small rectangular marble plaque	NLe space a layer 61
SF 1747		Quartz crystal	NLe layer 152

(ii) East Shrine, Phase 2b (but not in close proximity to the platform)

Pottery

P. 127, Cat. No. 350	PL. 21	Carinated kylix	NLd space 1 layer 56
P. 187, Cat. No. 86	PL. 23	Collar-necked jar (see Appendix B)	NLd space 1 layer 56
P. 1505, Cat. No. 150	PL. 23	Mug, fragments (see Appendix B)	NLd space 1 layer 64

Terracotta

SF 1731		Spindle whorl	NLd East baulk layer 140
SF 786	FIG. 8.9, PL. 65 d	Drain channel	NLd space 1 layer 56

Plaster

SF 485		Scrap, painted pink	NLd space 1 layer 56
SF 1730		Scrap, painted white (phase 3a)	NLd East baulk layer 139

Coarse stone

SF 785		Bi-concave lentoid	NLd space 1 layer 56
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(g) Street and Courtyard (phase 2b/3a): Assemblage E

The material grouped under Assemblage E does not have a clear single spatial focus in the manner of the other assemblages described. Some of it is clearly rubbish cleared out of the East Shrine during its use, or conceivably in the aftermath of the collapse. For instance the chariot group fragment SF 871 joins with other fragments listed under SF 851 in Appendix B. One of these is from the interior of the East Shrine, amongst other figurines in their primary context, and it is safe to infer that the primary context for this piece also was within the East Shrine. It may be concluded that the other figurine fragments and the metal pieces were likewise thrown out of the East shrine, or possibly the West Shrine.

It has been noted above that this process was already occurring during phase 2a, so that these pieces in levels of phase 2b need not necessarily be regarded as breakages resulting from the collapse, but simply as slightly earlier breakages buried by the collapse.

While this explanation may also serve for some of the potsherds recovered, it will scarcely do for them all. For during excavation, several pots were found in situ at the foot of the City Wall, crushed by the fall of the large stones from it (PLATES 22–23). It seems likely that they were complete prior to the collapse. In NLe space c, Pots Cat. Nos. 81, 86, 99, 111 and 178 were found together, along with some plaster. Cat. No. 372 in NLb 418 was also crushed in this way. This last was found immediately to the east of the “baetyl”, to the north of Bench 663. It is tempting, therefore, to consider this pottery as used for some purpose specific to the position where it was found, east of the baetyl near the bench and also near the quarter-circle kerb in the corner between the City Wall and Wall 661 and Bench 663. Indeed with one exception, all the joins for the pots listed below are within this courtyard/street area, suggesting strongly that they were used here and broken here, some perhaps prior to the collapse and some during it.

An interesting issue is raised, however, by Cat. No. 81 (PLATE 22), which formed part of this assemblage crushed by the boulders. For sherds from it were found in collapse phase levels in Room B, west of the West Shrine (see Appendix B). If the pot was indeed broken by the collapse, the sherds must have been transported to Room B during some later occupation, perhaps of rubbish disposal. It is curious, however, that the *only* sherds originating in this assemblage of pots destroyed by the collapse to have found their way out of the courtyard/street area, should have ended up some way to the west in Room B. There are other links between Room B and the courtyard area, reflected in Pots 676, 1410, 1515, 1524 and 1529, and a similar explanation could be advanced for most of the sherds: they could have been taken over to Room B with the same batch of rubbish after the collapse. The circumstance that sherds of Pot 1524 occur already in phase 2a levels in the courtyard is not an obstacle: it could have been broken at that time, with sherds remaining there until after the phase 2b collapse.

Pot 1529 does however present difficulties to this explanation: one sherd is from phase 2a levels in square NLa, well stratified beneath more than one floor, and it therefore reached there well

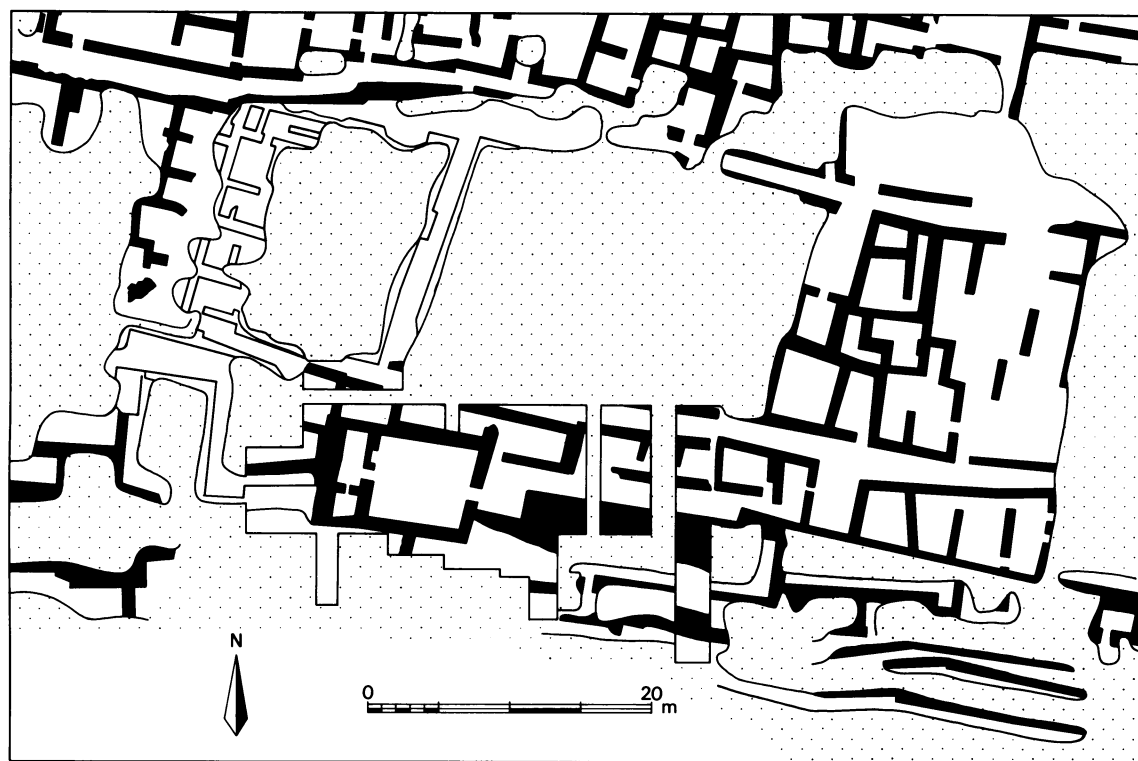


FIG. 4.12 Sketch plan of the sanctuary and adjoining areas

before the collapse. This circumstance therefore suggests an alternative hypothesis: that this pot was broken somewhere in the West Shrine, either in Room B or in NLa, and sherds were swept out into the courtyard.

All in all, the best explanation would seem to be the movement of debris after the phase 2b collapse, despite the difficulty with Pot 1529. In any case, this street/courtyard area was the only one within the Sanctuary proper where considerable quantities of pottery were found, and there is no doubt that much of it was used in that area. The suspicion nonetheless remains that there was some preferential link between this area and Room B.

Table 4.10: Finds from the Street and Courtyard (Phase 2b/3a): Assemblage E

Pottery

P. 186, Cat. No. 178	PL. 23	Fragment of kylix	NLe space c layer 74
P. 187, Cat. No. 86	PL. 23	Fragments of collar necked jar (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 74
P. 190, Cat. No. 96	PL. 22	Fragments of amphora (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 74
P. 192, Cat. No. 351	PL. 23	Carinated kylix	NLe space c layer 72
P. 193, Cat. No. 352		Fragments of carinated kylix	NLe space c layer 74
P. 194, Cat. No. 99	PL. 22	Fragments of hydria	NLd space 4 layer 79
P. 195, Cat. No. 111		Fragments of jug, (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 75
P. 197, Cat. No. 81	PL. 22	Fragments of piriform jug (see Appendix B)	NLd space 4 layer 79

P. 198, Cat. No. 100	PL. 22	Fragments of hydria (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 75
P. 200, Cat. No. 262		Fragments of deep bowl	NLe space c layer 75
P. 401, Cat. No. 97	PL. 22	Fragments of amphora	NLd space 4 layer 79
P. 461, Cat. No. 106		Jug	NLb layer 419
P. 462, Cat. No. 372	PL. 21	Krater	NLb layer 418
P. 473, Cat. No. 98	PL. 22	Fragments of amphora	NLe space c layer 75
P. 474, Cat. No. 263		Fragments of deep bowl	NLe space c layer 99
P. 1504, Cat. No. 135		Fragments of krater (see Appendix B)	NLb layer 427
P. 1513, Cat. No. 205		Fragments of deep bowl (see Appendix B)	NLb layer 445
P. 1516, Cat. No. 222		Fragments of deep bowl (see Appendix B)	NLd space 4 layer 148
P. 1517, Cat. No. 160		Fragments of dipper	NLb layer 421
P. 1518, Cat. No. 267		Fragments of deep bowl (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 75
Primary Figurines			
Minor Fragments			
SF 2253		Female figurine polos	NLb layer 421
SF 882	PL. 48 d	Animal figurine, hindquarters only, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 74
Secondary Figurines			
SF 871		Chariot group, cross bar part of SF 851, phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 72
SF 2285		Throne, fragment of back, part of SF 1019 phase 2a	NLb layer 421
SF 869		Animal figurine, body part of SF 852, phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLb layer 421
Metal			
SF 868		Flat strip of lead	NLe space c layer 72
SF 1819		Lead strip with 2 rivets	NLb layer 421
SF 1812		Fragment of bronze	NLb layer 418
Beads			
SF 1817		Fragment, glass paste	NLb layer 418
Organic			
SF 2284		Fragment of tortoise shell	NLe space c layer 72
Terracotta			
SF 876		Fragments of drain channel	NLe space c layer 74
SF 1028	FIG. 8.9	Fragment of drain channel	NLb layer 419
SF 1626	FIG. 8.9	Fragments of drain channel	NLb layer 437
SF 1821		Fragment of drain channel	NLb layer 428
Coarse stone			
SF 872	FIG. 8.13, PL. 66 g	Quern	NLe space c layer 74
SF 1628	PL. 66 b	Mortar	NLb layer 437
SF 1705		Half bi-concave stone	NLe space c layer 99
SF 1829		Pierced disk	NLb layer 440
SF 1703		Marble slab	NLd East baulk layer 96

(h) The area north of the West Shrine

It is convenient at this point to discuss the finds from the room immediately to the north of the West Shrine, NLc North (PLATES 8 left; 9 right). For although this room may not have belonged to the shrine complex (and this is uncertain) it does seem to have been destroyed at the same time.

This narrow room is bounded at the south by the north wall of the West Shrine, Wall 603, and at the north by the westward continuation of the terrace wall, Wall 500, which forms the north wall of the East Shrine. At the west is Wall 602. Access was probably from the street to the north. Its eastern end was never accurately located, and may lie beneath the NLc/NLd baulk, which was not fully removed. (East of this baulk is NLd space 2, which may well have been part of the same room.) There was a single floor level, with material lying on it associated with the collapse phase. (Excavation below this floor revealed the tops of Walls 605 and 606 of Late Bronze I date.)

It should be noted that while the restorable vessels in this assemblage (PLATE 24) should be assigned to phase 2b proper, that is to say the original collapse, other items may have entered the assemblage during the immediate aftermath, in phase 3a.

Table 4.11: Finds from the area north of the West Shrine

*(i) NLc North (Phase 2b/3a): Assemblage F***Pottery**

P. 435, Cat. No. 384	PL. 24	Jug	NLc North layer 213, pb 1315
P. 453, Cat. No. 385	PL. 24	Rounded kylix	NLc North layer 213, pb 1317
P. 457, Cat. No. 381		Alabastron	NLc North layer 213, pb 1322
P. 458, Cat. No. 391	PL. 24	Lid with quadruple handle	NLc North layer 213
P. 467, Cat. No. 382	PL. 24	Amphora	NLc North layer 213, pb 1315
P. 470, Cat. No. 383	PL. 24	Amphora	NLc North layer 213, pb 1315
P. 471, Cat. No. 389	PL. 24	Spouted bowl	NLc North layer 213, pb 1321
P. 664, Cat. No. 390		Shallow angular bowl	NLc North layer 213, pb 1315
P. 690		Bowl	NLc North layer 213, pb 1335
P. 1406, Cat. No. 539		Hydria	NLc East baulk layer 261
P. 1532, Cat. No. 386		Deep bowl	NLc North layer 213, pb 1317
P. 1543, Cat. No. 387		Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	NLc North layer 213, pb 1322

Primary Figurines**Substantial Pieces**

SF 1586	Animal figurine, head and forequarters	NLc North layer 213, pb 1335
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Secondary Figurines

SF 1078	Bovine figure, body fragment, part of SF 836 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLc North layer 213, pb 1321
SF 1514	Animal figurine, leg fragment, match of SF 810 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLc North layer 212, pb 1322

Minor fragment

SF 1084	PL. 43 c	Furniture fragment (part of a box)	NLc North layer 213, pb 1321
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Metals

SF 2395		Bronze fragment	NLc East baulk layer 262
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Organic

SF 2396	FIG. 8.8	Ivory disc, worked	NLc East baulk layer 262
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Coarse stone

SF 2397		Quern	NLc East baulk layer 260
SF 1508		Grindstone	NLc North layer 213, pb 1315
SF 1512		Hammer stone	NLc North layer 213, pb 1320
SF 1513		Hammer stone	NLc North layer 213, pb 1320
SF 1515		Hammer stone	NLc North layer 213, pb 1322

*(ii) NLd space 2 (phase o/3c)***Pottery**

P. 1504, Cat. No. 135		Krater	NLd space 2 layer 12
P. 1510, Cat. No. 395		Carinated kylix	NLd space 2 layer 12

Beads

SF 574	FIG. 8.7	Whitish glass	NLd space 2 layer 16
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Terracotta

SF 584		Spindle-whorl	NLd space 2 layer 18
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Fine stone

SF 572	PL. 61 e	Rock crystal fragment	NLd space 2 layer 14
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Coarse stone

SF 771		Mortar	NLd space 2 layer 18
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(j) East of the East Shrine: Area OLd

To the east of the East Shrine, as described in Chapter II, stratified floor deposits were found. Their chronological interpretation presented some difficulty until the finds from PLa were more fully studied. Initially it was assumed that the material on Floor 1 was contemporary with the collapse deposits of phase 2b in the street south of the East Shrine. The subsequent recognition of LH IIIC sherds in PLa in lower levels than these then suggested that the collapse deposits in OLd might be at a lower level than we had been able to reach in that area. This would imply that the material on Floors 1 and 2 belonged to the post-collapse phases 3b and 3c. Further consideration of the material in PLa (whose excavation and interpretation will be described in detail in a subsequent volume) now shows that the LH IIIC material in the street levels there leads to the same conclusions as in the street NLe. The pattern of joins for pottery and figurines in OLd also harmonises with the conclusion that the finds on Floor 1 there are contemporary with the phase 2b collapse in the East Shrine, and that those from Floor 2 should be assigned to phase 2a. Thus the interesting bronze 'smiting god' figurine (SF 518) from OLd layer 63 should now be assigned to phase 2b. In view of the earlier doubts about the correct phasing of this area, the relevant

levels have been described as 2a/3c and 2b/3c in TABLE 4.12, in the levels diagram FIG. 11.6 and in Appendix B. But layers 67 and 65 are now assigned with confidence to phase 2a and the overlying stratified levels to phase 2b.

Walls 112 and 109 (PLATE 4 a) were constructed before this time, probably at the same time as the East Shrine itself, although they were not fully investigated in OLd. Wall 109 continues eastward into PLa, where it is designated Wall 2. The construction of Wall 4 in PLa is contemporary with these. At the time these were built, the retaining wall to the north of these squares (Wall 1 in PLa, Wall 108 in OLd and Wall 506 in NLe) was strengthened by reconstruction, and at some time during the use of the East Shrine its east wall, Wall 106, was supported by the addition of further walling at its east face, designated Wall 107. The configuration at the eastern side of the sanctuary is shown schematically in FIG. 4.12, which also indicates the walls uncovered to the east in the excavation by Dawkins and Droop (1911, pl. 1, right).

There is no way of knowing if the two rooms to the east, excavated by Dawkins and Droop (1911, pl. 1, right, rooms 6 and 7) were constructed in phase 2 at the same time as the East Shrine. With their construction, the sanctuary became an enclosed area, as seen on FIG. 4.12, perhaps entered by a narrow doorway in the east wall of the easternmost room of the complex. Unfortunately Dawkins and Droop left no description of this possible doorway or of these rooms, which were removed by them to give access to the lower levels there. The arrangement of the east of the sanctuary in phase 2 is thus not clear. The area to the east of the East Shrine evidently fell into disuse after the collapse.

Table 4.12: OLd (Street and Courtyard) (Phase 2a/3c)

Pottery

P. 1504, Cat. No. 135		Krater (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 63
P. 1505, Cat. No. 150	PL. 23	Mug (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 61
P. 1507, Cat. No. 254		Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 59
P. 1508, Cat. No. 252		Miniature deep bowl (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 59
P. 1509, Cat. No. 255		Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 59
P. 1516, Cat. No. 222		Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 62
P. 1518, Cat. No. 267		Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 65
P. 1519, Cat. No. 227	PL. 23	Deep bowl (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 65
P. 1522, Cat. No. 161		Lipless conical cup (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 52

Primary Figurines

Minor Fragments

SF 520	PL. 38 d	Female figure, body fragment	OLd layer 65
SF 2235	PL. 43 c	Bovine figure, body fragments	OLd layer 61
SF 514		Driven ox, head only	OLd layer 59
SF 517		Animal figurine, body only	OLd layer 61
SF 2242	PL. 48 b	Animal figurine, possible horse head	OLd layer 50

Secondary Figurines

SF 2241a		Possible fish rhyton, body fragment, possible match of SF 1087 phase 2a (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 67
SF 511		Chariot group, horse head and part of body, part of SF 851 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 59

Metals

SF 522		Lead clamp?	OLd layer 67
SF 518	FIG. 8.3, PL. 67 and 68	Bronze Reshef figure	OLd layer 63
SF 516		Bronze pin, fragment	OLd layer 59
SF 521		Two bronze fragments	OLd layer 65

Beads

SF 513		Whitish, glass	OLd layer 59
SF 525		Grey, glass	OLd layer 67

Organic

SF 515		Bone point	OLd layer 59
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Terracotta

SF 526		Unidentifiable object of unbaked clay	OLd layer 67
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Plaster

SF 1183		Scrap, painted	OLd layer 66
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Fine stone

SF 523		Possible pendant	OLd layer 67
SF 524		Disc	OLd layer 67

Coarse stone

SF 512		Quern	OLd layer 59
SF 1154		Small mortar	OLd layer 67
SF 510		Pounder	OLd layer 53
SF 519		Grinder	OLd layer 63

5. After the Collapse (Phase 3a to 3c)*(a) Phase 3a and the Blocking Wall*

After the collapse of phase 2b, only one major construction enterprise was undertaken in the sanctuary area. This was the construction, across the middle of the main room of the West Shrine, of a blocking of stones entirely closing off the southern part of the area. This great mass of stones had only one face, to the north, and this was in some ways neatly constructed (FIG. 4.3, PLATE 18 *a*). No face whatever could be found on the south side (PLATE 13 right). It seems that stones were added systematically to produce a neat face, and piled up irregularly behind (to the south), entirely filling the space designated NLa, the area between the face of this Blocking Wall, Wall 626, and the south wall of the West Shrine, Wall 732/622.

The east end of Wall 626 is actually in the doorway to the West Shrine (PLATE 8). The wall face runs west, but not in a straight line, so that although at any point the wall is neat enough vertically, in plan it is irregular. At one metre from its western end the masonry changes. Indeed it appears as if Wall 626 may have terminated at this point originally, the placing of the stones there resembling a wall-ending (PLATE 17 *c*). The wall continues (now designated Wall 733), but set back about 15 cm south of the end of 626. There is no reason, however, to suppose that this represents any great lapse of time. Both stretches of walling lie directly on the debris upon Floor 4/8 of NLc, and Floor 7 of NLc South runs up against both. The wall is built of large round stones similar in character to those which form the City Wall, and it seems likely that both the wall and the stone pack to the south are made of debris resulting from the partial collapse of the Late Helladic IIIB₁ City Wall, located just a few metres to the east.

The pack to the south of this wall covered the platform and shelf in the south-west corner of the room, with the debris of the collapse phase, including complete figurines and pots, left *in situ*.

There is only one utilitarian reason which can be offered for this effort. It might have been to strengthen the line of defence at this point on the south side of the site. It has already been postulated that the Late Bronze I fortification walls ran east-west just a few metres to the south. The extension Wall of phase 1c may well have had a defensive purpose, although the absence of its southern face makes it now seem rather unimpressive. Certainly the City Wall of Late Helladic IIIB₁ date was part of a major strengthening at that time. It is difficult to understand why it stops, as it does, some 3 metres east of the West Shrine. Certainly the south wall of the West Shrine of phase 2 offers less protection than does the Extension Wall to the east, particularly when this was reinforced by the City Wall.

It may be, then, that following the phase 2b collapse, the need was perceived for considerable strengthening at this point. The device of building Wall 626 and then of filling the space between it and Wall 622 with large stones would certainly have the effect of making the south wall of the shrine an exceedingly strong line of defence. It is perfectly possible that the former weakness at this point was instrumental in bringing about the events which led to the collapse in the first place. For if the collapse was a result of an attack on Phylakopi, the sanctuary area at the western end of the Late Helladic IIIB defences could have been an obvious weak spot.

The entrance to the shrine area was now much less ordered. Access was still probably by the street at the east. But since the large boulders which had fallen from the City Wall had not been cleared away, one had to walk at a higher level (PLATE 9), and probably along a rather irregular surface. No floors comparable to Floors 7 to 12, were laid down in this street area. The ground level here rose, and much debris from the East Shrine, and perhaps from beyond was thrown out and came to rest here.

It is noteworthy that some debris of broken pots, which were apparently originally broken in this area, actually found its way as far as Room B at the west of the West Shrine and perhaps vice versa. This room was not re-used, but there is an accumulation of debris, including what may be decayed roof material, forming surfaces in the accumulation of deposit which were at first termed 'Floor 4' and 'Floor 5', although Floor 6 is the latest real floor surface there. Amongst this debris, significant joining fragments were found which help to confirm the chronological equations. They are set out in detail in Appendix B.

In most areas it is difficult to draw any clear stratigraphic distinction between levels directly relating to the collapse itself (phase 2b) and layers of the immediately succeeding period 3a, during the construction of the Blocking Wall. It is not until new floor levels formed, or were laid, that a firm division can be made. For this reason, no general listing of finds from phase 3a is attempted here. In the last section the possibility of finds from this period was recognised in several areas, but it was not possible to distinguish these from the collapse finds themselves. Indeed the most likely activity during phase 3a was not the introduction of new finds, but the moving around, in the course of clearance operations, of fragments of the debris resulting from the collapse. This may well account for some of the join patterns recognised and discussed earlier and in Appendix B. For instance, at the end of the last section, in Room NLc North, the presence was recognised of several fragments of collapse material which were probably not in their primary positions within that room.

This process of shifting finds, or fragments of finds, from the collapse itself continued in later phases. Some of it clearly involved the deliberate re-use of material from the collapse debris. But much may have been moved involuntarily.

Only one clear group of material has been designated as belonging to phase 3a by us. It is a small assemblage associated with the rather scanty Floor 4 in space a/b of NLe—that is to say within the East Shrine and near the platform. This floor, which was simply a trampled earth surface was not traced west, into space 1 in the western part of the East Shrine. It underlies Floor 2, which is taken to define phase 3b in the East Shrine.

The material from Floor 4 is thus here designated as phase 3a, and indeed it may well represent a phase of use of the East Shrine contemporary with the building of the Blocking Wall in the West Shrine. But equally, it may post-date that construction, and it would have been equally possible to regard it as an early sub-phase of 3b. Some of the finds may well represent material originating in phase 2, and now re-used.

Table 4.13: Finds from the East Shrine
Material found at or near the platform on Floor 4 (Phase 3a)

Pottery		
P. 1541, Cat. No. 268	Deep bowl	NLe space a/b layer 60
Primary Figurines		
Substantial Pieces		
SF 788 PL. 47 <i>d</i>	Animal figurine, body only, missing head and legs	NLe space a/b layer 59
SF 789 PL. 46 <i>a</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 59
SF 802 PL. 47 <i>c</i>	Animal figurine, head and forequarters (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 60
Minor Fragments		
SF 1132	Bovine figure fragment	NLe space a/b layer 59
SF 801	Animal figurine, horn fragment	NLe space a/b layer 60
SF 1740	Animal figurine, horns and back of head only	NLe layer 151
SF 1131	Askos fragment	NLe space a/b layer 60
Secondary Figurine		
SF 1742	Bovine figurine, body and leg, part of SF 842 phase 2a (see Appendix B)	NLe space a/b layer 62
Beads		
SF 794	Black-brown fragment, glass paste	NLe space a/b layer 59
Organic		
SF 2283	Tortoise shell fragment	NLe space a/b layer 59
Terracotta		
SF 793	Spindle whorl	NLe space a/b layer 59
SF 803	Spindle whorl	NLe space a/b layer 60
SF 1741	Pierced disc, re-used sherd	NLe layer 151
SF 1739	Possible drain channel	NLe layer 151
Fine stone		
SF 797 FIG. 8.12	Rectangular pendant	NLe space a/b layer 59

(b) Phase 3b

Two phases of use, following the collapse, can be identified in both the East Shrine and the West Shrine north of the Blocking Wall. As discussed in Chapter III, it does not follow that these are precisely synchronous, although of course 3b follows close on 2b. If we take the sequence in the East Shrine as defining these phases, it is likely that the beginning of activities in the West Shrine, after the completion of the Blocking Wall, was more or less contemporary with the beginning of phase 3b activities in the East Shrine. Moreover the end of phase 3c in the East Shrine, which represents its ultimate abandonment, may well be contemporary with the abandonment of the West Shrine.

In the West Shrine, to the north of the Blocking Wall, the platform at the north-west corner continued to function. Certainly a number of finds were made at its foot, in positions very similar to those of the collapse phase (FIG. 4.13). The new floor, Floor 2, went over the original bench along the north wall, and a rather irregular new bench was set in its place, along the wall on top of Floor 2.

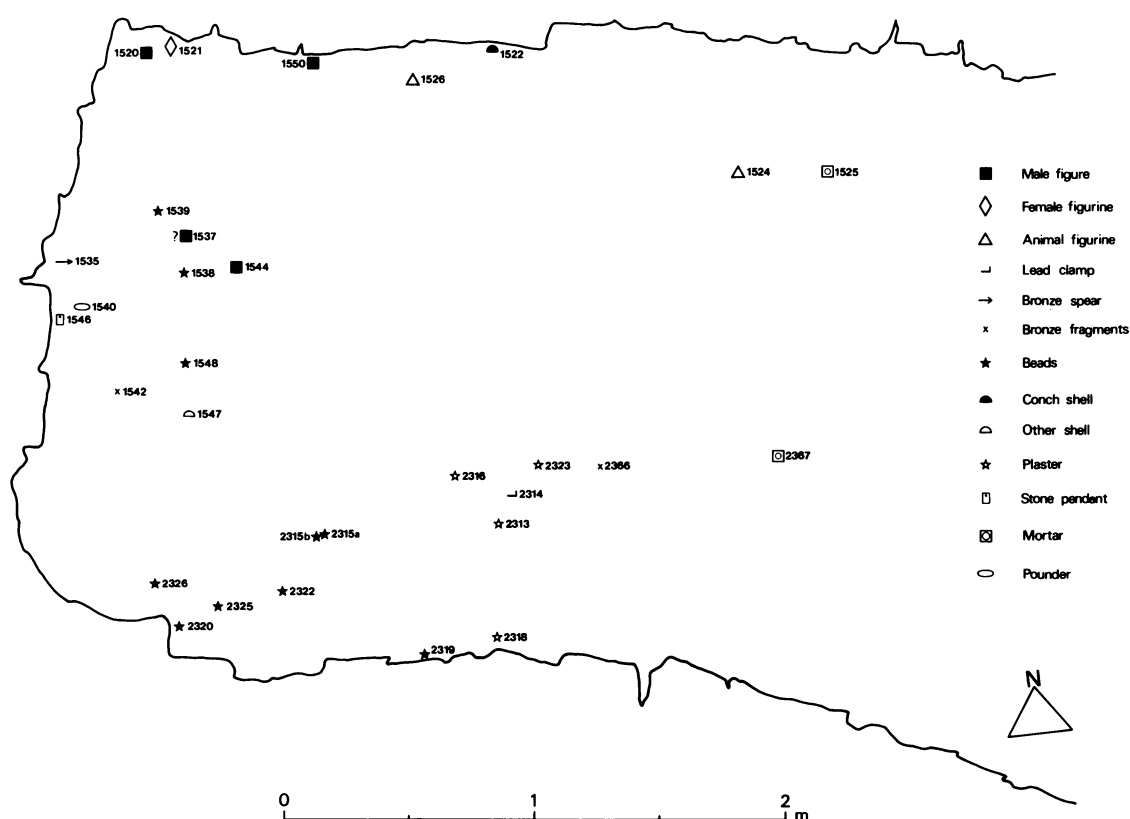


FIG. 4.13 Sketch diagram of Assemblage G of phase 3b in the northern part of the West Shrine

(It should be noted that the male figurine, SF 1520, was found in layer 213 which is stratigraphically assigned to phase 3c, but its close proximity to the other figurines in Assemblage G led the trench supervisor to re-assign it to this assemblage.) The most notable finds in Assemblage G are the Psi figurine (SF 1521; PLATE 38 *c*) and the three male figures (PLATE 35–36; SF 1520, 1544 and 1550), of which the last is a re-used piece, its hand (SF 1527) being firmly stratified in phase 2b levels. There was also a notable concentration of beads.

The most important innovation was the construction in the north-east corner of a platform, designated 505 (PLATE 10 *c*). The observations made during excavation indicate that it was built on the surface equivalent to NLc Floor 2. It was certainly built on top of, and incorporated, the bench against the north wall at this point, and the plaster surface on top of it. It seems then that its construction most probably belongs to phase 3b, and that in a sense it replaces the platform at the south-west part of the room, taken out of commission with the construction of the Blocking Wall.

This platform is square in plan, of side 75 cm, and its top stands 90 cm above the base of the bench which it incorporates. The base of the stonework of the platform, apart from this bench, is 75 cm below its top. The top of the platform was plastered. Several finds were made on or near the top of this platform, but most of them must belong to phase 3c and the final abandonment of this room.

The deposits on Floor 2 in the East Shrine certainly indicate a phase of disposal of material, which is taken to indicate the end of phase 3b (FIG. 4.14). The analogous deposits in the West Shrine (on NLc Floor 2, and NLc South Floor 7) may well be contemporary. This point, although perfectly plausible, should not be taken as securely documented.

The East Shrine in phase 3b showed no structural alterations. The platform in the north-east corner continued to function. In the eastern part of the area (space a) two floor levels were observed, Floors 2 and 4, of which the earlier (Floor 4) has been assigned to phase 3a and its finds listed above. The figurines on Floor 2 were in a shattered, very fragmentary condition.

Table 4.14: Finds of Phase 3b in the West Shrine

(i) *West Shrine, on or near N. W. Platform: Assemblage G*

Primary Figurines

Substantial Pieces

SF 1520	FIG. 6.13, PL. 36 <i>d</i>	Male figure, missing right arm and lower body	NLc layer 213 pb 1323
SF 1527/1550	see FIG. 6.14, PL. 35	Male figure, presumably re-used with arm missing, 6 joining fragments, part of SF 1550 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLc layer 214
SF 1544	FIG. 6.13, PL. 36 <i>c</i>	Male figure, legs missing, hand broken, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLc layer 215 et al.
SF 1521	FIG. 6.2, PL. 38 <i>c</i>	Female figurine, right arm broken. Late Psi	NLc layer 214
SF 1526	PL. 47 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, missing head	NLc layer 214

Minor Fragments

SF 1537		Possible human figure, hand fragment or finial of throne	NLc layer 215
SF 2172		Possible human figure, hand fragment or finial of throne	NLc layer 216
SF 2174		Possible bovine figure, body fragment	NLc layer 214
SF 1524		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLc layer 214
SF 2171		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLc layer 216
SF 2262		Animal figurine fragments	NLc layer 214

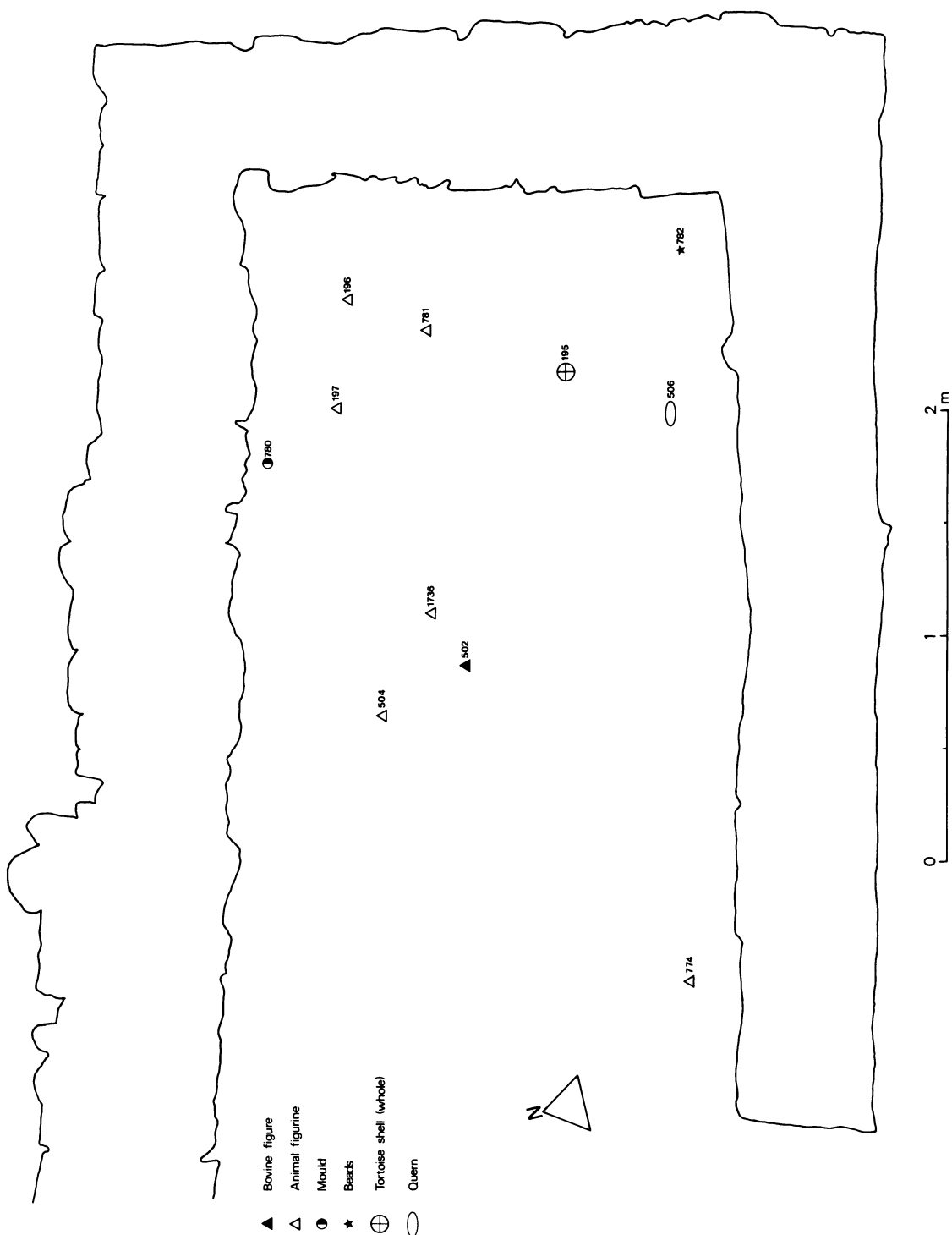


FIG. 4.14 Sketch diagram of Assemblage H of phase 3b in the East Shrine

Secondary Figurine

SF 1036

Chariot group, fragment, 1 joining fragment, part of SF 1563 phase 2b (see Appendix B)

NLc layer 214

Metals

SF 2314

Strip of lead

NLc South layer 234

SF 1535

FIG. 8.6

Bronze arrowhead

NLc layer 214

SF 1542

Fragment of bronze

NLc layer 215

SF 2366

Bronze fragments

NLc South layer 249

Beads

SF 1538

Glass

NLc layer 215

SF 1539

White, glass

NLc layer 215

SF 1541

Half only, white glass

NLc layer 215

SF 1543

Green glass

NLc layer 215

SF 1545

FIG. 8.7

Black, glass

NLc layer 214

SF 1548

Whitish, glass

NLc layer 216

SF 1549

Whitish, glass

NLc layer 216

SF 2315a

White, glass

NLc South layer 234

SF 2315b

Half, white glass

NLc South layer 234

SF 2319

Half, yellow glass

NLc South layer 234

SF 2320

FIG. 8.7

Black, glass

NLc South layer 234

SF 2322

Glass

NLc South layer 234

SF 2325

Grey-white, glass

NLc South layer 234

SF 2326

Glass

NLc South layer 234

Organic

SF 1522

PL. 62

Conch shell

NLc layer 214

SF 1547

FIG. 8.8

Pendant, spondylus shell

NLc layer 216

Terracotta

SF 1536

Spindle whorl, re-used sherd

NLc layer 214

SF 2176

Possible drain channel fragment

NLc layer 214

Plaster

SF 2313

Scrap, painted pink

NLc South layer 234

SF 2316

Scrap, painted red

NLc South layer 234

SF 2318

Scrap, painted red

NLc South layer 234

SF 2323

Scrap, painted red

NLc South layer 234

Fine stone

SF 1546

FIG. 8.12

Pendant

NLc layer 216

Coarse stone

SF 1525

Half a mortar

NLc layer 214

SF 2367

Mortar fragment

NLc layer 249

SF 1540

Grinder

NLc layer 215

*(ii) West Shrine on or near N. E. Platform area (Phase 3b)***Pottery**

P. 1531, Cat. No. 128

Fragment of krater

NLd space 3 layer 28

Beads

SF 596

White, glass

NLd space 3 layer 28

Fine stone

SF 2381

Marble disc

NLc East baulk layer 255

Table 4.15: Finds of Phase 3b in the East Shrine

*(i) East Shrine, Platform area (Phase 3b): Assemblage H***Pottery**

P. 26, Cat. No. 379	Cooking Pot	OLc layer 30
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Primary Figurines**Substantial Pieces**

SF 196	PL. 45 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, body and front legs only (see Appendix B)	OLc layer 29
SF 197	PL. 45 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, hindquarters and part of body, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	OLc layer 29
SF 504	PL. 45 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, body only, 2 joining fragments with matching fragment in phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLc layer 30 et al.
SF 774	FIG. 6.29, PL. 45 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, nose and left front leg broken, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	NLd space 1 layer 52 et al.
SF 781	PL. 45 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, forequarters and body, (see Appendix B)	NLe space a layer 55
SF 1736	PL. 45 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, head and forequarters, 1 joining and 1 matching fragment (see Appendix B)	NLe layer 150

Minor fragments

SF 76	PL. 43 <i>f</i>	Bovine figure, muzzle only	OLc layer 30
SF 502	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, leg fragment	OLc layer 29
SF 2270	PL. 45 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, head only	OLc layer 29
SF 94		Animal figurine, leg only	OLc layer 29

Secondary Figurines

SF 2266		Leg, matching chariot group SF 851 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLc layer 29
SF 199		Animal figurine, leg and body fragment, part of SF 842 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLc layer 29
SF 501		Animal figurine, body and ear fragment, part of SF 802 phase 3a (see Appendix B)	OLc layer 29

Metals

SF 780	FIG. 8.6, PL. 65 <i>b</i>	Clay mould, fragment	NLe space a layer 55
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Beads

SF 782		Partially pierced, glass (head of pin?)	NLe space a layer 55
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Organic

SF 195	PL. 63	Tortoise shell, complete	OLc layer 29
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Coarse stone

SF 506	FIG. 8.13	Fragment of quern	OLc layer 29
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*(ii) East Shrine (not in proximity to the platform). (Phase 3b)***Metals**

SF 766		Bronze fragment, pin?	NLd space 1 layer 52
SF 575		Bronze slag	NLd space 1 layer 17

Terracotta

SF 777	FIG. 8.9	Drain channel fragment	NLd space 1 layer 52
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Plaster

SF 775		Scrap, painted ochre with two red bands	NLd space 1 layer 52
SF 1729		Scrap	NLd East baulk layer 138

(c) *Phase 3c: the West Shrine*

In the West Shrine, the west platform was still in use, although associated with a floor at a higher level. The rather enigmatic Wall 604, built above (PLATE 11 c), although not very securely resting on, the platform in the north-west corner, may date from this period. It has the effect of narrowing the western end by blocking of its northern part. To the south of this wall and at its foot, the platform or shelf remained in use, and a tray (P. 899, Cat. No. 315, PLATE 20) and animal figurine (PLATE 46 c–d) were found on it (PLATE 12 a–b). The niche behind (to the west) may still have been open.

Immediately south-west, right against the Blocking Wall 733, a floor level was recognised below the level of this shelf. This was Floor 5 of NLc South, and on it were several items (PLATE 17 f) including the decorated column or lamp of conglomerate tuff, SF 2309 (PLATE 66 b). While not perhaps constituting a single assemblage in the strictest sense, these finds of Assemblage J (FIG. 4.15) may be taken with Assemblage K as representing the latest utilisation of the West Shrine.

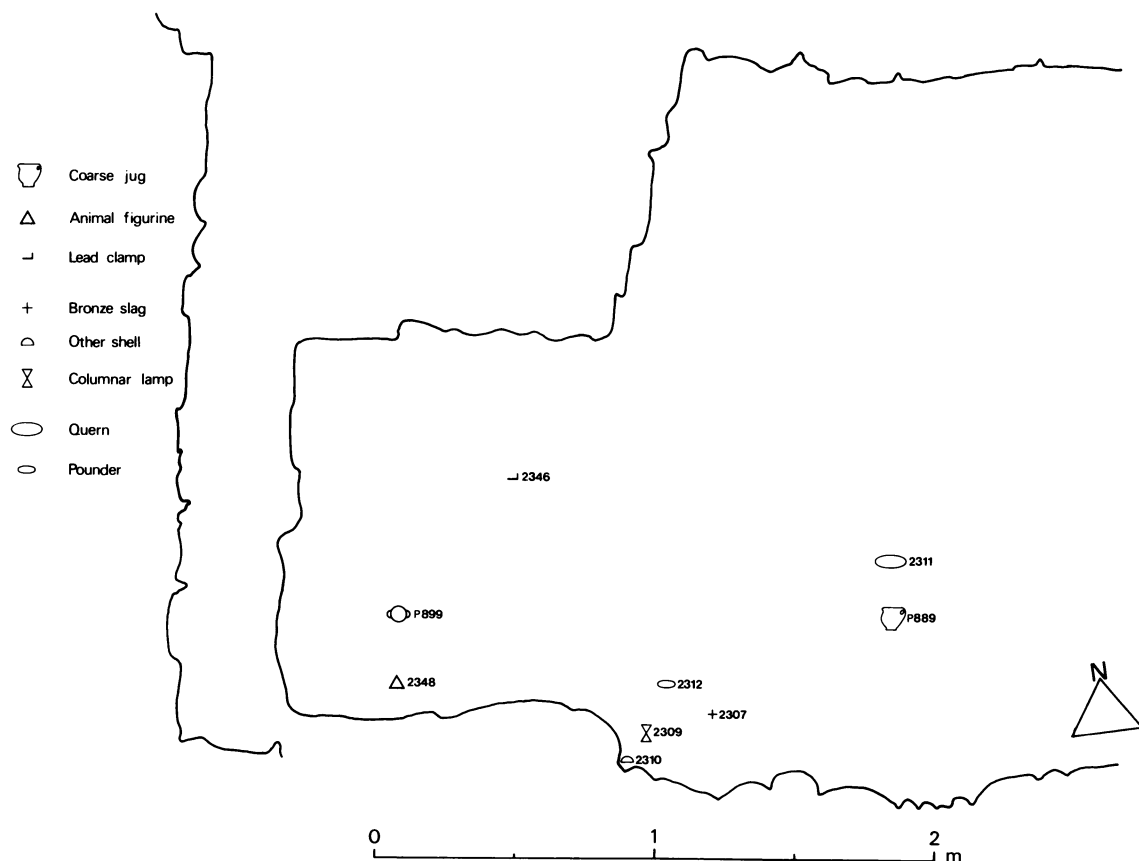


FIG. 4.15 Sketch diagram of Assemblage J of phase 3c in the north-west part of the West Shrine

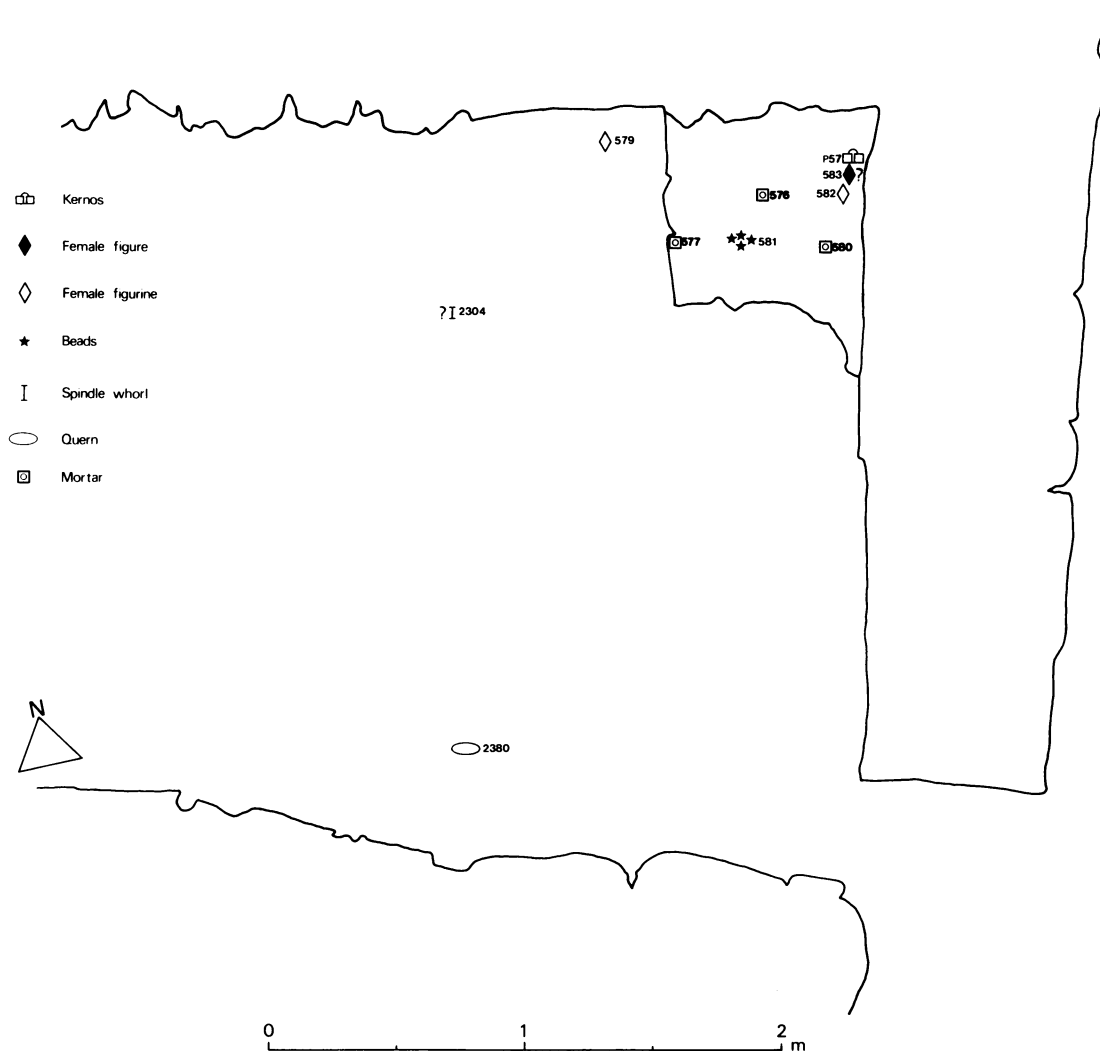


FIG. 4.16 Sketch diagram of Assemblage K of phase 3c in the north-east part of the West Shrine

In the north-east corner a number of finds, Assemblage K, listed in TABLE 4.16 (ii), were found on or near the platform there and may safely be assigned to phase 3c (FIG. 4.16). Others found in the same area should probably belong to phase 3c, but may belong in part to phase 3b. They are listed in TABLE 4.16 (iii).

Table 4.16: The West Shrine in Phase 3c

*(i) West Shrine on or near N. W. Platform: Assemblage J***Pottery**

P. 199, Cat. No. 130	PL. 23	Krater, fragment (see Appendix B)	NLc layer 240
P. 889		Coarse jug	NLc South layer 231
P. 899, Cat. No. 315	PL. 20	Tray	NLc layer 241

Primary Figurines**Substantial Pieces**

SF 2348	PL. 46 c–d	Animal figurine, complete	NLc layer 241
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Metals

SF 2346		Lead clamp, 2 fragments	NLc layer 241
SF 2307		Bronze slag, 2 fragments	NLc South layer 231

Organic

SF 2310	PL. 61 a	Murex shell	NLc South layer 231
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Coarse stone

SF 2309	PL. 66 b	Columnar lamp	NLc South layer 231
SF 2311		Quern, fragment	NLc South layer 233
SF 2312		Pounder	NLc South layer 233

*(ii) West Shrine, on or near N. E. Platform (Phase 3c): Assemblage K***Pottery**

P. 57, Cat. No. 95		Double jar	NLd space 3 layer 13
P. 1544		Deep bowl fragment (see Appendix B)	NLd space 3 layer 13

Primary Figurines**Substantial Piece**

579	FIG. 6.1, PL. 34 c	Female figurine, head missing right arm broken	NLd space 3 layer 22
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Minor fragments

SF 583	FIG. 6.8, PL. 33 c–d	Possible female figure, torso only	NLd space 3 layer 24
SF 582		Female figurine, columnar stem only	NLd space 3 layer 24

Beads

SF 581a		Whitish, glass	NLd space 3 layer 22
SF 581b		Whitish, glass	NLd space 3 layer 22
SF 581c		Whitish, glass	NLd space 3 layer 22
SF 581d		Whitish, glass	NLd space 3 layer 22

Terracotta

SF 2304		Possible spindle whorl	NLc East baulk layer 228
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Coarse stone

SF 2380		Quern	NLc East baulk layer 253
SF 576		Small mortar, fragment	NLd space 3 layer 22
SF 577		Small mortar	NLd space 3 layer 22
SF 580	FIG. 8.13, PL. 66 e	Mortar	NLd space 3 layer 13

*(iii) West Shrine, on or near N. E. Platform (Phase 3b/3c)***Pottery**

P. 1404, Cat. No. 374	Pedestal vase	NLd space 3 layer 27
P. 1544, Cat. No. 266	Fragment of deep bowl	NLc East baulk layer 254

Beads

SF 594a	Glass	NLd space 3 layer 27
SF 594b	Half, glass	NLd space 3 layer 27
SF 594c	Whitish, glass	NLd space 3 layer 27

Organic

SF 591	Knucklebone	NLd space 3 layer 27
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Coarse stone

SF 595	Pierced stone	NLd space 3 layer 27
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(d) The East Shrine in Phase 3c

Phase 3c in the East Shrine is indicated by construction of the small Wall 105 within the East Shrine (PLATE 3 *b*), which divides space a from space c. Floor 1 is associated with this wall. The platform in the north-east corner no longer stood above the level of the floor, and was not recognised as a platform until Floor 1 was removed. But some of its stones were visible, flush with the floor.

The location of the finds is seen in FIG. 4.17 (see PLATE 2 *a*). Fragments of ostrich egg shell (shown as a single location) were in fact found very widely distributed over this floor, mainly to the east of Wall 105 (PLATE 64 *a–b*).

Table 4.17: Finds from the East Shrine in Phase 3c

*(i) East shrine (space a/b) (Phase 3c): Assemblage L***Pottery**

P. 13, Cat. No. 375	PL. 20	Pedestal vase	OLc space a layer 22
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Primary Figurines**Substantial Pieces**

SF 172	FIG. 6.1	Female figurine, 1 joining fragment (see Appendix B)	OLc space a layer 22
SF 174	FIG. 6.1	Female figurine, 5 joining fragments (see Appendix B)	OLc space b layer 23 et al.
SF 166	FIG. 6.29–30	Animal figurine, forequarters and body	OLc space a layer 21
SF 168	FIG. 6.29–30	Animal figurine, horns slightly clipped	OLc space a layer 21
SF 175/1727	FIG. 6.30, PL. 46 <i>b</i>	Animal figurine, almost complete, 1 joining fragment, part of SF 1727 phase 2b, possibly re-used, (see Appendix B)	OLc space b layer 23
SF 185	FIG. 6.30	Animal figurine, missing tail, left horn and right hind leg	OLc space b layer 23
SF 187	FIG. 6.30	Animal figurine, body only	OLc space b layer 23
SF 189	FIG. 6.30	Animal figurine, complete	OLc space a layer 26
SF 779		Animal figurine, horns and right hind leg missing (see Appendix B)	NLe space b layer 53

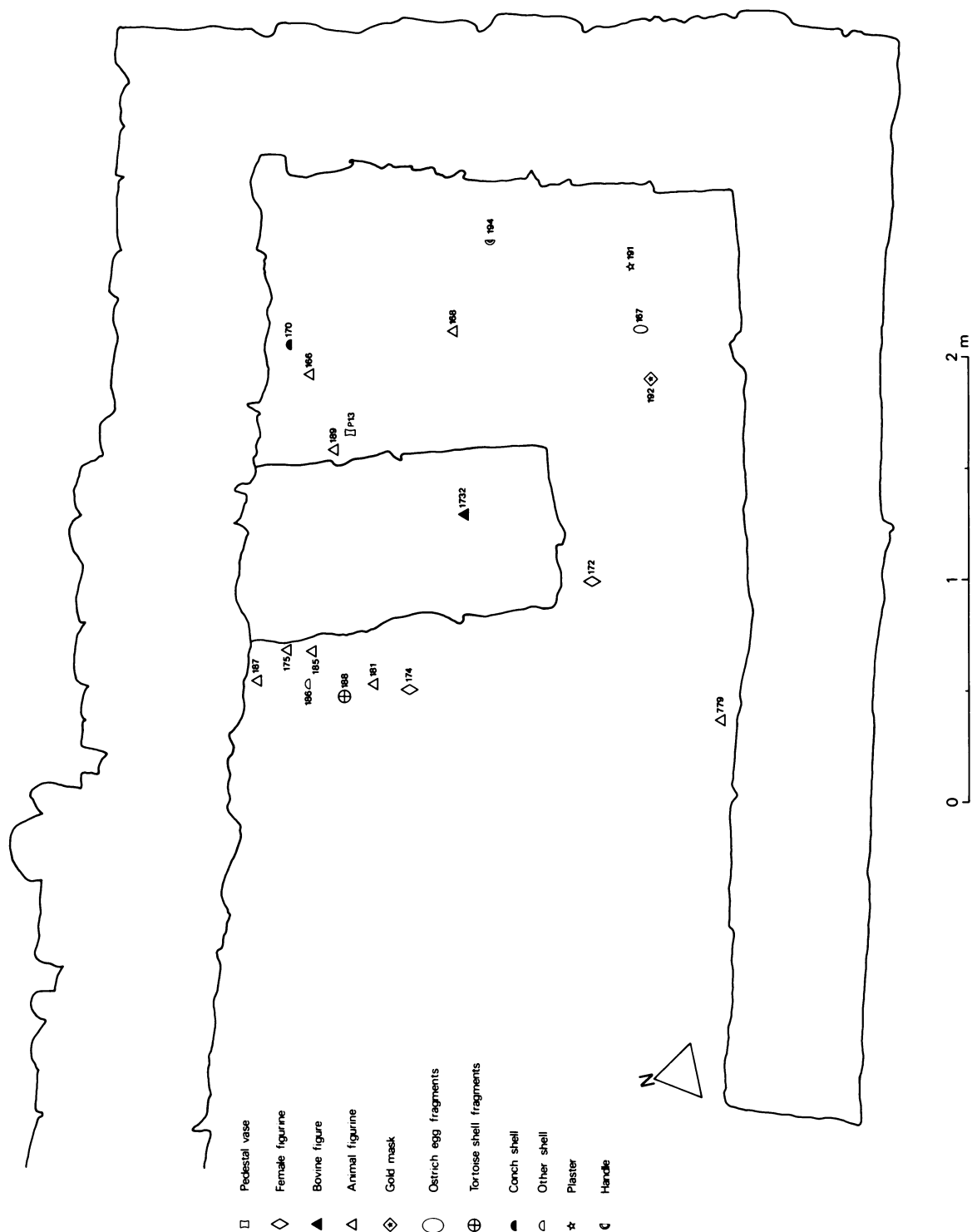


FIG. 4.17 Sketch diagram of Assemblage L of phase 3c in the East Shrine

Minor Fragments

SF 2275		Possible female figure, plait fragment	OLc space a layer 22
SF 68		Bovine figure , neck	OLc space a layer 22
SF 1732		Bovine figure, body fragment	NLe layer 149
SF 77		Driven ox, head fragment	OLc space a layer 22
SF 78		Animal figurine, fragment of forequarters	OLc space a layer 22
SF 95		Animal figurine, shoulder fragment	OLc space a layer 22
SF 96		Animal figurine, head fragment	OLc space b layer 23
SF 181		Animal figurine, horn fragment	OLc space b layer 23
SF 2159		Animal figurine, body fragment	OLc space a layer 22

Secondary Figurines

81a		Bovine figure, body fragment, 4 joining fragments, part of SF 836 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLc space a layer 21 et al.
SF 81b		Bovine figure, body fragment, part of SF 850 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLc space a layer 21
SF 69		Animal figurine, body fragment, 4 joining fragments, part of SF 781 phase 3b (see Appendix B)	OLc space a layer 22 et al.
SF 97		Animal figurine, fragment of hindquarters, matches SF 858 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLc space a layer 22
SF 98		Animal figurine, body fragment, part of SF 504 phase 3b (see Appendix B)	OLc space a layer 22
SF 177		Animal figurine, head fragment, 2 joining fragments, part of SF 1736 phase 3b (see Appendix B)	OLc space b layer 23
SF 180		Animal figurine, body fragment, part of SF 789 phase 3a (see Appendix B)	OLc space b layer 23
SF 190		Animal figurine, body fragment, part of SF 196 phase 3b (see Appendix B)	OLc space a layer 26

Metals

SF 192	FIG. 8.2, PL. 59	Gold head	OLc space a layer 26
SF 74		Bronze fragment	OLc space a layer 26

Organic

SF 167	PL. 64	Ostrich egg shell, fragments	OLc space a/b layers 21, 22, 23 and 26
SF 1733		Ostrich egg shell fragment	NLe layer 149
SF 188		Tortoise shell, fragment	OLc space b layer 23
SF 170	PL. 62	Conch shell	OLc space a layer 22
SF 186		Shell, bivalve	OLc space b layer 23

Terracotta

SF 70	FIG. 8.10	Spindle whorl	OLc space a/b layer 21/22/23
SF 72		Spindle whorl, fragment	OLc space a layer 22

Plaster

SF 191		Scrap, blue spiral on white, defined in black	OLc space a layer 26
SF 1220		Scrap, painted red	OLc space a layer 22

Fine stone

SF 194	FIG. 8.12, PL. 64 c	Handle	OLc space a layer 28
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Coarse stone

SF 1165	FIG. 8.13, PL. 66 f	Quern	OLc space a layer 22
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*(ii) Also from the East Shrine (phase 3c)***Primary Figurines****Minor Fragments**

SF 571	Animal figurine, horn fragment	NLd space 1 layer 15
Organic		
SF 2194	Fragment of drilled bone	NLd space 1 layer 15
SF 573	Two fragments ostrich egg shell	NLd space 1 layer 15

(e) The street and courtyard after the collapse (phase 3a to 3c)

There is no clear stratigraphy within the street or in the courtyard to allow the identification of materials of phase 3b or 3c. The street was not re-paved, as it had been quite frequently during phase 2a. Instead, it remained with much of the debris of the collapse uncleared, and only beaten earth surfaces, rather than a more carefully prepared and laid surface.

For this reason it is appropriate to present together the finds from this area in the period succeeding the collapse.

The finds in the street and courtyard area after the collapse clearly include much broken material, mainly from the East Shrine. This includes material from phase 3b, which was no doubt broken in use. No clear street levels are now recognisable, but an earth surface below NLe space c layer 49 may represent one period at which the street was open.

One particular group of finds is of great interest. They were found together in a depression or small pit against the City Wall (NLe space c layer 46). In it were SF 762 and 763, both joining fragments of the bovine figure SF 1561 (PLATE 32 *b*) from Assemblage A in the phase 2b collapse deposit at the north-west corner of the West Shrine; SF 764, a joining fragment of the chariot group, SF 1558 (PLATE 44 *a*), from the same Assemblage A; SF 765, joining with the male figure SF 1553 (PLATE 36 *b*) from Assemblage A; and a scarab SF 766 (PLATE 58 *e–g*). Nearby in the levels from which the pit or depression was cut (layer 34 and 38) were found two more fragments of the same bovine figure (SF 756 and 758) and another fragment (SF 757) of the same male. (Note that the full listing of joining pieces for each figurine is set out in Appendix B.) Clearly this entire group, probably including the scarab, was dumped together in the course of a clearance operation in the West Shrine. Indeed it is of interest that the only other fragments from Assemblage A (or indeed from its successors in the north-west corner of the West Shrine) which found its way outside the West Shrine was recovered about a metre or two west of this group in square NLd space 4 layer 67: this fragment (SF 865) matches the same bovine figure, SF 1561, from which the other pieces come.

Table 4.18: The Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

Pottery

P. 884, Cat. No. 115	Fragments of stirrup jar (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 42
P. 1507, Cat. No. 254	Fragments of deep bowl	NLe space c layer 49
P. 1509, Cat. No. 255	Fragments of deep bowl	NLe space c layer 46
P. 1519, Cat. No. 227 PL. 23	Fragments of deep bowl	NLe space c layer 49
P. 1522, Cat. No. 161	Fragments of lipless conical bowl	NLe space c layer 44
P. 1531, Cat. No. 128	Fragment of krater (see Appendix B)	NLb layer 422
P. 1538, Cat. No. 541	Carinated kylix	NLb layer 422
P. 1540, Cat. No. 353	Fragments of carinated kylix	NLd space 4 layer 68

Primary Figurines**Substantial Pieces**

SF 759	PL. 46 <i>e</i>	Animal figurine, hindquarters missing	NLe space c layer 42
SF 767	PL. 46 <i>f</i>	Animal figurine, horns, nose, tail and left front leg missing	NLe space c layer 49

Minor fragments

SF 773	PL. 34 <i>a</i>	Female figure, right shoulder only	NLe space c layer 49
SF 768		Possible human figure, base. (Possible match with SF 1090 of phase D)	NLe space c layer 49
SF 1079		Bovine figure, body fragment	NLe space c layer 71
SF 2161	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, possible leg	NLe space c layer 34
SF 2254	PL. 43 <i>f</i>	Possible bovine figure, neck fragment	NLe space c layer 34
SF 2255		Bovine figure, leg fragment	NLe space c layer 34
SF 2377	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Possible bovine figure, body fragment	NLe space c layer 42
SF 1016		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLd East baulk layer 95
SF 2257		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLe space c layer 34
SF 2263		Animal figurine, horn fragment	NLd space 4 layer 23
SF 2276		Animal figurine, body fragment	NLe space c layer 34
SF 2265		Animal figurine, body fragment	NLd space 4 layer 23

Secondary Figurines

SF 757		Male figurine, legs, 1 joining fragment, part of SF 1553 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 38 et al.
SF 769		Bovine figure, body fragments, 2 joining and 4 matching fragments, part of SF 836 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 49 et al.
SF 1077		Bovine figure, body fragment part of SF 850 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 45
SF 756		Bovine rhyton, spout, body fragment and 3 legs, 4 joining and 1 matching fragment, part of SF 1561 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 34 et al.
SF 2241c		Possible fish rhyton, body fragment, match of SF 1087 phase 2a (see Appendix B)	NLd space 4 layer 67
SF 751		Chariot group, horse, 1 joining fragment, part of SF 851 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 34
SF 764		Chariot group, leg fragment, part of SF 1558 phase 2b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 46
SF 1026		Animal figurine, fragment of forequarters, part of SF 788 phase 3a (see Appendix B)	NLd space 4 layer 23
SF 1170		Animal figurine, foot fragment, matches SF 1736 phase 3b (see Appendix B)	NLe space c layer 49
SF 2264		Animal figurine, head fragment, part of SF 802 phase 3a (see Appendix B)	NLd space 4 layer 23

Sealstones

SF 766	FIG. 8.1, PL. 58 <i>e</i>	Scarab	NLe space c layer 46
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Metals

SF 770		Lead strip	NLe space c layer 49
SF 1807		Bronze fragments	NLb layer 412
SF 772		Bronze fragments	NLe space c layer 49

Terracotta

SF 1022		Drain channel fragment	NLb layer 405
SF 2272		Drain channel fragment	NLe space c layer 42
SF 2273		Drain channel fragment	NLe space c layer 42

Fine stone

SF 163		Vase fragment	OLc layer 19
SF 866	FIG. 8.12	Steatite dress weight	NLd space 4 layer 68

Coarse stone

SF 787		Quern	NLd space 4 layer 57
SF 1702		Quern, incomplete	NLd East baulk layer 94
SF 1808		Mortar	NLb layer 414
SF 1820		Mortar, small	NLb layer 423
SF 567	FIG. 8.13, PL. 66 c	Mortar, small	NLd space 4 layer 10
SF 760		Mortar	NLe space c layer 42
SF 761		Mortar, incomplete	NLe space c layer 45

6. Other Finds: Strata D and S

Following the abandonment of the sanctuary, it clearly fell rapidly into disrepair, and the rooms became choked with a debris of stones (PLATE 6 *b*) which derived both from the sanctuary walls, and also possibly from those of other structures to the north. The stone pack is in some places so tight that one would not be surprised if it had been deliberately set in place (PLATE 4 *b*). Certainly the filling-in process was sufficiently rapid to protect the phase 3c materials recovered during the course of excavation.

The layers classed under D include material from this Debris. Some of the material could thus post-date the final, phase 3c, use of the sanctuary, although most of it is certainly from the time span of its use. It may thus be regarded as stratified material, but not necessarily within any primary context.

After this in-filling with stone tumble, a longer and much slower process of silting occurred, resulting in the exceedingly tough soil above the stone debris which proved so difficult to dig. In and on this silt, various scrappy field walls are found, some of them terracing which may belong to quite recent centuries.

The layers classed under S may be regarded as surface or unstratified material from this later silting. Much of it presumably derives from the sanctuary but none can be considered to be in any worthwhile context.

Table 4.19: Finds of Debris and Surface layers

*(i) West Shrine, north of blocking wall (Phase D)***Pottery**

P. 472, Cat. No. 542		Krater	NLc layer 213 pb 1318
P. 1543, Cat. No. 387		Deep bowl fragments	NLc layer 213 pb 1316
SF 1092		Minature pot	NLc layer 213 pb 1318

Primary Figurines**Minor Fragments**

SF 1083	PL. 33 <i>i-j</i>	Possible human figure, shoulder only	NLc layer 213 pb 1314
SF 1090	FIG. 6.6	Possible female figure, top of stem and start of shoulders only (possible match with SF 768 of phase 3a/c)	NLc layer 213 pb 131

SF 2173	PL. 43 <i>c</i>	Bovine figure, body fragment	NLc layer 213 pb 1314
SF 2222	PL. 38 <i>d</i>	Female figurine, polos head only	NLc East baulk layer 227
SF 559		Animal figurine, leg fragment	NLd space 3 layer 7
SF 2282		Askos fragment	NLc South layer 229

Metals

SF 562		Lead fragment	NLd space 3 layer 4
SF 564		Bronze slag fragment	NLd space 3 layer 4
SF 566		Two bronze fragments	NLd space 3 layer 4
SF 1503		Bronze fragment	NLc layer 213 pb 1314
SF 2302		Bronze fragment	NLc East baulk layer 227

Terracotta

SF 558		Clay disc	NLd space 3 layer 7
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Coarse stone

SF 1509		Quern	NLc layer 213 pb 1316
SF 1501		Mortar fragment	NLc layer 213 pb 1314
SF 1502		Mortar	NLc layer 213 pb 1314
SF 1510		Mortar	NLc layer 213 pb 1316
SF 2190		Mortar	NLc layer 213 pb 1318
SF 2306		Possible stone drain	NLc South layer 229

*(ii) West Shrine, Room A (Phase D)***Metal**

SF 2651		Six fragments of bronze	MLb Room A layer 950
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*(iii) West Shrine, Room B (Phase D)***Metal**

SF 2654	FIG. 8.6	Bronze knife fragment	MLb Room B layer 958
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Coarse stone

SF 2021		Bi-conical stone fragment	MLd Room B layer 506
SF 2022		Possible stone weight	MLd Room B layer 508

*(iv) East Shrine (Phase D)***Primary Figurines****Substantial Piece**

SF 553	PL. 38 <i>d</i>	Female figurine, head and arms broken, base chipped	NLd space 4 layer 4
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Minor Fragments

SF 586	PL. 38 <i>d</i>	Female figurine, part of body only	NLd East baulk layer 26
SF 589		Female figurine, part of body only	NLd East baulk layer 26
SF 157	PL. 47 <i>e</i>	Throne, one leg and part of seat	OLc layer 11
SF 587		Animal figurine, forequarters only	NLd East baulk layer 26

Secondary Figurines

SF 159		Animal figurine, hindquarters, 1 joining fragment, part of SF 774 phase 3a/b (see Appendix B)	OLc layer 12
SF 2265		Animal figurine, body fragment, 1 joining fragment, part of SF 774	OLc layer 12

Metal

SF 161		Fragment of bronze pin or awl	OLc layer 14
SF 588		Bronze quadrangular tool	NLd East baulk layer 26
SF 64		Two fragments of bronze	OLc layer 12
SF 158		Bronze fragment	OLc layer 12

Beads

SF 63		Minute stone bead	OLc layer 12
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Fine stone

SF 160	FIG. 8.42	Fragment of steatite disc	OLc layer 14
SF 162		Fragment of soapstone disc	OLc layer 15
SF 585		Stone bowl fragment	NLd East baulk layer 26

*(v) Street and Courtyard (Phase D)***Pottery**

P. 445		Possible shallow bowl	NLb layer 408
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Secondary Figurine

SF 2398		Animal figurine fragment, joins SF 810, phase 2b (see Appendix B)	OLc East baulk layer 26g
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Metals

SF 561	FIG. 8.6	Lead spool-shaped object	NLd space 4 layer 4
SF 1802	FIG. 8.4, PL. 69 and 70	Bronze Reshef figure	NLb layer 409

Terracotta

SF 1010		Drain channel fragment	NLb layer 402
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Plaster

SF 2227		Coarse roof plaster with reed impressions	NLb layer 409
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Coarse stone

SF 590		Quern	NLd East baulk layer 26
SF 565		Marble slab fragment	NLd space 4 layer 4

*(vi) OLd (Phase D)***Primary Figurines****Minor Fragments**

SF 2246	PL. 38 d	Female figurine, head fragment	OLd layer 45
SF 2243		Animal figurine, head fragment matches SF 504 (see Appendix B)	OLd layer 49

Metal

SF 509		Bronze pin or nail	OLd layer 47
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Terracotta

SF 508		Spindle whorl	OLd layer 47
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*(vii) NK c/d***Coarse stone**

SF 2500		Small mortar	NK c/d layer 808
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*(viii) MLd Area G (Phase 2b/3a)***Terracotta**

SF 2056	Loomweight	MLd layer 535
SF 2054	Fragment of clay drain tile	MLd layer 535

Coarse stone

SF 2055	Fragment of mortar	MLd layer 535
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*(ix) West Shrine, south of blocking wall (Phase D and S)***Pottery**

P. 460, Cat. No. 574	Cup	NLa layer 307
P. 884, Cat. No. 115	Stirrup jar fragments (see Appendix B)	MLb East layer 12

Primary Figurines**Minor Fragments**

SF 2238	PL. 43 <i>a</i>	Bovine figure, leg fragment	NLa North baulk layer 334
SF 2236		Driven ox, rein fragment	NLa North baulk layer 332
SF 1606		Animal figurine, hindquarters (see Appendix B)	NLa layer 305

Secondary Figurines

SF 2167	Bovine figure, body fragment, part of SF 2166, phase o/2a	NLa layer 305
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Metals

SF 1601		Bronze coin	NLa layer 301
SF 1603		bronze fragment	NLa East baulk layer 304
SF 1620	FIG. 8.6	Bronze arrowhead	NLa North baulk, cleaning pb 1458

Terracotta

SF 2003	Spindle whorl	MLb East, North baulk layer 16
SF 1621	Loomweight	NLa North baulk layer 334
SF 1602	Spool fragment	NLa East baulk layer 304

Plaster

SF 1006	Scrap, design in blue	NLa layer 303
SF 1009	Three scraps	NLa layer 301
SF 1619	Scrap, red band with black edge	NLa North baulk, layer 331
SF 2224	Roof plaster	NLa East baulk layer 304
SF 2279	Roof plaster	NLa layer 301

Fine stone

SF 1012	Fragment of marble, shaped	NLa layer 301
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Coarse stone

SF 1001	Quern	NLa layer 301
SF 1002	Quern	NLa layer 301
SF 1004	Quern	NLa layer 301
SF 1604	Quern	NLa layer 306
SF 1017	Mortar	NLa layer 303
SF 1018	Mortar	NLa layer 303
SF 1003	Pounder	NLa layer 301
SF 1622	Pounder	NLa North baulk layer 334
SF 1011	Disc	NLa layer 303

*(x) West Shrine, north of blocking wall (Phase S)***Primary Figurines****Minor Fragments**

SF 1020		Female figurine, polos and top of head only	NLc layer 210
SF 2301		Animal figurine, hindquarters only, legs broken	NLc East baulk layer 226

Metal

SF 557		Bronze strip	NLd space 3 layer 6
SF 1013		Square, flat piece of iron	NLc layer 203

Terracotta

SF 451		Unidentifiable clay fragment	NLd space 3 layer 5
SF 563	FIG. 8.10	Loomweight	NLd space 3 layer 6

Plaster

SF 551		Scraps of red, black and white painted plaster from lily fresco. 6 pieces of ceiling plaster with reed impressions	NLd space 3 layer 2
SF 552		Scraps of red plaster with lily fresco	NLd space 3 layers 2 and 6
SF 1005		2 fragments, one with blue paint, one with black	NLc layer 203
SF 1007		5 fragments of plain plaster	NLc layer 203
SF 1008		5 fragments of plain plaster, one from corner	NLc layer 203
SF 2305		Fragment of roof plaster with reed impressions	NLc cleaning

Fine stone

SF 556	FIG. 8.11	Fragment of serpentine stone bowl	NLd space 3 layer 5
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Coarse stone

SF 554		Quern	NLd space 3 layer 5
SF 555		Fragment of quern	NLd space 3 layer 5
SF 2189		Quern	NLc layer 211
SF 452		Pounder	NLd space 3 layer 6
SF 2303		Stone weight	NLd space 3 cleaning

*(xi) West Shrine, Room A (Phase S)***Coarse stone**

SF 2002		Mortar fragment	MLb Room A layer 4
SF 2001		Pounder	MLb Room A layer 5

*(xii) East Shrine (Phase S)***Secondary Figurine**

SF 482		Animal figurine, leg fragment, joins SF 779 phase 3c	NLe space a/b layer 51 cleaning
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Metal

SF 152		Bronze hook?	OLc layer 5
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Terracotta

SF 151	FIG. 8.10	Spindle whorl	OLc layer 2
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*(xiii) Street and Courtyard (Phase D/S)***Primary Figurine****Minor Fragment**

SF 156		Female figurine, body only	OLc layer 8
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Metals

SF 1803		Bronze fragment	NLb layer 410
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Plaster

SF 2225		4 scraps of coarse white plaster with many small pebbles	NLb layer 411
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SF 2226		4 scraps of coarse white plaster containing many pebbles	NLb layer 410
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Coarse stone

SF 1805		Quern	NLb layer 410
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SF 1806		Mortar fragment	NLb layer 410
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SF 1804		Possible whetstone	NLb layer 410
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*(xiv) OLd (Phase S)***Primary Figurines****Minor Fragments**

SF 169	PL. 43 a	Bovine figure, hoof fragment	OLd layer 13
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SF 507		Animal figurine, forequarters only	OLd layer 36
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Terracotta

SF 59		Fragment of loomweight	OLd layer 2
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SF 154		Fragment of loomweight	OLd layer 4
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Fine stone

SF 2250	FIG. 8.11	Stone bowl fragment	OLd layer 44
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SF 155		Obsidian core	OLd West baulk layer 6
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Coarse stone

SF 164		Piece of worked tuff?	OLd layer 13
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SF 165		Pounder	OLd layer 13
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SF 474		Pierced lentoid, fragment	OLd layer 1
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SF 2202		Fragment of marble slab	OLd layer 36
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*(xv) Area south of wall 661 (Phase S)***Secondary Figurine**

SF 1023		Animal figurine, fragment of forequarters, with right front leg, joins SF 1606, phase S (see Appendix B)	NLb layer 411
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Terracotta

SF 1825	FIG. 8.10, PL. 61 f	Spindle whorl	NLb layer 436
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Plaster

SF 2177		Scrap, with traces of red paint	NLb layer 435
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Coarse stone

SF 1823		Pyramidal loomweight?	NLb layer 433
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*(xvi) NK c/d (Phase S)***Metal**

SF 2502	Bronze fragment	NK c/d layer 801
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Coarse stone

SF 2501	Mortar fragment	NK c/d layer 801
SF 2503	Mortar fragment	NK c/d layer 801

*(xvii) NLd space 2 (Phase D/S)***Coarse stone**

SF 560	Fragment of possible whetstone	NLd space 2 layer 4
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*(xviii) MMb (Phase S)***Figurine**

SF 2239	Furniture fragment, corner fragment only, probably from leg of throne	MMb layer 1001
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*(xix) MKd (Phase S)***Metal**

SF 2600	2 fragments of bronze	MKd layer 901
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Stone

SF 2875	Possible unfinished spindle whorl	MKd North baulk unstratified
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*(xx) MLd Area G (Phase S)***Figurines****Minor Fragment**

SF 2280	Bovine figure, body fragment	MLd layer 532
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Metal

SF 2052	Bronze coin	MLd layer 528
SF 2051	Bronze fragment	MLd layer 525

Coarse stone

SF 2050	Pounder	MLd layer 527
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*(xxi) MLa (Phase S)***Organic**

SF 2405	2 bone points	MLa layer 755
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Coarse stone

SF 2400	Quern fragment	MLa layer 751
SF 2401	Quern fragment	MLa layer 751
SF 2402	Fragment of worked tuff	MLa layer 753
SF 2403	Marble slab fragment	MLa layer 753
SF 2404	Fragment, marble slab	MLa layer 753

Chapter V

The Pottery P. A. Mountjoy

1. Introduction

The pottery from the Shrines and Street is in a very fragmentary condition and, although it joins extensively throughout the areas involved, it has not been possible to produce many complete mended vases. The latest pottery belongs to developed LH IIIC, but there is also much LH IIIA₁ material and a fair amount of LH II throughout the later deposits as well as under the floors of the Shrines; the proportion of sherds assignable to LH IIIA₂ and LH IIIB₁ is remarkably small and there is almost no classic LH IIIB₂ material apart from a couple of rims from Group B deep bowls. Some of the accepted features of LH IIIC in terms of the Argolid and Lefkandi are not well represented in the pottery (for a synopsis of LH IIIC features see Rutter 1977, *passim*). There are single examples of tassel decoration 544, monochrome deep bowl with reserved rim 266, and with dotted rim 560, stirrup jar with conical disc 123, lipless conical bowl 161, a monochrome tray decorated with added white 315 and a complete piriform jar 81 decorated in developed LH IIIC style; there are also fragments from three medium band deep bowls 254, 255 which begin in early LH IIIC. There are a few fragments from lids which could cover collar-necked jars and a few rims and one complete example of this shape 86. The picture is completed by one or two hollowed jar rims and vessels such as kraters, mug and stirrup jar decorated with LH IIIC patterns. Apart from this the LH IIIC pottery from the Shrines consists almost entirely of deep bowls, patterned and monochrome, and a large number of monochrome kylikes, in fact, the customary domestic vessels which are found in most Mycenaean settlement deposits.

Furthermore, there is a strong contrast between the material from other areas of the excavation and from the Surface and Debris layers with that from the Shrines: while the Shrine material is limited mostly to deep bowls and monochrome kylikes of poor quality, the other areas present very fine pottery from all periods with a wide variety of shapes and motifs.

It has been possible to divide the decorated deep bowls into two groups (apart from those of Group A with a monochrome interior of which there are a few). There is a large group with a single medium belly band, i.e. 1 cm or more in width, a medium band below the rim inside and a single interior base band: this group is comparable to deep bowls from the recently excavated LH IIIC house at Tiryns (Podzuweit 1978, fig. 28.6, 8, 12, 14, 16). The system of inner rim banding also appears in the Shrines on mugs and collar-necked jars. The second group of deep bowls has a very wide interior band below the rim and a very thin upper section which is sharply everted below the lip: FIG. 5.17 bottom row. Decoration on both groups consists mostly of panelling and spirals.

The monochrome deep bowls are either black or red, there being slightly more red than black in Phase 2a and vice versa in Phase 2b; however, the numbers are too small to allow the construction of the hypothesis that black takes over from red. There is much variety in the shape of the bowl but almost all have the flaring rim which is typical of LH IIIC. The possibility should be taken into account that monochrome deep bowls begin at Phylakopi in LH IIIB when imported pottery ceased, although in the Argolid they are considered a LH IIIC feature. As they

appear with other LH IIIC pottery at Phylakopi it is probable that they are indeed LH IIIC but the assignation should be treated with caution as all the LH IIIC phases have an admixture of earlier sherds, such as the Zygouries kylix which went out of use in LH IIIB₁, and in some cases, especially with the unpainted pottery, it is almost impossible to separate the pottery of LH IIIC from LH IIIB.

A group of unpainted kylikes can be isolated which has a deep very flaring and concave lip. The few pieces from this group i.e. **353, 354** are made from a pink-buff well smoothed or polished fabric and it is possible that they are imported. Another unpainted shape of interest is the pedestal vase **373–75**, which surely had a votive use, and the three-handled krater **372** of which there is also a linear example **130**.

The pottery is arranged in the following order: the building of the West Shrine, the construction of the Fortification Wall and the East Shrine, the period of use in the Shrines and the Street (Phase 2a), the collapse (Phase 2b) and later Shrine use (Phases 3a–3c). A selection of material from areas adjoining the shrines is included, a section on LHI–IIIA sherds which are out of context and a selection of LHIIIB–C material from the debris and surface levels. The LH IIIB–C pottery from Phases 2a–3c from both Shrines and the Street has been catalogued as a unit, as there are joins between the phases and across the areas; it is arranged by shape beginning with Phase 2a. An analytical breakdown of the pottery from the lower levels of the West Shrine, from Phase 2a and Phases 2b–3c is given in TABLES 5.1–6.

(In the lists the first colour mentioned always refers to the clay. Where no square is mentioned the reference is to NLd/e. Measurements are in centimetres. The abbreviations *FS* and *FM* refer to the Shape and Motif numbers of Furumark 1941a.)

2. The Date of the Construction of the West Shrine (FIG. 5.1, PLATE 25 a)

Below the floor of the West Shrine there was a large admixture of Late Bronze I sherds with LH I, LH II, LH IIIA₁ and two sherds belonging to LH IIIA₂. Thus the date of the construction of the West Shrine is LH IIIA, probably early LH IIIA₂. The LH IIIA₂ sherds are **1** a stemmed bowl decorated with wavy band and **2** a kylix handle stub. They are illustrated in FIG. 5.1, PLATE 25 a together with some of the LH IIIA₁ and earlier sherds including two probable Minoan imports **9, 12**.

LH IIIA₂

- 1** Stemmed bowl. Grey fired buff; brown paint. D. rim 17. Wavy band. NLa layer 327.
- 2** Kylix Buff, shaded-brown paint. NLa layer 326.

LH IIIA₁

- 3** Piriform jar *FS* 19 Buff fired orange; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 70, scale pattern. NLc layer 224.
- 4** Piriform jar Pinkish; pale yellow slip, orange paint. *FM* 70, scale pattern. NLa layer 327.
- 5** Small handleless jar *FS* 77 Buff; brown to orange paint. *FM* 77, stipple. NLc layer 245.
- 6** Goblet *FS* 255 Pinkish; buff slip, orange paint. Spiral. NLc layer 244.
- 7** Goblet *FS* 255 Buff; greenish slip, fugitive paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. NLc layer 245.

LH II/LM I

- 8** ?Stirrup jar/bridge-spouted jar Pinkish; buff slip, black to red paint. Octopus Type B (see Mountjoy 1974 177–80 for a definition of Types A–C). MLd layer 520.
- 9** Jar Buff with grits; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 78. 1, tortoise-shell ripple. LM IA. P809 NLc layer 225.
- 10** Vaphio cup. *FS* 224 Buff; black to brown crackled paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 46, running spiral. NLc layer 224.
- 11** Cup, semi-globular. *FS* 211 Buff; orange paint. Spiral, monochrome interior. MLd layer 521.
- 12** Cup, semi-globular. *FS* 211 Buff; shaded-brown paint, highly polished. D. rim 14. *FS* 78.1, tortoise-shell ripple. LM IB. P807 NLc layer 225.

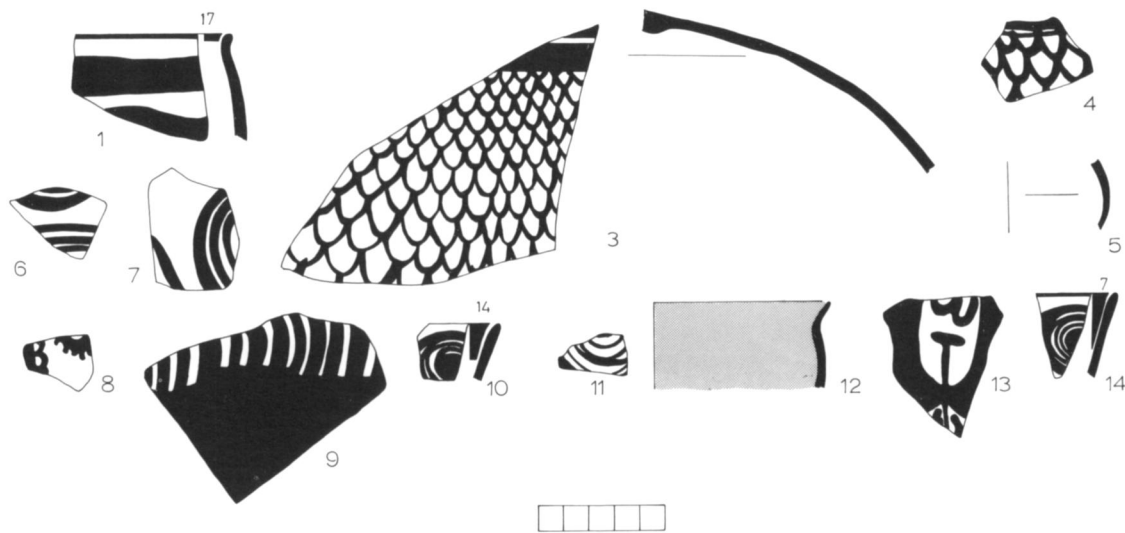


FIG. 5.1 Potsherds dating the construction of the West Shrine. Scale 1:3

LH I

- 13** Piriform jar Grey fired buff; black fugitive crackled paint. *FM* 35.6, double-axe with added white. NLa layer 328.
- 14** Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 7. *FM* 46, spiral; unslipped interior. MLd layer 521.

3. The early Floor Levels of the West shrine (FIG. 5.2 – 3, PLATES 19 and 25 c, TABLES 5.1 – 2)

These levels contain material dating from LH IIIA₁ (Phase 1b) to LH IIIB–C (Phase 2a). There is very little LH IIIA₂ and LH IIIB₁ material. One small sherd from NLa layer 324 joins a LH IIIB–C deep bowl which otherwise comes entirely from the higher layers and has been catalogued **206** under Phase 2a. A second sherd from MLd layer 516 also joins with a sherd from the higher layers and has been catalogued there **141** for convenience. The corpus from these levels is, in fact, extremely small. It consists of 449 sherds *in toto*, the commonest shape being the goblet with 32 patterned and 15 monochrome sherds, while the other shapes are scarcely represented.

LH IIIA₁

Ten sherds are published from this period. They include a complete cup **18** and a couple of examples each from piriform jars, cups and goblets. There is also a krater **24** which cannot be dated more closely than LH IIIA.

- 15** Piriform jar *FS* 31 Buff; orange paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. NLc layer 242.
- 16** Piriform jar *FS* 31 Pinkish fired buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 70, scale pattern. MLd layer 519.
- 17** Alabastron *FS* 93 Buff; orange paint. *FM* 53, wavy line. MLd layer 517.
- 18** Cup, deep semi-globular *FS* 213 Buff; orange-red streaky paint. D. rim 10, D. base 4, H. 7.3. Monochrome. P1414 MLb Room B layer 1041



FIG. 5.2 Pottery from the early floor levels of the West Shrine. Scale 1:3

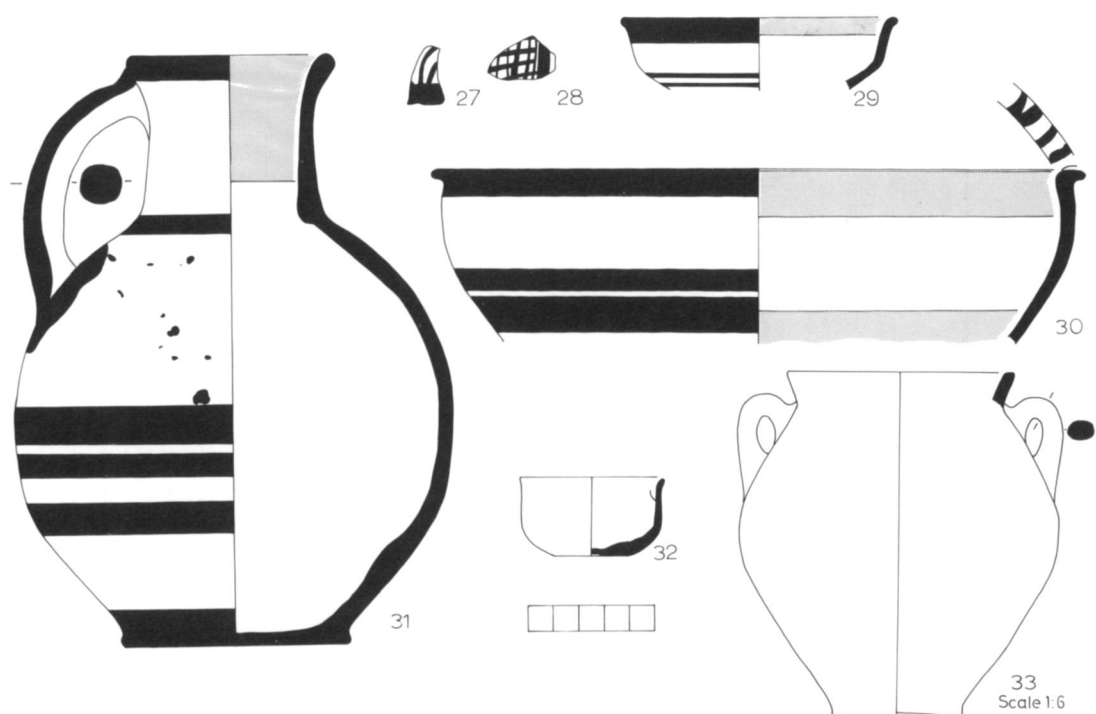


FIG. 5.3 Pottery from the early floor levels of the West Shrine. Scale 1:3

- 19 Cup, semi-globular/small goblet Buff; orange-brown paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 57, diaper net. MLd layer 519.
- 20 Cup, semi-globular/small goblet Pinkish; buff slip, orange-brown paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 77, stipple. MLd layer 519.
- 21 Goblet *FS* 255 Pinkish; buff slip, brown to red streaky paint. D. rim 14. MLb Room B layer 1040.
- 22 Goblet *FS* 255 Buff; greenish slip, red-brown paint. *FM* 70, scale pattern. NLc layer 243.
- 23 Goblet *FS* 255 Orange; buff slip, orange paint. Spiral. MLb Room B layer 1040.
- 24 Krater *FS* 7–8 Grey fired buff; black to red paint. D. rim 30. *FM* 46, running spiral. P1530 MLd layer 519.

LH IIIA₂

Only four examples were found which could be dated to this period. Two are published here; the other two are a kylix handle and a straight-sided alabastron with wavy line decoration.

- 25 Stirrup jar *FS* 171 Buff; brown to orange paint. D. base 4, D. disc 3, D. spout 2, H. 11.2. *FM* 64.20, foliate band. P680 MLd layer 519.
- 26 Kylix *FS* 256 Buff; black paint. D. rim 20. *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles with ?panel. MLd layer 519.

LH IIIB–C

This is represented by 206 mentioned above and a few other deep bowl sherds of which two are illustrated 27, 28; two other bowls are 29, probably LH IIIB and 30 to which there is a LH IIIC parallel from Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 337 fig. 2.1). The remaining vases 31–33 cannot be dated.

- 27 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired pink-buff; brown to orange paint. ?Pendent semi-circles, monochrome interior. MLb E layer 23.
- 28 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. MLb E layer 23.

Table 5.1
Relation of pottery shapes and patterns in the West Shrine, phases 1b—2a

	<i>FS</i> 31, 44, 48 etc. Piniform jar	<i>FS</i> 69, 129 Amphora, Hydria	<i>FS</i> 96 Alabastron	<i>FS</i> 171, 173 etc. Stirrup jar	<i>FS</i> 110, 123 etc. Jug	Miscellaneous	Total closed	Total open	<i>FS</i> 6—9 Krater	<i>FS</i> 226 Mug	<i>FS</i> 236 Dipper	<i>FS</i> 255 Goblet	<i>FS</i> 258, 259 Kylix	<i>FS</i> 284 Deep bowl	Cup, Bowl	Miscellaneous
<i>FM</i> 19 Multiple stem							1	1						1		
<i>FM</i> 19 Multiple stem							1	1						1		
<i>FM</i> 43 Isolated semicircles							3	3		1			1	1		
<i>FM</i> 46 Running spiral	2	1					3	4	1			2			1	
<i>FM</i> 50 Anthetic spiral							1	1						1		
Misc. spiral		1				1	2	13	2			7	1		3	
<i>FM</i> 53 Wavy line	2		1				3	3								
<i>FM</i> 57 Diaper net							1	1							1	
<i>FM</i> 58 Chevron							1	1							1	
<i>FM</i> 62 Tricurved arch							1	1	1							
<i>FM</i> 64 Foliate band				1			1	1								
<i>FM</i> 70 Scale pattern	6						6	3				3				
<i>FM</i> 75 Panelled patterns							1	1						1		
<i>FM</i> 77 Stipple							3	3				1			2	
Miscellaneous	2	4				3	9	4				2	1	1		
Totals	12	6	1	1	4	4	24	36	4	1	15	3	5	8		
Percentage of total patterned sherds	20	10	1.67	1.67	6.67	6.67	40	60	6.67	1.67	25	5	8.34	13.34		
Linear	9	6		7	1	34	57	39	2		2	17	7	7	2	2
Red Monochrome						1	1	36				8	4	2	1	21
Black Monochrome						3	3	23			7	2	1		13	

Table 5.2
Numbers of different types of unpainted ware in
the West Shrine, phases 1b – 2a

	<i>Rims</i>	<i>Handles</i>	<i>Bases</i>	<i>Body Sherds</i>
Amphora, Jug etc.	2			
Lipless bowl	FS 204	3		
Dipper	FS 236		1	
Goblet	FS 255	10	1	1 stem
Kylix rounded	FS 265	16	3	9
carinated	FS 267	16		2
			3 stems	1
Shallow bowl/basin	FS 295	1		
Miscellaneous bowl		2		
Miscellaneous				119
Totals	48	6	14	122
Total number of sherds				190

- 29 Bowl Buff; orange slip, brown paint. D. rim 11. MLd layer 515.
 30 Bowl Grey fired buff; black to orange paint. D. rim 26. Edge of ?spout. MLd layer 519
 31 Jug Grey with grits fired buff; orange paint. D. rim 12, D. base 8.8, H. 23.4. Splashes on shoulder. P1500 MLd layer 519.
 32 Bowl, miniature. Grey fired deep buff. D. rim 5.5, D. base 2.9, H. 3.1. Swirl on base; edge of handle inside over rim. P1501 MLd layer 519.
 33 Cooking pot Grey with grits; burnt. D. rim 17.9–18.4, D. base 10, H. 27.4. P1408 MLd layer 519

4. Nkc/d (FIG. 5.4, PLATES 19 and 25 b)

This was a sounding made to date the Extension Wall 661 between the Fortification Wall and the east wall of the West Shrine. Under Wall 661 was a layer of ash and carbon containing LH IIIA2 and LH IIIB1 material 34–38. 34 is a LH IIIA2 spouted bowl; 36 could be a LH IIIA2 stemmed bowl as, although the lip is not rounded as is typical, the thickness of the section, the narrow decorative zone and the monochrome interior suggest this shape; moreover, the arrangement of the narrow bands between two medium ones has parallels on stemmed bowls from Boeotia of LH IIIA2 (Mountjoy 1983, 17): alternatively the vase could be a Cretan deep bowl from its decoration, but the only parallel comes from Cyprus (Benson 1972, pl. 49 B 1006) and this is not very close. The decoration falls between the linked whorl-shell and the tricurved arch. It is impossible to tell from the fabric whether the vessel is Minoan or Mycenaean and a definite decision must await clay analysis. 35 is a LH IIIA2 – B1 kylix, 37–38 are LH IIIB deep bowl sherds.

- 34 Spouted cup FS 249 Pink; yellow slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 13 FM 42, joining semi-circles with FM 48, quirk and FM 45, U pattern. Nkc/d layer 814.
 35 Kylix Grey fired pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. FM 23, whorl-shell. Nkc/d layer 814.
 36 Stemmed bowl FS 304 or LM III deep bowl. Buff; deep buff slip, black to brown paint. D. rim 15.8–16.8, H. ex. 11.2. FM 62, tricurved arch FM 24, linked whorl-shell. P898 Nkc/d layer 814.
 37 Deep bowl FS 284 Greenish; shaded-brown paint. FM 75, panelled. Nkc/d layer 814.
 38 Deep bowl FS 284 Greenish; shaded-brown paint. FM 75, panelled. Nkc/d layer 814.



FIG. 5.4 Pottery dating the construction of the Extension Wall, Wall 661 (nos. 34–38) and of the East Shrine (nos. 41–57). Scale 1:3

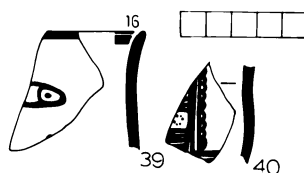


FIG. 5.5 Potsherds dating the construction of the Fortification Wall, Wall 100, from area PK (outside the sanctuary area). Scale 1:3

5. The Construction of the Fortification Wall (FIG. 5.4 and 5.5, PLATE 25 *b* and *d*)

In area PK outside the shrine complex a level underlying the Fortification Wall was excavated. As well as some unpainted kylikes and some jars it contained two sherds from LH IIIB₁ deep bowls. These date the construction of the wall to this period.

- 39 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 16. *FM* 50, antithetic spiral. PK layer 5.
- 40 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled with rosette fill. PK layer 5.

A sondage below the fortification Wall and the south wall of the East Shrine produced a number of sherds dating from LH II—LH IIIA. The two latest sherds were LH IIIA₂, an unpainted shallow angular bowl 41 and a krater 42 which is so concreted that the centre of the decoration cannot be seen. The earlier sherds include two LH IIA, a piriform jar 47 and a Palace Style jar 48, and some goblet sherds decorated with spirals which are difficult to date: 46 is probably LH IIB of Ephyræan type because of its fabric, 45 with a filled spiral LH II—IIIA₁ and 43—44 are probably LH IIIA₁.

- 41 Shallow angular bowl *FS* 295 Pinkish; buff slip, polished. D. rim *ca.* 26. Space c layer 111.
- 42 Krater Deep buff; red-brown paint. Spiral with filled centre. Space c layer 117.
- 43 Goblet *FS* 255 Buff; black to brown paint. Spiral. Space c layer 111.
- 44 Goblet *FS* 255 Buff fired pink; buff slip, crackled paint. Spiral. Space c layer 111.
- 45 Goblet *FS* 255 Buff; crackled shaded-brown paint. Spiral. Space c layer 111.
- 46 Goblet *FS* 255 Buff; yellow slip, fugitive brown paint. Spiral. Space c layer 111.
- 47 Piriform jar Greenish; lustrous black crackled paint. *FM* 46.29, edge of spiral with large filling disc. Space c layer 118.
- 48 Jar, Palace Style Buff; black paint. *FM* 76, variegated stone pattern. Space c layer 111.

6. The Building of the East Shrine (FIG. 5.4, 5.6, PLATE 25 *b*)

Some levels in the Street at the foot of the Fortification Wall and underlying the south wall of the East Shrine produced LH IIIB sherds as the latest material, as well as LH IIIA and earlier sherds, including sherds which join with a goblet found in the layers below the floor of the East Shrine 74.

LH IIIB₁

- 49 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 75, panelled with edge of ?half rosette. Space c layer 108
- 50 Cup Orange; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 60, N pattern. LH IIIA₂—B₁. Space c layer 110.
- 51 Jar Buff; black to brown lustrous black paint. Edge of decoration below neck band. Space c layer 110.
- 52 Mug *FS* 226 Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. base 13. *FM* 75, panelled with *FM* 18, flower. Space c layer 93.

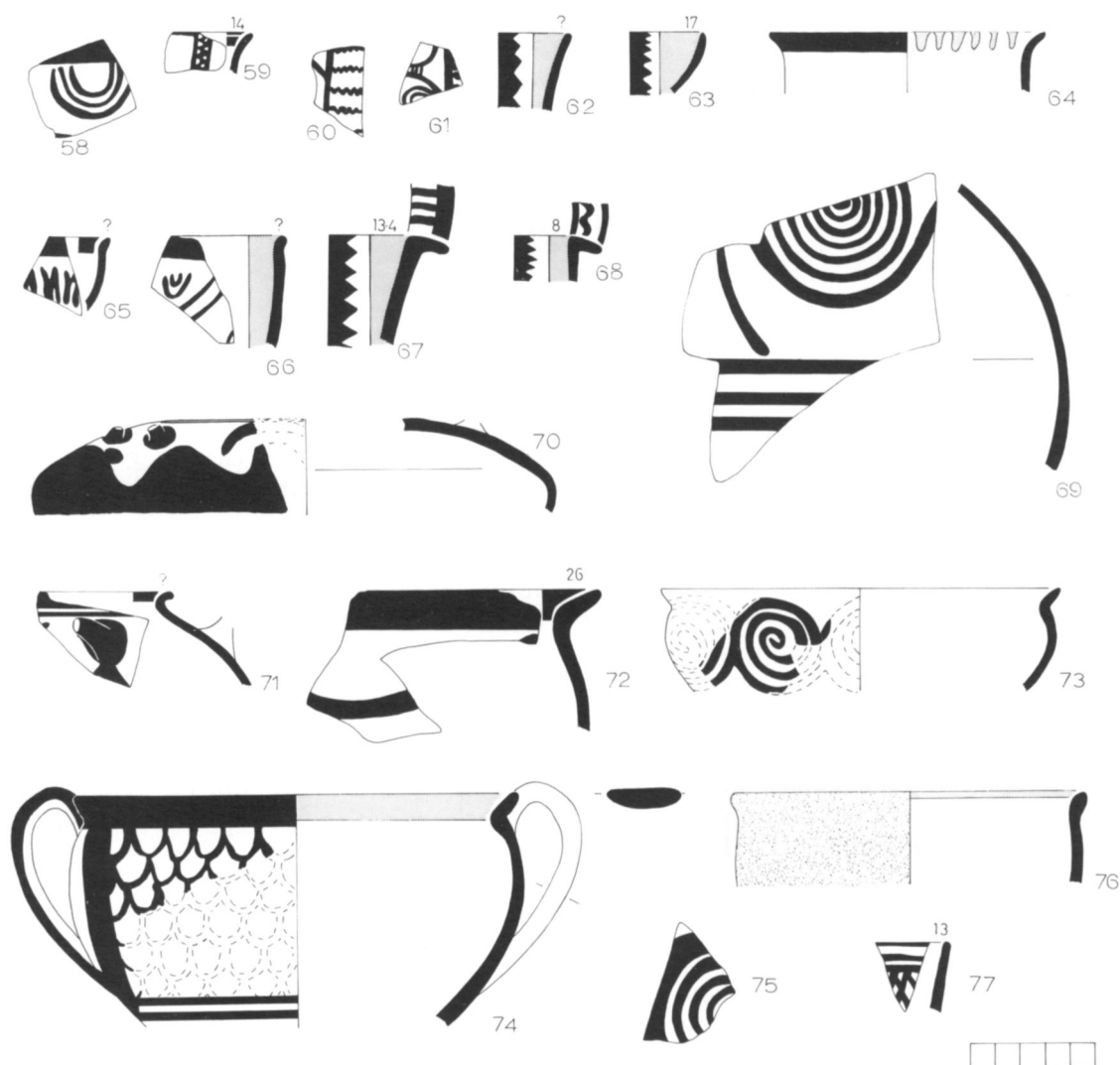


FIG. 5.6 Potsherds from below the floor of the East Shrine. Scale 1:3

LH IIIA₁

- 53 Piriform jar *FS* 23 Buff fired pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 10.7. *FM* 49, curve stemmed spiral. P451
Space c layer 101, 110.
- 54 Piriform jar Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 70, scale pattern. Space c layer 110.
- 55 Piriform jar Grey; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 70, scale pattern. Space c layer 110.
- 56 Goblet *FS* 255 Grey fired pink; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. Space c layer 110.

LH IIA

- 57 Jar Grey; buff slip, black to red paint. Octopus Type B. Space c layer 110.

The following layers come from below the floor of the East Shrine (PLATE 26 a). They contain a large number of LH IIIA₁ sherds, some LH II, two LH IIIA₂ and a few LH IIIB–C, the

latter in layer 123, the rubbly make-up of the floor. A few of these LH IIIB–C sherds are published **58–64**; the LH IIIA2 **65–66** (and two probable LH IIIA2 **67–68**) and the LH IIIA1 **69–77**. The LH IIIA1 includes **74** a goblet decorated with scale pattern which joins with sherds from the foot of the Fortification Wall qv and **69** a large fragment from a very fine jug.

- 58** Krater Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles. Space a/b layer 123.
- 59** Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 75, panelled. Space a/b layer 123.
- 60** Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. Space a/b layer 123.
- 61** Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 50, antithetic spiral with edge of panel. Space a/b layer 123.
- 62** Deep bowl *FS* 284 Orange; red paint. Space a/b layer 123.
- 63** Kylix, conical. Buff; black paint. D. rim 17. Space a/b layer 123.
- 64** Dipper *FS* 236 Buff; black to orange paint. D. rim 11. Space a/b layer 126.
- 65** Cup *FS* 220 Buff; orange paint. *FM* 60, N pattern. Space a/b layer 123.
- 66** Kylix Pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 62, tricurved arch. Space a/b layer 123.
- 67** Piriform jar Greenish; fugitive black paint. D. rim 13.4. Space a/b layer 127.
- 68** Piriform jar Pink; pale yellow slip, black to brown paint. D. rim 8. Space a/b 131.
- 69** Jug *FS* 144 Buff; greenish slip, crackled black fugitive paint. *FM* 49, curve stemmed spiral. Space a/b layer 130.
- 70** Alabastron *FS* 84, Grey fired greenish, black fugitive paint. *FM* 13, ogival canopy. P1525 Space a/b layer 129.
- 71** Alabastron *FS* 84 Grey fired deep buff; whitish slip, brown to black paint. *FM* 32, rock pattern. Space a/b layer 129, 133.
- 72** Krater Greenish; black paint. D. rim 26. Wavy band. Space a/b layer 129, 133.
- 73** Goblet *FS* 255 Grey; black paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. Space a/b layer 129.
- 74** Goblet *FS* 255 Orange fired buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 18. *FM* 70, scale pattern. P667 Space a/b layer 129, 130, 131, space c layer 101, 110.
- 75** Goblet *FS* 255 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. Spiral. Space a/b layer 123.
- 76** Goblet *FS* 255 Grey fired deep buff; shaded-brown to black paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 77, stipple. Space a/b layer 127.
- 77** Mug *FS* 226 Buff; lustrous brown paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 57, diaper net. Space a/b layer 130.

7. The Street Area (Phase 2a) (FIG. 5.7–5.9, TABLES 5.3–4, PLATE 26 *b–d*)

The material of Phase 2a, which belongs to the period before the collapse when the Shrines and the Street were both in use, comes almost entirely from the Street and Old. The bulk of it is LH IIIC with some LH IIIB and earlier Mycenaean sherds, and cannot be typologically differentiated from that in the collapse level of Phase 2b; indeed there are many joins with the collapse material and a few with that from later phases: therefore, although treated separately, the material has been catalogued in the sequence of that from Phases 2b–3c.

Developed LH IIIC is already present in this phase with **127** a krater decorated with a chequer panel and antithetic birds and **307** a plate base.

There are 1458 sherds from Phase 2a of which 362 are patterned, 380 are monochrome and 716 unpainted. The most popular decorated shape is the deep bowl, 126 sherds, followed by the stirrup jar, 29 sherds; other shapes are represented each by a few sherds only. The deep bowl is also the most popular monochrome shape (45 red sherds and 39 black ones) followed by the rounded kylix (27 red sherds and 17 black ones); there are only two rim sherds from the conical kylix, both black. It is possible that there is a progression from red to black monochrome wares, as in the later phases of the shrines there is slightly more black than red monochrome (see TABLES 5.4, 5.6); however, there is no difference in the shape of the deep bowl and kylix of Phase 2a from that of the later phases **275–80**, **186–89**. The most popular unpainted shape is the carinated kylix: there are 173 rim sherds in contrast to 40 from the rounded kylix, the next most popular shape; other shapes are only present in small numbers; they include 14 LH II–IIIA1 goblet sherds.

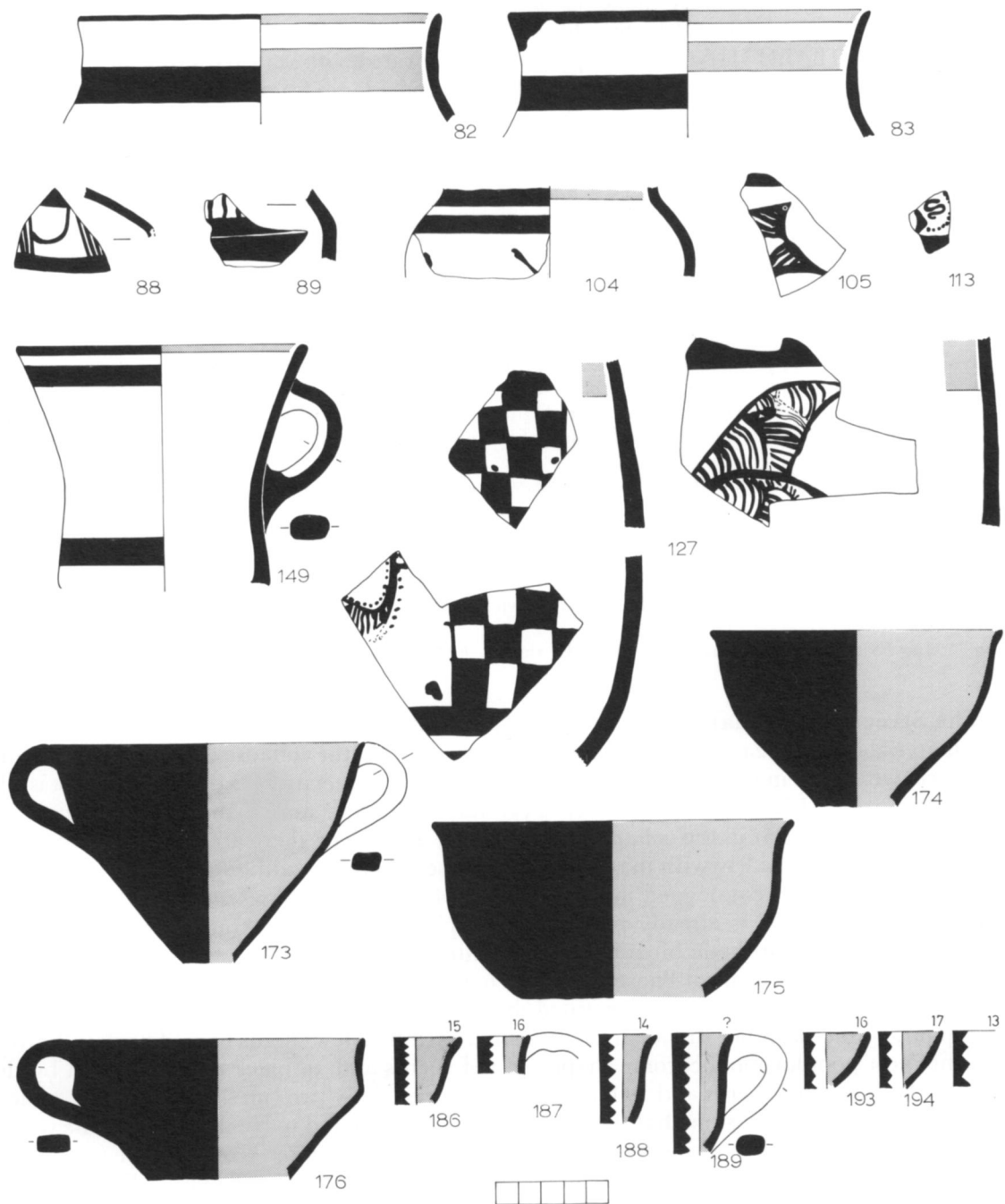


FIG. 5.7 Potsherds from the street area in phase 2a. Scale 1:3

Four vases have been restored from Phase 2a:

- 174** Rounded kylix, monochrome
- 217** Deep bowl, linear
- 256** Deep bowl, monochrome
- 334** Rounded kylix, unpainted

and five further vases have been restored from Phase 2a and the phases above:

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Phase 2a + Phase 2b</i> | <i>Phase 2a + Phase 2b, 3a</i> |
| 173 Conical kylix, monochrome | 207 Deep bowl, decorated |
| 205 Deep bowl, decorated | |
| 208 Deep bowl, decorated | <i>Phase 2a + Debris and Surface levels</i> |
| | 127 Krater, decorated |

Two spouted cup rims are illustrated **82**, **83** both with slightly flaring rims and with an interior band below the lip; **88**—**9** are from straight-sided alabastra, **104** is from a jug or collar-necked jar, **105** from a jug and **113** from a stirrup jar shoulder decorated with a LH IIIA2/B1 flower. **127**, from which sherds were found in several different phases, is a krater decorated in a developed LH IIIC style with a chequer panel and antithetic birds; it is one of the latest vases from this phase. A mug is illustrated **149** and some kylikes **173**—**76** with a selection of rims **186**—**89**, **193**—**95**. **173** is a conical kylix and **174**—**75** are rounded ones; **176** is a rare example of a monochrome carinated kylix. Only one complete deep bowl profile could be restored **205** but a number of half profiles and sherds are published **206**—**17**. **205** has a very Minoan decoration and could perhaps be an import but the groups of fine lines on the belly and interior base are unusual for Cretan deep bowls. **205**—**10** are definitely LH IIIC: **206** is decorated with an unusual blue-black paint on a white slip, **207**—**8** belong to a small group of pots which have a grey core fired deep yellow while the decoration is applied without a slip. **207**—**10** belong to a group of deep bowls which have a particular type of lip decoration and a thin sharply everted rim (see below Phase 2b—3c and FIG. 5.17 bottom row). **211** decorated with a whorl shell is LH IIIB1; **217** is very small and could be a cup. Some monochrome deep bowls are illustrated **256**—**57** with some bases **258**—**60** and a selection of rims **275**—**80**; **256** has a bell shaped body which is common in LH IIIC, **257** a very straight lipless upper body which could be LH IIIB. **261** from a shallower bowl has a reserved streak where the brush strokes were laid on unevenly. The remaining decorated sherds which are illustrated belong to a straight-sided cup with a monochrome interior **297**, two bowls **298**—**99**, **298** with splashes over the rim, a developed LH IIIC plate **307** which is painted with a deep chocolate brown paint, a stemmed bowl **308** belonging to LH IIIB and a lid **313**. A selection of unpainted sherds is published including a jar neck with a lipless rim **316**, a cup base with the beginning of the handle **327**, a miniature dipper **330**, the upper portion of a rounded-conical kylix with splashes of paint on it **334**, a conical kylix **359** and a deep bowl **361**. A selection of rims from rounded kylikes is shown **335**—**39** and of carinated **345**—**49**.

Spouted cup FS 249

- 82** Grey fired buff; black paint. D. rim 16. Space c layer 84.
- 83** Grey; buff slip, black paint. D. rim 16. Space c layer 77.

Alabastron FS 96

- 88** Pink-buff; greenish slip, black to yellow-brown paint. FM 75, panelled with ?FM 43, pendent isolated semi-circles. Space c layer 90.
- 89** Buff; black to brown paint. FM 53, vertical wavy lines. Old layer 67.

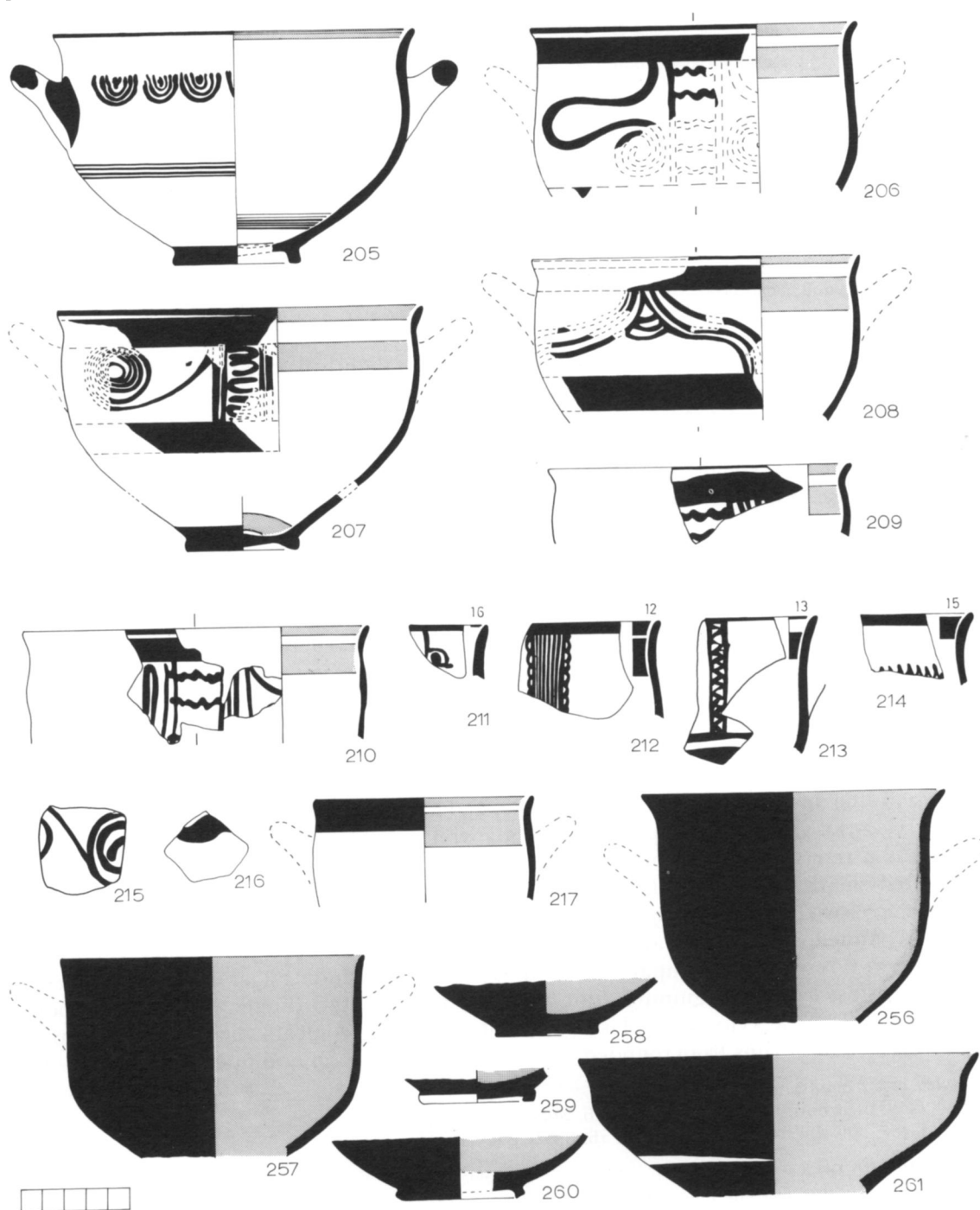


FIG. 5.8 Pottery from the Street area in phase 2a. Scale 1:3

Jug FS 110, 123, 136 etc.

104 Grey fired buff; black paint. Edge of decoration . Space c layer 77.

105 Grey; black paint. *FM 73*, lozenge. Space c layer 77.

Stirrup jar FS 173

113 Grey; buff slip, black to brown paint. *FM 18c*, flower on shoulder. Space c layer 77.

Krater FS 281, 282

127 Pink fired orange; buff slip, orange-brown paint. *FM 56*, chequer panel with *FM 7*, bird. P1514 NLa layer 332, NLb layer 444, NLc layer 227, Space III layer 4, Space d layer 26, NLd East baulk layer 29, OLc layer 15, OLd layer 45.

Mug FS 226

149 Grey with grits and mica fired orange; thick yellow slip, black paint. D. rim 13. Space c layer 90.

Kylix FS 258, 259, 267, 274

173 *FS 274* Grey fired buff; maroon streaky paint. D. rim 14. P1533 NLb layer 418, 420, 421, 426, 427, 428, 437, 441, 442, 445.

174 *FS 259* Greenish fired buff; red-orange paint. D. rim 13. P1537 NLb layer 440, 441, 442, 451.

175 *FS 258* Buff; black paint with red streaks. D. rim 16. Space c layer 91, 92.

176 *FS 267* Grey fired pinkish; black paint. D. rim 13. Space c layer 89.

Deep bowl FS 284

205 Yellow; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 14–17, D. base 5.9, H. 10.6. *FM 43*, isolated semi-circles. P1513 NLb layer 418, 420, 421, 428, 437, 445, Space IV layer 109, 148, Space c layer 76.

206 Grey fired buff; whitish slip, blue-black paint. D. rim 15. *FM 75*, panelled; central triglyph flanked by *FM 50*, antithetic spiral. P1529 MLb Room B layer 1033, 1035, 1037, NLa layer 324, Space III layer 36, MLd layer 512.

207 Grey with grits fired deep buff to yellow; no slip, lustrous black paint. D. rim 17, D. base 5.1, H. 11. *FM 75*, panelled; central triglyph with horizontal U pattern flanked by *FM 51*, stemmed spiral. P676 Space c layer 82, 84, 103, Space d layer 81, NLa layer 315, MLd layer 511.

208 Yellowish with grits; buff surface without slip, orange to black paint. D. rim 15. *FM 62*, tricurved arch. P1524 MLb Room B layer 1036, 1038, MLd layer 512, Space c layer 77, 84.

209 Buff; whitish slip, black paint. D. rim 14. *FM 75*, panelled. Space c layer 77.

210 Orange; white slip outside, pink slip inside, black paint. *FM 75*, panelled; central triglyph with edge of ?antithetic spiral. OLd layer 67

211 Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 16. *FM 23*, whorl shell. Space c layer 91.

212 Grey fired buff; black fugitive paint. D. rim 12. *FM 75*, panelled. OLd layer 67.

213 Yellow; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 13. *FM 75*, panelled. Space c layer 77.

214 Grey; buff slip, black paint. *FM 53*, wavy line. D. rim 15. Space c layer 77.

215 Buff; whitish slip, black paint. *FM 46*, running spiral. Space c layer 76.

216 Buff; whitish slip, black paint. *FM 53*, wavy line. Space c layer 77.

217 Grey with grits fired orange-buff; no slip, black lustrous paint. D. rim 10. P1523 Space c layer 84.

256 Buff; red streaky paint inside, red to black paint outside. D. rim 14. P1536 NLb layer 440, 441, 442.

257 Grey fired buff; black to orange paint. D. rim 14. Space c layer 89.

258 Grey fired buff; red-orange paint. D. base 4.6. Space c layer 77.

259 Grey; buff slip, black paint. D. base 5.2. Space c layer 84.

260 Grey; buff slip, red to black paint. D. base 6. Space c layer 77.

261 Grey fired buff; black paint inside, orange outside, streakily applied leaving narrowing reserved band. D. rim 19. Space c layer 91, 92.

Cup/bowl

297 ?*FS 215* Grey fired buff; black paint. Splash on body, monochrome interior. NLb layer 445.

298 Grey fired pink; buff slip, black to red paint. D. rim 20. Blobs across rim. Space c layer 86.

299 Grey fired orange; buff slip, black to red paint. D. rim 13. Monochrome interior. OLd layer 67.

Plate

307 Orange; buff slip, lustrous chocolate-brown paint. D. base 8.2. Space c layer 89, OLc layer 13.

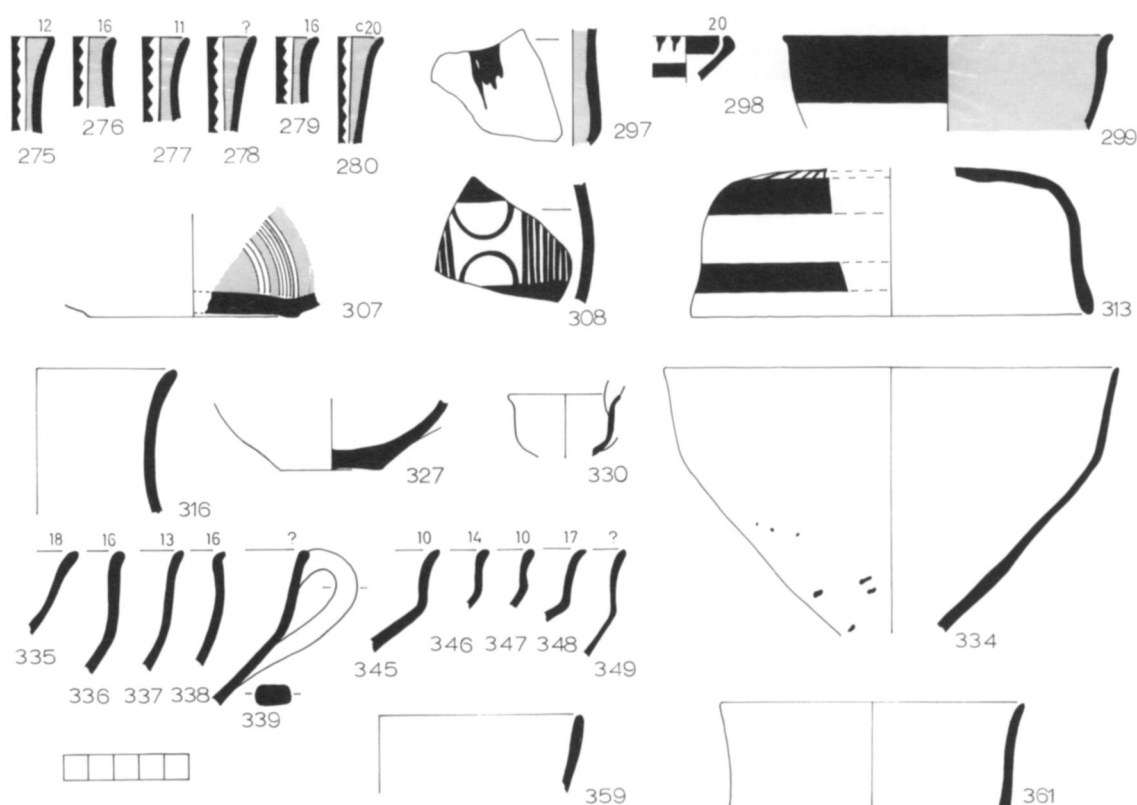


FIG. 5.9 Potsherds from the street area in phase 2a. Scale 1:3

Stemmed Bowl FS 305

308 Pale yellow; shaded-brown to black paint. *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles. Space c layer 86.

Lid FS 334

313 Grey fired buff; orange-brown paint. D. rim 16. Space c layer 86, 89, 105, NLb layer 445.

*Unpainted Material (FIG. 5.9)**Amphorae, Jugs, Jars etc.*

316 Grey fired pink; buff slip, standard. D. rim 11. Space c layer 101.

Shallow Cup FS 222

327 Grey fired buff, smoothed. D. base 4. Space c layer 89.

Dipper FS 236

330 Miniature. Buff, standard. D. rim 4.4. Space c layer 86.

Kylix, rounded FS 265, 273

334 Pink fired buff, polished. D. rim *ca.* 18. Splashes of maroon paint on lower belly. P1535 NLb layer 441, 442.

335 Buff, standard. D. rim 18. Space c layer 84.

336 Pinkish, standard. D. rim 16. Space c layer 89.

337 Grey fired buff, smoothed. D. rim 13. Space c layer 82.

338 Buff, polished. D. rim 16. NLb layer 443.

339 Grey fired deep buff, smoothed. NLb layer 451.

Table 5.3
Relation of shapes and patterns in the street and OLD in phase 2a

	FS 37, 42, 48 Piriform jar FS 63, 64 Collar Necked jar FS 96 Alabastron FS 69, 70, 129 Amphora, Hydria	FS 110, 123, 136 etc. Jug body FS 173 etc. Stirrup jar shoulder	Miscellaneous	Total closed	Total open	FS 8-10, 281, 282 Krater FS 226 Mug	FS 236 Dipper FS 258, 259 Kylix, rounded FS 274 Kylix, conical FS 267 Kylix, carinated	FS 284 Deep bowl Cup, bowl	FS 305 Stemmed bowl Plate	Lid	Miscellaneous
FM 18 Flower		1		1							
FM 23 Whorl shell				1				1			
FM 43 Isolated semicircles	1			1	2			1	1		
FM 46 Running spiral		2		2	2			2			
FM 48 Quirk				1				1			
FM 50 Antithetic spiral				8				8			
Miscellaneous spiral		1		1	2		1	1			
FM 51 Stemmed spiral				1				1			
FM 53 Wavy line	1	2 1		4	5	1		4			
FM 56 Chequer pattern				1	1						
FM 60 N pattern				1				1			
FM 62 Tricurved arch		1		1	1			1			
FM 73 Lozenge		1		1							
FM 75 Panel				10		1		9			
Miscellaneous	1	7		8	8	1	1	2			4
Totals	1	2	14 2	19	43	4	2	32	1		4
Percentage of total patterned sherds	1.6	3.2	22.6 3.2	30.65	69.35	6.45	3.2	9.6	1.6		6.45
Linear	5 3	61 27	78	174	126	6 2	7 9	94 3	2	1	2
Red Monochrome	1			1	187		27	45			115
Red Monochrome unpainted exterior				9				6			3
Black Monochrome	2			2	171		17	2 1	39		112
Black Monochrome unpainted exterior				10				7			3

Table 5.4
Numbers of different types of unpainted ware in
the street and OLd in phase 2a

		<i>Rims</i>	<i>Handles</i>	<i>Bases</i>	<i>Body Sherds</i>
Amphora, Jug etc.		1	4		
Lipless bowl	FS 204	2			
Dipper	FS 236	1	1		
Kylix, rounded	FS 265, 273	40	34	30	26
carinated	FS 267	173			
conical	FS 274	1			
Shallow cup	FS 222	1			
Deep bowl	FS 284			1	
Shallow angular bowl	FS 295	7			367
Miscellaneous					367
Totals		226	39	58	393
Total number of sherds					716

Kylix, carinated FS 267

- 345 Buff, rough. D. rim 10. Space c layer 91.
 346 Buff, standard. D. rim 14. Space c layer 90.
 347 Buff, standard. D. rim 10. Space c layer 90.
 348 Buff, standard. D. rim 17. Space c layer 89.
 349 Grey fired pink; buff slip, standard. Space c layer 84.

Kylix, conical FS 274

- 359 Grey fired buff, standard. D. rim 16. Space c layer 82.

Deep bowl FS 284

- 361 Buff, standard. D. rim 12. Space c layer 77.

8. The Collapse Deposits

Phase 2b (PLATES 20 – 24)

This is the phase of the major collapse. In the East Shrine and Street a group of pots was smashed by boulders falling from the Fortification Wall and scattered on floors 6 and 7 in the Street and floors 3 and 5 in the East Shrine. In the West Shrine the floors involved in the collapse are floors 1 of NLa, and 4 and 8 of NLc and, in the west rooms, Floor 2 in Room A, floor 6 in Room B and floor 1 in MLd. The pottery from all these floors including those of the Street joins together as well as joining with that of Phases 3a – 3c above; there are also pots joining with Phase 2a below which have been listed under that phase. The latest pottery is developed LH IIIC; there is also a large admixture of earlier material.

The following vessels assembled from sherds found in the levels of Phase 2b are relevant for the dating of the phase:

Decorated

- 93 Double jar
- 94 Double jar
- 106 Jug
- 114 Stirrup jar
- 158 Dipper
- 160 Dipper
- 177 Conical klyix, monochrome
- 218 Deep bowl
- 264 Deep bowl, monochrome

Unpainted

- 350 Kylix, carinated
- 364 Shallow angular bowl
- 372 Three-handled krater
- 373 Pedestal vase
- 376 Tripod cooking pot
- 377 Tripod cooking pot

There are 19 vases made up from sherds from Phase 2b and the phases above:

*Phase 2b + 3a***Decorated**

- 81 Piriform jar
- 96 Amphora
- 97 Amphora
- 98 Amphora
- 99 Hydria
- 100 Hydria
- 111 Jug
- 262 Deep bowl, monochrome

Phase 2b + 3a + 3b + 3c

- 86 Collar-necked jar
- 150 Mug
- 227 Deep bowl
- 267 Deep bowl, monochrome

Phase 2b + 3b + 3c

- 115 Stirrup jar
- 231 Deep bowl
- 269 Deep bowl, monochrome

Phase 2b + 3c

- 331 Dipper, unpainted

Phase 2b + 3c + Debris level

- 135 Krater
- 222 Deep bowl

Phase 2b + Debris level

- 252 Deep bowl

Five more vases come from levels phased 2b/3a:

- 125 Flask
- 263 Deep bowl, monochrome
- 351 Kylix, carinated, unpainted
- 352 Kylix, carinated, unpainted
- 353 Kylix, carinated, unpainted

*Phase 3a***107 Jug**

A single large fragment was registered from this phase. It consists of two joining sherds from the East and West Shrines but, as only the neck and shoulder are preserved, it may well join further with material from other phases, and not belong only to Phase 3a.

9. The East Shrine Re-used (Phases 3b and 3c)*Phase 3b*

- 379 Cooking pot

*Phase 3b + 3c +**Debris + Surface*

- 161 Lipless conical bowl
- 254 Medium band deep bowl
- 255 Medium band deep bowl

Phase 3b + 3c

- 268 Deep bowl, monochrome

Phase 3c

- 375 Pedestal vase

The material from the later phases of the East Shrine shows no development typologically from the material of the collapse deposits. There are, however, two features which do not appear in the lower phases, the lipless conical bowl **161**, which appears in developed LH IIIC at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 340), and the medium band deep bowl **254**, **255** which begins in early LH IIIC (Wardle 1973, 335, 227–238). It would seem that these shapes were introduced into the Shrines at this stage, although medium band bowls belong to an earlier stage of LH IIIC (in the Argolid) than some of the vases from the collapse deposits. The conical bowl **161** has a reserved band below the rim inside similar to the deep bowl **266** from Phases 3b–3c in the West Shrine (see below). The paint is also identical – a rather unusual blue-black colour which does not appear elsewhere in the Shrine pottery. These are the only two vases from the Shrines with a reserved inner band below the rim although this is a common feature at Lefkandi and in the Argolid. The centre base of **161** is reserved, another frequent feature at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 340) but there is only one other example from the Shrines, **274**, a deep bowl which also belongs to these phases.

10. The West Shrine Re-used (Phases 3b and 3c) (PLATE 20)

<i>Phase 3b + 3c</i>	<i>Phase 3b + 3c + Debris + Surface</i>
95 Double jar, monochrome	101 Amphora/Hydria
266 Deep bowl, monochrome	
374 Pedestal vase	
380 Cooking pot	
	<i>Phase 3c</i>
	315 Tray

As with the material from the East Shrine, that from the West Shrine shows no typological development from that of the earlier phases. There are again features which do not appear in the lower phases: **266** a deep bowl with a reserved inner band below the lip, **95** a globular double jar, and **315** a monochrome circular tray. **266** has been discussed above because of its similarity to **161**; **95** is similar to examples from Ialysos (Maiuri 1923-4, 193 fig. 116). It was found intact and can belong only to this period of re-use as also **315** which is decorated with added white and is comparable to vases from Lefkandi Phase 2 (Popham and Milburn 1971, 341, fig. 5, 7). The remaining three vases **101**, **374**, **380** are fragmentary and could well join with material from the lower phases.

11. Phase 2b–3c The Corpus of Pottery (FIGS. 5.10–5.19, TABLES 5.5–6, PLATES 27, 28 a–b)

There are 1747 decorated sherds, 1241 monochrome ones and 2483 unpainted ones. The deep bowl is by far the most popular shape accounting for 48.9% of the total patterned sherds, followed by the krater with a mere 8.4%; dippers, mugs and small bowls are equally represented. Decorated sherds from closed vessels are few apart from many linear amphora sherds (but this need not indicate a large number of these big vases) and a surprisingly high number from stirrup jars.¹ The high proportion of monochrome sherds is noteworthy; statistics kept of red and black painted sherds show that there are slightly more black ones than red and it has been suggested above that black may have been taking over from red; however, the difference is too slight to be conclusive. A small group of monochrome sherds is painted maroon: these have been counted in with those painted red. There are a very few examples of the monochrome kylix with inturned

1. It is not possible to separate linear amphora sherds from those of the jug except in a few cases, so the majority have been counted with the amphora.

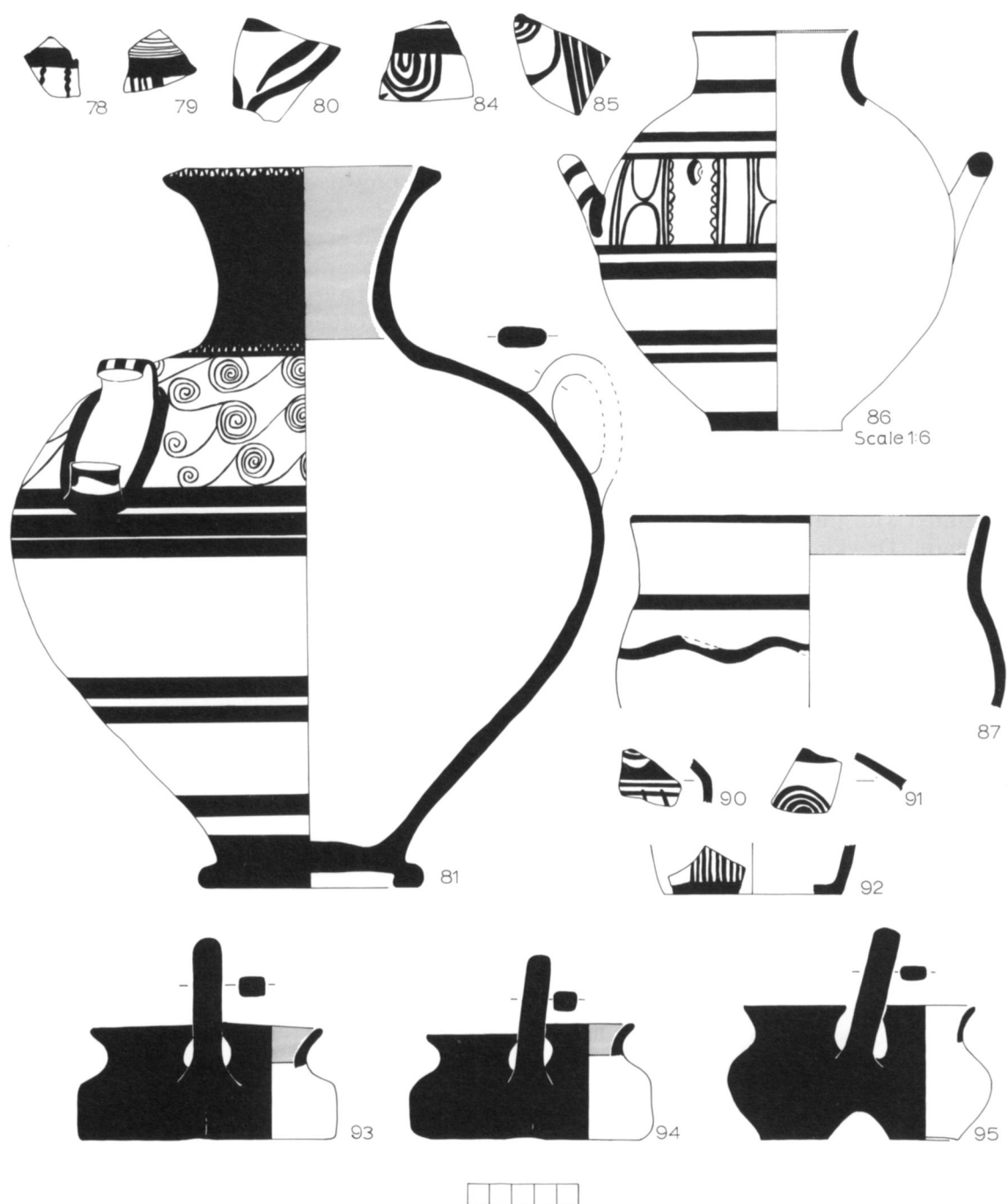


FIG. 5.10 Phases 2b to 3c: piriform jar, collar-necked jar, alabastron, double jar. Scale 1:3

rim and most of these are painted black. There are a fair number of LH IIIB throw-ups present, such as the stemmed bowls, some of the stirrup jars and the rounded kylikes; the latter is, however, a popular monochrome LH IIIC shape. Panelled patterns are the most popular decoration on open shapes followed by spirals which are also used a lot on closed shapes; the antithetic spiral and wavy line are much used on deep bowls.

Nearly all the pottery of these phases is made from a grey clay which is fired buff or pinkish-buff, if not remaining grey; the paint is most frequently brown or black shading to red while the quality of the painting is generally low particularly in the case of the monochrome vases where it is streakily applied. There is a small group of sherds with a grey core fired deep orangy yellow and unslipped, black to red paint being put straight on the surface. Probably all this material is made locally but the results of various clay analyses will have to be taken into consideration before a definite judgement can be made. The corpus is catalogued below together with the unphased material from OLD layers 53, 54, 56, 57, 60.

Piriform Jar FS 37, 42 (FIG. 5.10, PLATE 22)

There is one whole vase **81** which was found in the West Shrine and Street. It is decorated in a developed LH IIIC style with a treble row of running spirals and a jagged wavy line on the rim and at the base of the neck similar to that on several of the deep bowls e.g. **246**; the handles are painted with three vertical stripes. A piece of this vase was published in the early excavation reports (Dawkins and Droop 1910–11, pl. 14.39). The sherds illustrated are decorated with panel patterns **78**, **79** and miscellaneous decoration **80**.

78 Buff; brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. MLd layer 509.

79 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. MLd layer 510.

80 Grey; buff slip, brown paint. Miscellaneous decoration. NLc layer 252.

81 *FS* 37 Grey fired pinkish-buff; buff slip, black to shaded-brown paint. D. rim 12.6, D. base 9.9, H. 32.4. *FM* 46, running spiral with *FM* 53, wavy line on rim and at base of neck. P197 Space c layer 74, 75, Space IV layer 79, NLb layer 418, MLb Room B layer 1036.

Collar-necked Jar FS 63, 64 (FIG. 5.10, PLATE 23)

There is one very large example **86** decorated with panels and pendent semi-circles; it was broken in antiquity and mended with lead rivets. A few rim fragments exist from smaller examples and one larger fragment decorated with a wavy line or band **87**. Two body sherds are illustrated showing panel decoration with antithetic spiral **85** and with isolated semi-circles **84**. All the examples illustrated belong to LH IIIC.

84 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled with *FM* 43, isolated semi-circles. NLb layer 421.

85 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled with *FM* 50, antithetic spiral. NLb layer 419.

86 *FS* 63, Grey fired buff; black to red paint. D. rim 14.8, D. base 11.8, H. 35.7. *FM* 75, panelled with *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles. OLD mend. P187 Space c layer 74, 75, Space IV layer 57, 73, 96, Space c 99, Space I layer 56.

87 Buff; black paint. D. rim 16. *FM* 53, wavy line. P1528 MLd layer 510, NLc layer 212.

Alabastron FS 96 (FIG. 5.10)

There are four recognisable sherds which belong to this shape and there may be more base fragments which cannot be separated from those of the mug and have been counted in with that shape. Patterns used include wavy line, spiral and isolated semi-circles. A monochrome example from the area north of the West Shrine is illustrated **381**. **88**, **89** belong to Phase 2a.

90 Orange; buff slip, orange-brown paint. ?Spiral. NLc layer 252.

91 Buff; shaded-brown paint. Spiral. OLc layer 29.

92 Orange; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. base 8. Vertical lines. NLa layer 316.

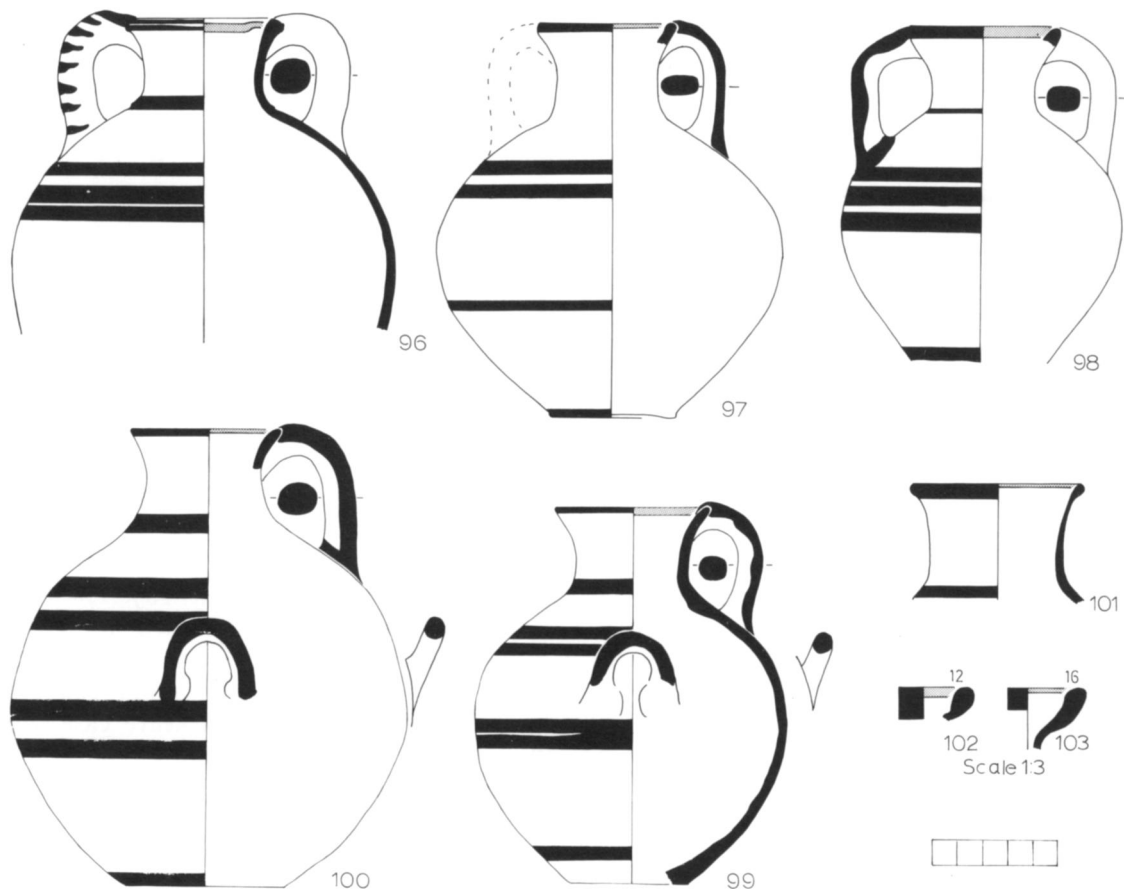


FIG. 5.11 Phases 2b to 3c: amphora and hydria. Scale 1:6

Double Jar FS 325, 330 (FIG. 5.10, PLATE 20)

Three of these were found in the West Shrine. **95** has been discussed above under Phase 3b–c; **93**, **94** are square-sided pyxides *FS* 96 making up *FS* 330. All three are monochrome including the underside of the bases.

- 93** *FS* 330 Buff; streaky red-brown paint. D. rim 4.7, H. 5.1–4. P891 MLb East layer 13.
- 94** *FS* 330 Buff; streaky black paint. D. rim 4.2 and 4.5, H. 4.8 and 5.3. P892 MLb East layer 13.
- 95** *FS* 325 Buff; streaky black paint. D. rim 4.6, D. base 3 and 3.1, H. 6.1. P57 Space III layer 13.

Amphora FS 69, 70 Hydria FS 129 linear (FIG. 5.11, PLATE 22)

Several complete or half complete examples of these shapes were recovered as well as many sherds. It has not been possible to differentiate in the sherd material between one handled globular jugs (*FS* 106) and the hydria and amphora and, therefore, all the sherds have been counted in with the last two shapes. All the restored vases are badly made, the necks often being off-centre **100** and the bellies pressed in from contact with other pots in the kiln **97**–**100**. Two hollow rims are illustrated **102**–**103** but most of the examples are only very slightly hollowed if

at all. All the vases are banded on the rim, shoulder, base and base of neck and **97, 99 – 100** are banded on the lower body too. The shoulder bands are more or less of equal thickness not of the thick-thin-thick type found at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 336). The handles are decorated with a medium width vertical wavy line except **96** which is painted with white paint on the red clay and has splashes across the handles; there are no handles with a cross on or an '8' as at Lefkandi (*ib.* 342) nor are there any sherds from vases decorated with tassel pattern (*ibid.* pl. 51.6) apart from one from the surface level **544**.

- 96** FS 69 Red with grits; no slip, white paint. D. rim 12.4. P190 Space c layer 72, 74, NLb layer 417, 418.
- 97** FS 69 Grey fired buff; black paint. D. rim 11, D. base 9.1–4, H. 33.3–5. P401 Space c layer 73, Space IV layer 79, 96.
- 98** FS 69 Buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 11.8. P473 Space c layer 72, 74, 75, NLb layer 418.
- 99** FS 129 Grey fired orange; white slip, black to red paint. D. rim 12.2, D. base 9.5, H. 29.8. P194 Space c layer 74, Space IV layer 73, 79, 96, Space c 99, NLb layer 418.
- 100** FS 129 Grey; no slip, black paint. D. rim 12.5, D. base 12, H. 36.3. P198 Space c layer 72, 74, 75, Space IV layer 73, 96, Space c layer 99, NLb layer 417, 418.
- 101** Orange with inclusions; buff slip, black paint. D. rim 14. P1527 NLb layer 412, 414, 422, 423, Space III layer 22.

Jug FS 110, 121, 136, etc. (FIG. 5.12)

One complete very globular example was found **111** and some other fragments including a neck and shoulder decorated with panels which has been discussed above (Phase 3a) **107**. The sherd material is unfortunately too fragmentary for shapes to be precisely determined: moreover, many linear pieces have probably been counted in with amphora. Patterns employed are wavy line **109**, chevron **108**, wavy border **110**, stemmed spiral **112**, panel **107**, and spiral **111**. **106** is the only example of its kind from the excavation; its shape is close to a coarse ware vase from Lefkandi (*Ibid.* 337, fig. 2.5) from Phase 1b. The Phylakopi vase is very worn but it is possible to pick out the remains of a band of paint round the base, although any others have entirely disappeared. Fifteen pieces of **112** were recovered from different layers but unfortunately it could not be much restored. Compare **104 – 105** which belong to Phase 2a.

- 106** Buff; red paint. D. rim 8, D. base 4.5, H. 8.5. Stub of handle. P461 NLb layer 419.
- 107** Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, black paint. FM 75, panelled. P1526 NLa layer 316, Space I layer 15.
- 108** Whitish; black paint. FM 58, chevron Space c layer 75.
- 109** Whitish with grits; brown paint. ?FM 53, wavy line or ?scroll. Space c layer 72.
- 110** Pinkish; white slip, orange-brown paint. FM 65, wavy border. NLa layer 316.
- 111** FS 121, a very large version. Grey fired buff; brown to black paint. D. rim 10.4, D. base 11.6, H. 38.8. Spiral. P195 Space c layer 72, 74, 75, Space IV layer 68, 73, 79, 96, 109, Space d layer 78, NLb layer 418.
- 112** Grey fired orange; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown to black paint. FM 51, stemmed spiral. Space c layer 75, NLb layer 419, Old layer 59.

Stirrup Jar FS 173 (FIG. 5.12, PLATE 21)

A few patterned pieces and many linear ones belong to this shape; where it is possible to tell, the vessels are globular and many have decorated body zones. There is one LH IIIC vase which can be restored from Phase 2b **114**, but many of the sherds are LH IIIB throw ups. The shoulder zones are decorated with flower **113, 115, 118**, filled triangles and bivalves **114** and multiple stem **116**, the body zones often with wavy line but N pattern **121** and quirk **114** also appear. A few bases **124**, false mouths and spouts **122** are preserved. One disc with the coned centre characteristic of LH IIIC was discovered in these levels **123**. **113** belongs to Phase 2a.

- 114** Pink-buff; shaded-brown paint. D. base 5.4. FM 25, bivalves on shoulder with three filled triangles and FM 48, quirk on body. P895 MLb East layer 26.

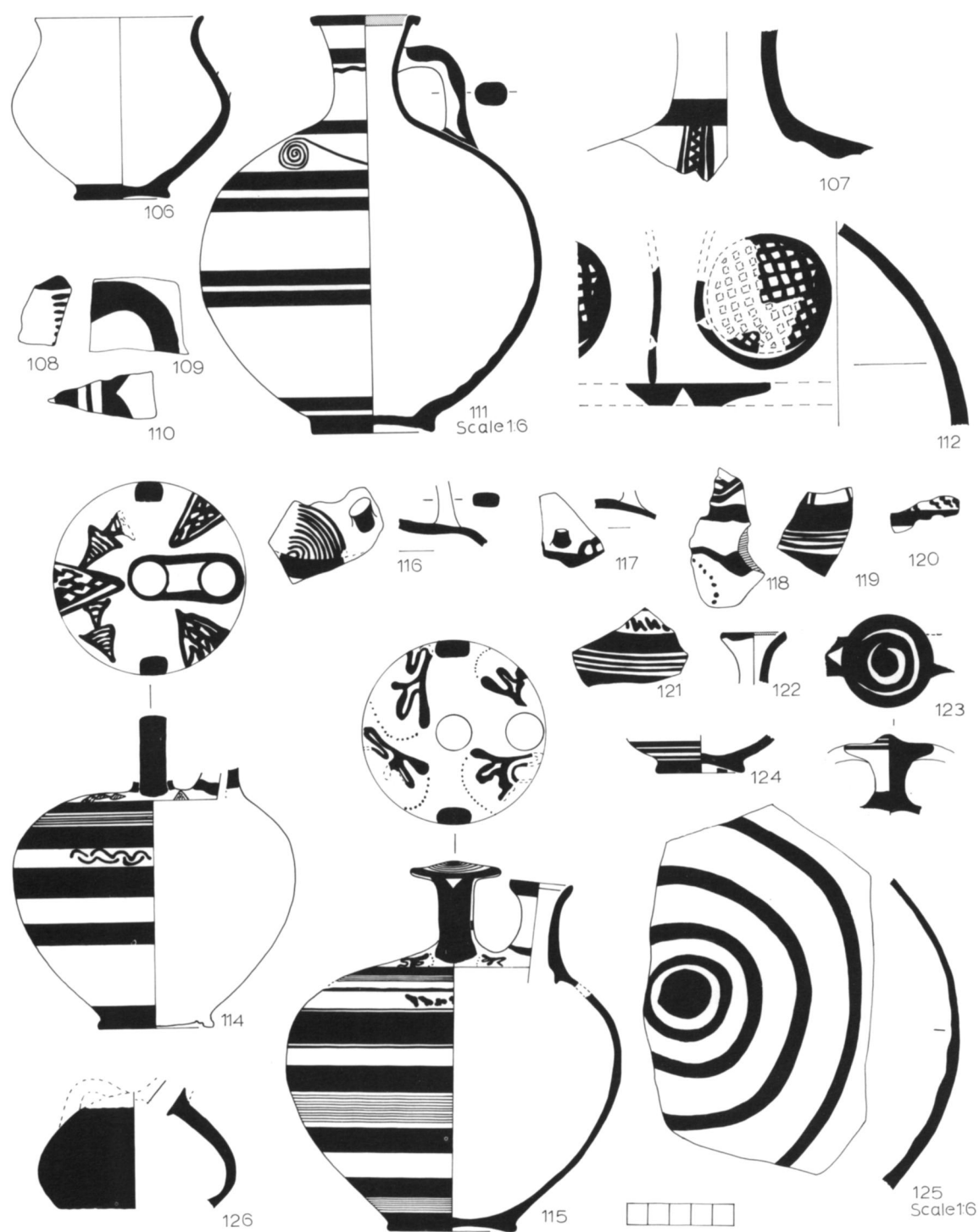


FIG. 5.12 Phases 2b to 3c: jug, stirrup jar, flask, askos. Scale 1:3

- 115** Orange; buff slip, red-brown paint. D. base 6. *FM* 18c, flower on shoulder, blobs in belly zone. P884 MLb East layer 12, 17, Space III layer 39, NLc layer 221, Space IV layer 94, Space c layer 34, 42.
- 116** Grey; pinkish slip, black to brown paint. *FM* 19, multiple stem on shoulder. Space IV layer 96.
- 117** Buff; orange-brown paint. *FM* 42, joining semi-circles on shoulder. NLb layer 417.
- 118** Grey; whitish slip, black paint. *FM* 18c, flower on shoulder. NLc layer 234.
- 119** Grey; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. ?*FM* 43, isolated semi-circles on shoulder. Space a/b layer 62.
- 120** Buff; orange paint. Miscellaneous decoration on belly. Space I layer 17.
- 121** Orange; buff slip, red-brown paint. *FM* 60, N pattern on belly. Space III layer 30.
- 122** Orange; buff slip, black paint. D. rim 2.9. Space c layer 74.
- 123** *FS* 175 Grey; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. Space IV layer 79.
- 124** Pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. base 4.1. NLb layer 405.

Flask FS 186 (FIG. 5.12)

One large fragment decorated with concentric circles was discovered in the Street **125**.

- 125** Grey with grits fired pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. P196 Space IV layer 73.

Askos FS 195 (FIG. 5.12)

This is a tentative reconstruction from three sherds found in the street. It is wheelmade.

- 126** Grey fired buff; black fugitive paint. D. max. 9.3. NLb layer 418, 419.

Krater FS 9, 10, 281, 282 (FIGS. 5.13 and 5.14, PLATE 23)

There are 68 patterned and linear pieces from this shape including three partially restored vases **128**, **130**, **135**. Nearly all the rims, of which a selection is included **142** – **148**, seem to belong to *FS* 281, 282: they range from bulbous **145** to angular **143**. The patterns used include spiral, antithetic spiral, wavy line, panel and figure style. **130** is an unusual three-handled form and is similar to an unpainted example **372**; the arrangement of a wide inner band below the rim, which has a very thin section, is similar to that of a large group of deep bowls (see discussion under deep bowl). There are unpainted parallels to this shape from the Granary at Mycenae, although of a much smaller size (Wace 1921 – 23, pl. XIa – e). **135** seems to have had a rosette at the end of the upper row of two rows of running spirals; a similar rosette appears on a jug from the debris level **508**. **129** is from *FS* 10; **132**, **136** are fragments of figure style, **136** with added white; **137** consists of several rows of running spirals. A few sherds were recovered from a krater decorated with antithetic birds which is illustrated **127** in Phase 2a as one sherd comes from a layer belonging to that phase; **141** joins with a sherd from the lower levels of the West Shrine but is illustrated here for convenience.

- 128** *FS* 282 Grey fired buff; black paint. D. rim 28. *FM* 53.20, wavy line. P1531 NLa layer 315, NLb layer 422, Space III layer 28.
- 129** *FS* 10 Grey fired buff; black paint. D. rim 24. *FM* 53, wavy line. MLb Room B layer 1037.
- 130** Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, worn black paint. Three handled. D. rim 23.9. P199 NLc layer 238, 240, 251, 255, 256, 258, Space III layer 30, 35.
- 131** Grey fired pink; buff slip, brown to black paint. D. rim 34, D. base 15. *FM* 75, panelled with pendent semi-circles. NLb layer 405.
- 132** Grey fired buff; black paint. D. rim 28. Figure style. P455 MLd layer 510.
- 133** Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 30. *FM* 75, panelled. OLd layer 65.
- 134** Pinkish; buff slip, brown to black paint. D. rim ca. 36. *FM* 53, wavy line. OLd layer 53.
- 135** *FS* 281 Grey fired buff; no slip out, grey slip smoothed in, black paint. D. rim 34, D. base 13.5, H. 32.5. *FM* 46, running spiral with *FM* 27, rosette. P1504 NLb layer 427, Space II layer 12, OLd layer 59, 63, space d layer 26.
- 136** Pinkish; buff slip, brown paint with added white. Figure style. NLb layer 414.
- 137** Grey; black paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. Space III layer 27.
- 138** Grey with grits; buff slip, black paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. NLc layer 255.



FIG. 5.13 Phases 2b to 3c: krater. Scale 1:3

- 139** Pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled with ?antithetic spiral, monochrome interior. NLa layer 313.
140 Pink; buff slip, chocolate paint. Miscellaneous decoration. Space a/b layer 152.
141 Grey fired orange; buff slip, orange paint. Miscellaneous decoration. MLb Room B layer 1038, MLd layer 516.

Mug FS 226 (FIG. 5.14, PLATE 23)

There are 19 sherds belonging to this shape but only eight are decorated. These include one restored vase **150** which was spouted; its decoration suggests that it is LH IIIC as well as the interior band below the rim (see discussion under deep bowl). The other sherds, which include a few examples with grooved rims or waists, probably belong to LH IIIA2 – IIIB. Motifs used are wavy line, panels, spirals and chevron. (**149** is Phase 2a).

- 150** Grey fired pink; buff slip, black paint. Spouted. D. rim 10.1, D. base 7.6, H. 8.4. *FM* 75, panelled; triglyph of vertical zigzag alternating with *FM* 43, pendent isolated semi-circles with fill of *FM* 27, rosette in one bottom and one top panel. P1505 Space I layer 64, Space IV layer 69, OLd layer 50, 59, 61.
151 Pinkish; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 53, wavy line. OLc layer 29.
152 Buff; shaded-brown paint. Spiral. Space a/b layer 62.
153 Buff; red-brown paint. Spiral. MLb Room A layer 955.
154 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 58, chevron. NLc layer 234.
155 Buff; shaded-brown paint. One groove at waist. Miscellaneous decoration. NLc layer 237.
156 Greenish; pale yellow slip, orange paint. *FM* 75, panelled with ?multiple stem. OLd layer 56.
157 Grey fired pink; yellowish-buff surface, no slip, black paint. D. base 11. OLd layer 56.

Dipper FS 236 (FIG. 5.14)

This shape is relatively popular. There are nine examples with a dotted rim and twenty-two linear ones, including two pots which are complete except for the handle **158**, **160**. The lips are generally flaring, except **159** which is straight and thickened, and the lower body exhibits a slight carination. All the linear examples have two concentric circles round the base **160**.

- 158** Grey fired pink; buff slip, black paint. D. rim 9.5, H. 5.3. P463 NLa layer 320.
159 Buff; black paint. D. rim 8. Space c layer 75.
160 Grey fired pink; buff slip, orange-brown paint. D. rim 11. P1517 NLb layer 421, 428, Space IV layer 148.

Lipless Conical Bowl FS 242 (FIG. 5.15)

There is one certain example of this shape **161** which has been discussed above (Phase 3b–c); two rims, whose diameter is rather small for that of a conical kylix, could belong to this shape.

- 161** Pinkish; buff slip, blue-black paint. D. rim 16, D. base 4.6. Reserved band below rim inside and reserved spot in centre of base outside. P1522 Space c layer 34, Space III layer 39, 42, 44, OLd layer 52.
162 Buff; red paint. D. rim 12. OLd layer 65.
163 Orange fired buff; red-brown paint. D. rim 15. MLd layer 509.

Kylix FS 258 (FIG. 5.15, PLATE 27 a)

All the decorated sherds of this shape are LH IIIB₁ or earlier except perhaps **165** which is difficult to date and could, also, be a saucer. Patterns used include whorl, flower, spiral, chevron and panel. There is one example of a Zygouries type **170**.

- 164** Greenish; light brown fugitive paint. D. rim 18. *FM* 18b, hybrid flower. MLb Room A layer 976.
165 Buff; orange-brown paint. D. rim 13. Miscellaneous decoration inside. MLb Room A layer 965.
166 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 23, whorl shell. Space c layer 75.
167 Buff; orange. D. rim 15. *FM* 46, running spiral. MLb Room B layer 1038.
168 Buff; greenish slip, brown fugitive paint. *FM* 18b, hybrid flower. NLc layer 252.
169 Greenish; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled with fill. MLb Room B layer 1038.
170 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. Panel patterned. Zygouries type. OLd layer 54.

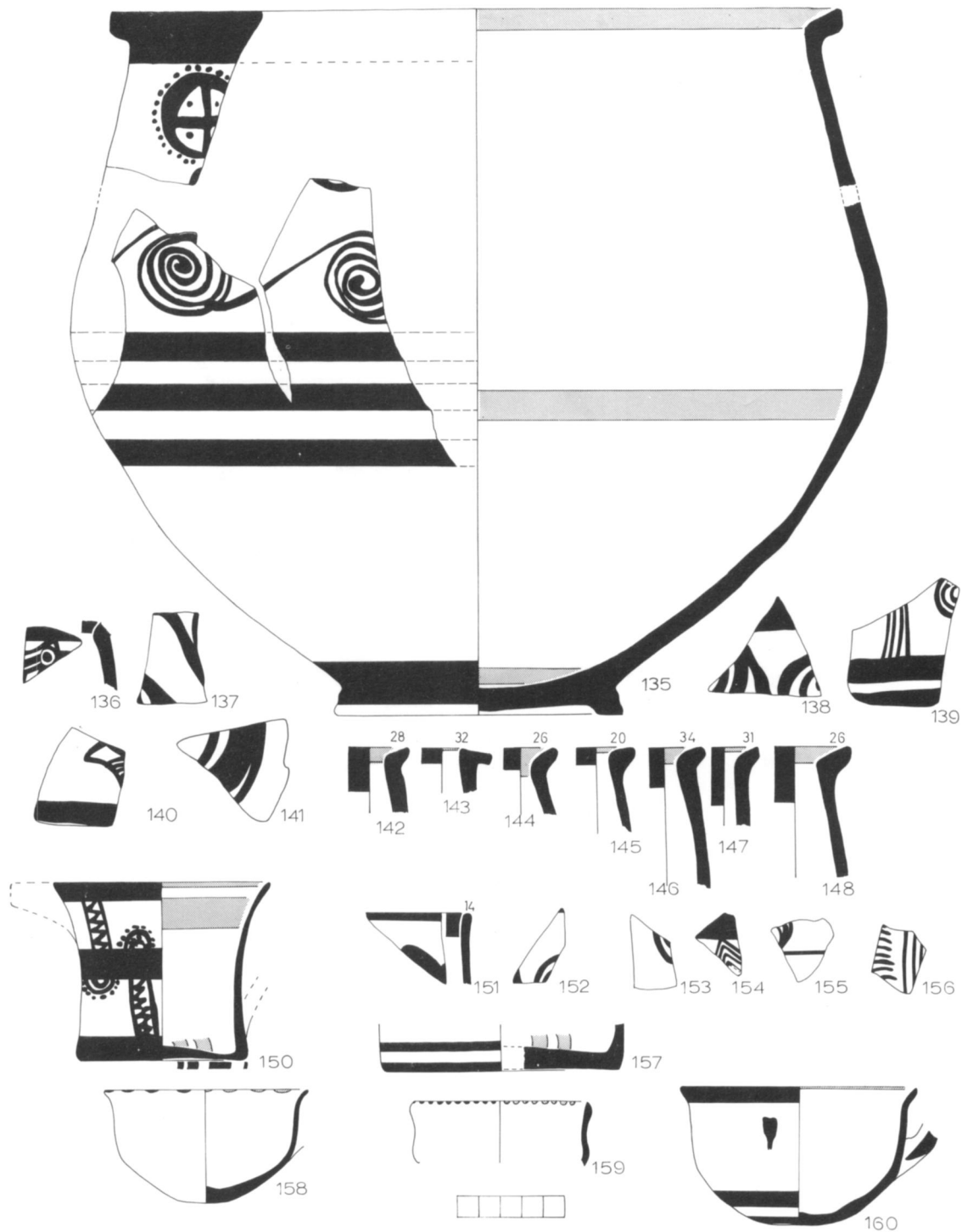


FIG. 5.14 Phases 2b to 3c: krater, mug, dipper. Scale 1:3

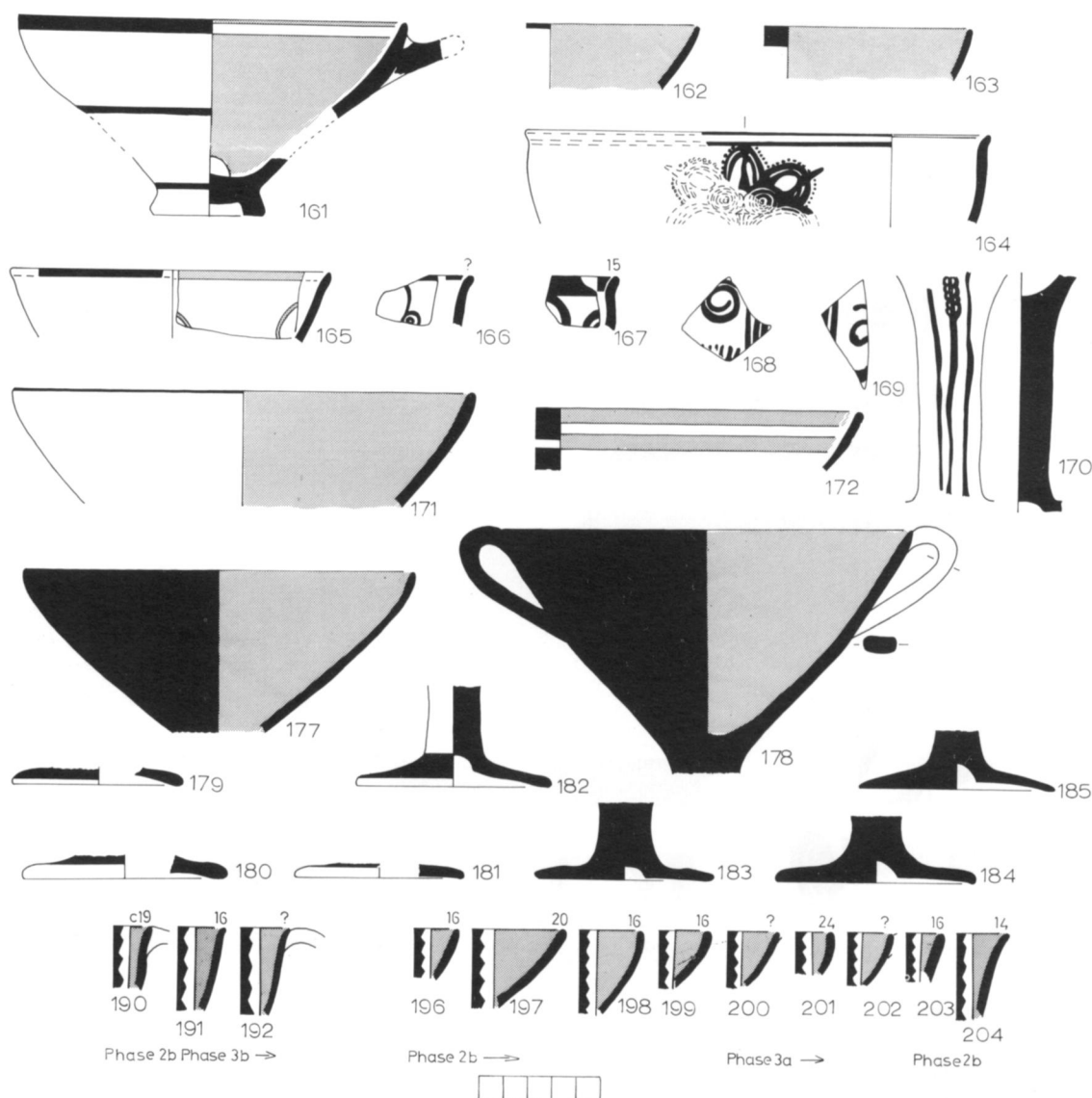


FIG. 5.15 Phases 2b to 3c: lipless conical bowl, kylix. Scale 1:3

Kylix FS 266, 274 (FIG. 5.15, PLATE 23)

No complete example was found in the shrines but some half profiles can be reconstructed **171** — **178**. All the examples are monochrome except **171**, **172** which are from linear conical shapes. A selection of rounded rims is included **186** — **92** arranged by phase; as can be seen there is no change in the shape of the rim during the different phases. Some conical rims are illustrated **193** — **204**; there is much variety in the shape of the bowl such as **197** which is very shallow and **198** which is deep. There are only fifteen conical examples altogether, of which three are red and twelve are black. It is possible that **195**, **203** — **4** are mugs as they are very straight lipped but no

monochrome mug bases have been found to go with these sherds. A selection of bases is illustrated **179–85** including four with a reserved edge **179–82**. There are no examples with a swollen stem or with bands at the top of the stem as at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 341 fig. 5.1, 4). **173–76** are Phase 2a.

- 171** FS 274 Buff; black paint. D. rim 19. MLb Room B layer 1038.
- 172** FS 274 Grey; black paint. D. rim 25. NLb layer 418.
- 177** FS 274 Buff; red-orange streaky paint flaking off. D. rim 16. P1534 NLc layer 258, NLa layer 320, Space III layer 36.
- 178** FS 274 Orange-buff with mica; buff slip, orange-brown streaky paint outside, brown to maroon streaky inside. D. rim 17. P186 Space c layer 74, Space IV layer 73.
- 179** Buff; maroon paint. D. base 7. Reserved edge. NLb layer 428.
- 180** Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, black to brown paint. D. base 8.4. Reserved edge. MLb East layer 26.
- 181** Buff; maroon to black paint. D. base 7. Reserved edge. OLc layer 22.
- 182** Grey fired buff; black paint. D. base 8.1. Reserved edge, unpainted stem. NLa layer 320.
- 183** Grey fired pinkish; yellow surface, no slip, red paint. D. base 7.5. MLd layer 512.
- 184** Grey; buff slip, black paint. D. base 8.3. MLd layer 512.
- 185** Grey; maroon paint. D. base 8. OLd layer 61.

Deep bowl FS 284 (FIGS. 5.16 to 5.18, PLATES 21 and 23)

This is the commonest shape in the shrines accounting for 48.9% of the patterned sherds. Nearly all the patterned deep bowls are of Group A: that is to say deep bowls with a rim and base band and a band or group of narrow lines below the decorated panel. The interior is unpainted except for a group of fine lines round the interior base. There are quite a number of LH IIIB throw ups but the characteristic deep bowls of LH IIIB2 are lacking; there are only a couple of bowls of Group B. Most of the LH IIIC deep bowls from the site have a medium band below the rim inside, another on the belly and one round the interior base (for parallels from the recently excavated LH IIIC house at Tiryns see Podzuweit 1978, fig. 28.6, 8, 12). There are also three medium band deep bowls, **254**, **255** and an unpublished fragment, which in Argive terms mark the earliest phase of LH IIIC, a few sherds from bowls of Group A with a monochrome interior **236**, **239–241**, and **244**, **245** which are the LH IIIC version of the LH IIIB2 rosette bowl.

The size of the Shrine deep bowls is standard with a rim diameter of 13–16 cm but there are larger and smaller examples such as **207** with a diameter of 17 cm and **230** with one of 9 cm: on a couple of examples the rim is bent out of shape giving an oval effect **205**, **227**. The standard shape has a flaring rim and a globular body with a raised concave **207**, **218** or a ring **205**, **227** base; **221** has a very globular body and **210** a very straight rather wobbly upper body.

A group of rims, FIG. 5.17 bottom row, can be isolated which have a very wide band inside below the lip and a very thin upper section sharply everted at the rim. The three-handled krater **130** also has such a rim.

The patterns employed include pendent semi-circles, running spiral, quirk, antithetic spiral, panel, stemmed spiral, wavy line, chevron, N pattern, tricurved arch and multiple stem, the most common being the spiral particularly in antithesis and the panelled pattern. As the great frequency of the spiral is one of the definitive features of early LH IIIC (French 1969, 135) the strikingly large number of sherds decorated with spirals is not surprising. The antithetic spiral in some cases **222**, **224**, **235** has the extra cross bars and fill classified as LH IIIC by Furumark. In panelled patterns the triglyphs are often composed of vertical zigzags alone **227** or flanked by stemmed or antithetic spirals **224**, **225**. Also common are pieces where the central triglyph is composed of vertical lines joined by horizontal wavy lines **206**, **209**, **210**; there is one example **207** with a horizontal U pattern in the central triglyph; half rosettes flanking the triglyph occur **241** but are not frequent. Narrow horizontal patterns such as quirk **233**, N pattern **248** and wavy line

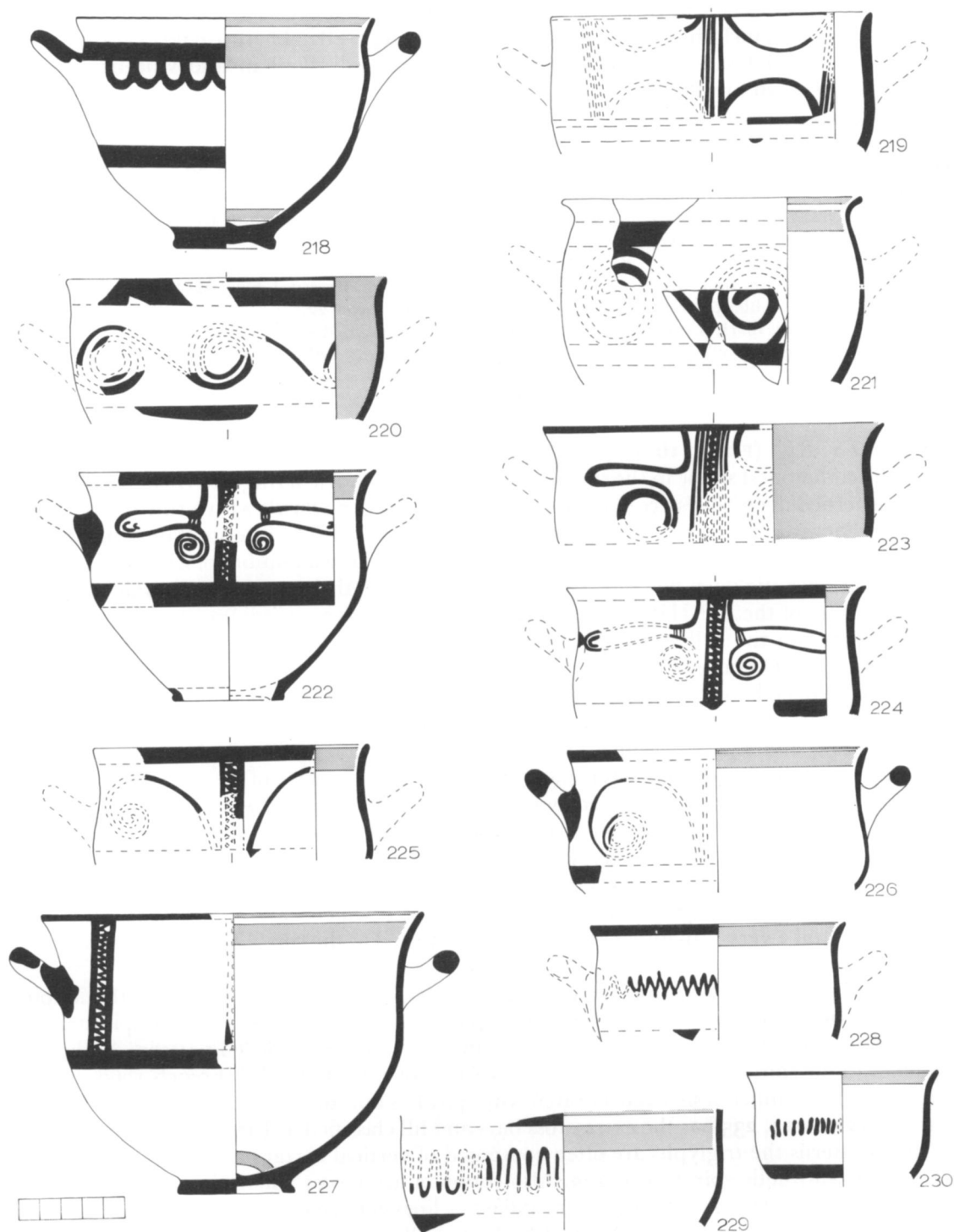


FIG. 5.16 Phases 2b to 3c: deep bowl. Scale 1:3

216, 228, 246, are also present. The form of N pattern on **248** is said by Furumark to stop in LH IIIA2 but there are examples from Tiryns in LH IIIC (Podzuweit 1978, fig. 28.3); that on **229** is very elongated and seems to be a LH IIIC variant. There are also variants on *FM* 53, wavy line **216, 228, 246** including a very jagged version **228, 246** which also appears on the rim and neck of the piriform jar **81** (see also *Ibid.*, fig. 28.12) and could be classed as *FM* 61, zigzag. **221** shows an unusual retorted spiral and **230** a late form of foliate band similar to one on a bowl from the LH IIIC deposit at Tiryns (*Ibid.*, fig. 28.16). **251, 252, 253** belong to a small group of bowls which are unpainted outside, have a monochrome interior and are smaller than average. **205–17** belong to Phase 2a.

There is much variation in the shape of the monochrome deep bowl ranging from tulip shaped **266** to globular **271**. All the examples have the flaring rim characteristic of LH IIIC except an example from Phase 2a **257**. The diameter of the monochrome deep bowl is generally 13–14 cm, slightly smaller than that of the decorated examples, but there are larger vases **269** and a few smaller ones **262, 267**. Most of the vases are streakily painted and almost all have a reserved area between the handles.

A selection of rims arranged by phase is illustrated **275–93** but there is no difference between the rims of the various phases. Bases are raised concave or low ring, a few are shown **258–60, 272–74**, the first three belonging to Phase 2a. **274** has a reserved centre and is the only example from the excavation except for that of the lipless conical bowl **161**. There is also only one example of a bowl with a reserved band below the rim inside **266**; it has been discussed above (Phase 3b–c). There are slightly more black painted bowls than red ones. (**256–61** are Phase 2a).

- 218** Orange; buff slip, black to red paint. D. rim 14, D. base 4.6, H. 10.7. *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles. P1410 NLb layer 418, 419, 420, MLb Room B layer 1036.
- 219** Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 75, panelled with *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles. OLd layer 53.
- 220** Grey fired yellow; no slip, orange to black paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 46.58, running spiral, monochrome interior. OLd layer 53.
- 221** Grey; black paint. D. rim 14. Retorted spiral. Space IV layer 79, OLd layer 59, NLc North layer 213, pb 1321.
- 222** Buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 14, D. base 5.3, H. 10.6. *FM* 75, panelled; central triglyph flanked by *FM* 50, antithetic spiral. P1516. Space IV layer 148, OLd layer 59, 62.
- 223** Yellow; orange paint. D. rim 16. *FM* 75, panelled; central triglyph flanked by *FM* 50, antithetic spiral, monochrome interior. OLb layer 53, MLb Room B layer 1035.
- 224** Orange; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 75, panelled; central triglyph flanked by *FM* 50, antithetic spiral. OLd layer 65, MLd layer 514.
- 225** Buff; black paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 75, panelled; central triglyph flanked by *FM* 51, stemmed spiral. Space c layer 75, NLb layer 419.
- 226** Grey; black paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 51, stemmed spiral. OLd layer 63.
- 227** Grey fired buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 18–21, D. base 5.1, H. 13.2. *FM* 75, panelled. P1519 OLd layer 61, 63, 65, PLa layer 16, Space c layer 49.
- 228** Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 12. *FM* 53, wavy line. Space I layer 64.
- 229** Grey fired buff; no slip, black to orange paint. *FM* 60, N pattern. OLd layer 53.
- 230** Pinkish; buff slip, red paint. D. rim 9. *FM* 64, foliate band. NLb layer 423, NLa layer 313, 315, NLc layer 252.
- 231** Orange; buff slip inside, whitish out, black paint. D. rim 15. ?*FM* 62, tricurved arch. P1521 NLb layer 418, 426, Space a/b layer 60, Space c layer 75, OLd layer 60, 61, 63.
- 232** Grey fired pink; buff slip, black lustrous paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 19, ?tongue. NLa layer 315.
- 233** Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 48, quirk. OLd layer 53.
- 234** Buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 14. ?*FM* 50, antithetic spiral. Space c layer 71.
- 235** Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 50, antithetic spiral. NLb layer 416.
- 236** Buff; black paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 58, chevron, monochrome interior. OLd layer 54.
- 237** Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 17. *FM* 58, chevron. NLc layer 215.
- 238** Buff; pink-buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 75, panelled. MLd layer 511.
- 239** Grey fired buff; orange paint. D. rim 19. *FM* 75, panelled, monochrome interior. NLc layer 258.

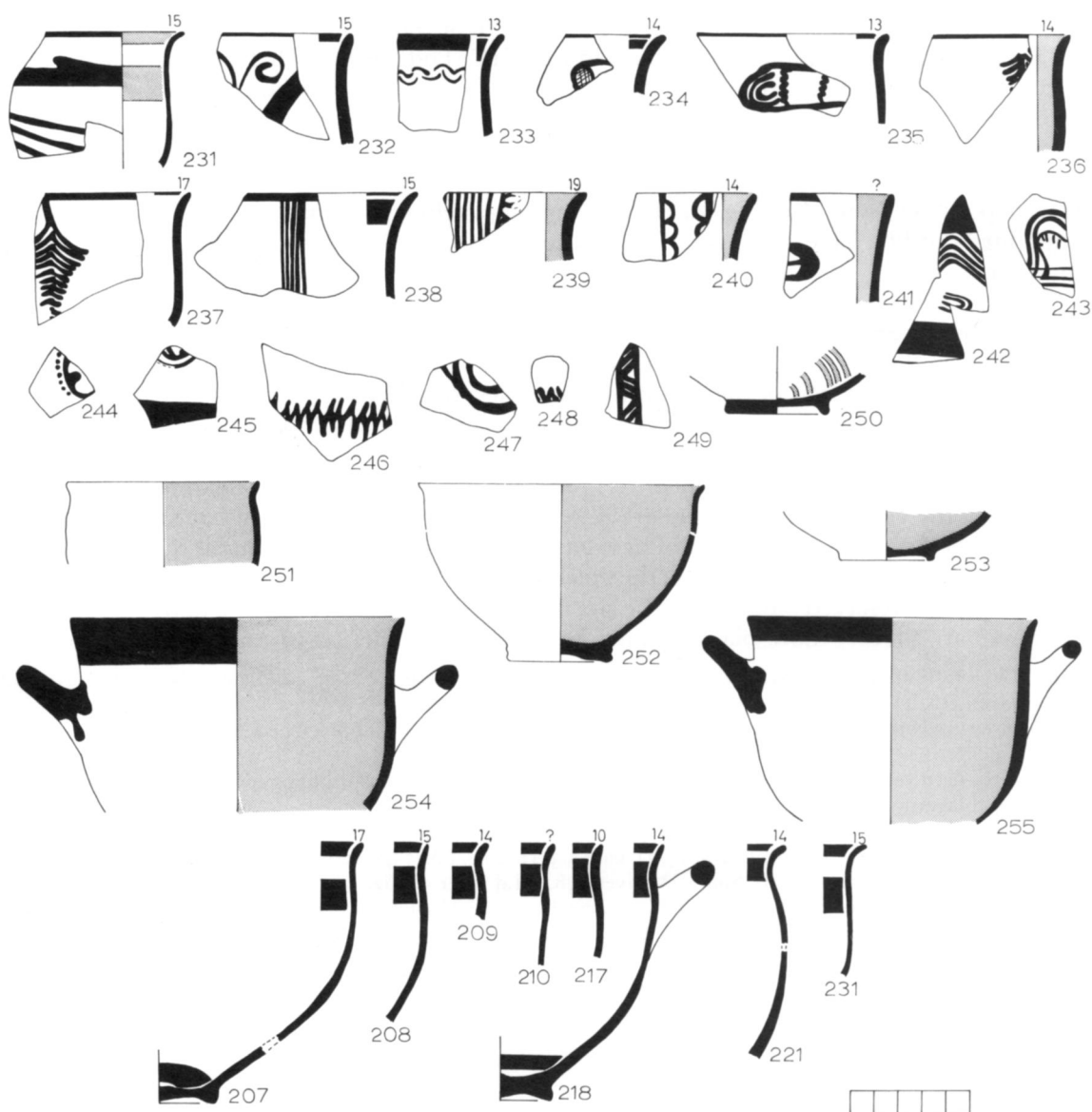


FIG. 5.17 Phases 2b to 3c: deep bowl. Scale 1:3

- 240** Grey; black paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 75, panelled, monochrome interior. MLd layer 509.
241 Pinkish; buff slip, black paint. *FM* 74, half-rosette, monochrome interior. Old layer 53.
242 Orange; buff slip, red-brown paint. *FM* 62, tricurved arch with isolated semi-circles. Old layer 54.
243 Whitish; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 19, multiple stem. Space IV layer 58.
244 Grey fired pink; buff slip, brown to black paint. *FM* 27, rosette, monochrome interior. Old layer 65.
245 Grey fired pink; buff slip, red-black paint. *FM* 27, rosette, monochrome interior. NLa layer 315.
246 Buff; grey slip, black paint. *FM* 53, wavy line. Old layer 53.
247 Buff; whitish slip, red-brown to black paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. NLa 315.
248 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 60, N pattern. MLb Room A layer 965.
249 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled, monochrome interior. OLc layer 19.

- 250 Buff with mica; orange paint. D. base 4.4. OLd layer 66.
 251 Miniature. Pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 8. Monochrome interior. Space III layer 39.
 252 Miniature. Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, red to black streaky paint. D. rim 13.6, D. base 4, H. 7.3 (restored). Monochrome interior. P1508 Space III layer 39, OLd layer 59, Space IV layer 79, 80.
 253 Miniature. Grey fired pink; buff slip, red paint. D. base 3.9. Monochrome interior. NLb layer 437.
 254 Orange; buff slip, black to orange paint. D. rim 14. Medium band, monochrome interior. P1507 Space c layer 46, 49, OLd layer 59.
 255 Orange with mica; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 12. Medium band, monochrome interior. P1509 Space c layer 46, OLd layer 59.
 262 Buff with mica; orange paint. D. rim 11.7, D. base 4.4, H. 9. P200 Space c layer 74, 75, Space IV layer 73, 148.
 263 Buff; orange streaky paint. D. rim 15, D. base 4.8, H. 10.9. P474 Space IV layer 96, Space c layer 99.
 264 Grey fired pink; orange-red paint. D. rim 14, D. base 5.1, H. 10.7. P716 Space III layer 36.
 265 Pinkish; maroon paint. D. rim 14. Painted between handles. Space c layer 71.
 266 Grey; black-blue paint. D. rim 15. Reserved band below rim inside. P1544 NLc layer 254, Space III layer 13.
 267 Buff; black paint outside, brown inside. D. rim 11. P1518 Space IV layer 148, Space c layer 75, OLd layer 62, 65.
 268 Grey fired pink; black paint with brown streaks. D. rim 13. P1541 Space a/b layer 60, OLd layer 60.
 269 Grey fired buff; black paint. D. rim 14.8, D. base 5.3, H. 10.4. P1539 NLb layer 418, 421, 423, 427, 428, 437.
 270 Grey fired orange; black to red paint. D. rim 13. NLa layer 315.
 271 Grey fired pink; maroon paint inside, black outside. D. rim 14. NLb layer 418.
 272 Buff; black paint inside, maroon outside. D. base 4.6. OLd layer 63.
 273 Grey fired buff; black paint. D. base 5. OLd layer 63.
 274 Buff; black paint. D. base 4.5. Reserved centre base inside, unpainted outside. Space c layer 42.

Large Bowl or Basin (FIG. 5.19)

There are two examples decorated with wavy line **294—95** and one linear rim **296**.

- 294 Grey fired pink; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 26. *FM* 53, wavy line, blobs on rim. MLb Room B layer 1038.
 295 Grey fired pinkish-buff; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 30. *FM* 53, wavy line. OLd layer 53.
 296 Pale orange; no slip, red to black paint. D. rim 18. OLd layer 54.

Cup, Bowl (FIG. 5.19)

There are 27 examples consisting mostly of linear body sherds: none is complete and no particular shape can be identified. **300** possibly decorated with a whorl tail is LH IIIB. There is an exact parallel to **303** from the recent LH IIIC excavations at Tiryns which has the stub of a high swung handle and could perhaps be a dipper (I am very grateful to Dr K. Kilian for allowing me to mention this reference. The Tiryns sherd comes from LXI 40/94 level 6a). **304** could belong to a kalathos. **297—99** belong to Phase 2a.

- 300 Buff; shaded-brown paint. ?*FM* 23, whorl tail. Space I layer 19.
 301 Buff; brown to orange paint. ?*FM* 53, wavy line. OLc layer 21.
 302 Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 28. *FM* 60, N pattern on rim. Space IV layer 70.
 303 Buff; red-brown paint. D. rim 10. Handmade, monochrome interior. MLd layer 509.
 304 Buff; brown to orange paint. D. rim 29. Miscellaneous decoration. MLd layer 511.
 305 Grey fired buff; brown paint. D. rim 9. Monochrome interior. OLd layer 63.
 306 Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, red-brown paint. Monochrome interior. NLb layer 414.

Plate

One base was discovered in the street and is illustrated in Phase 2a **307**. It belongs to developed LH IIIC.

Stemmed Bowl FS 305 (FIG. 5.19)

There are only five examples of this shape all belonging to LH IIIB1. **308** from Phase 2a is decorated with pendent semi-circles, **309** with panel.

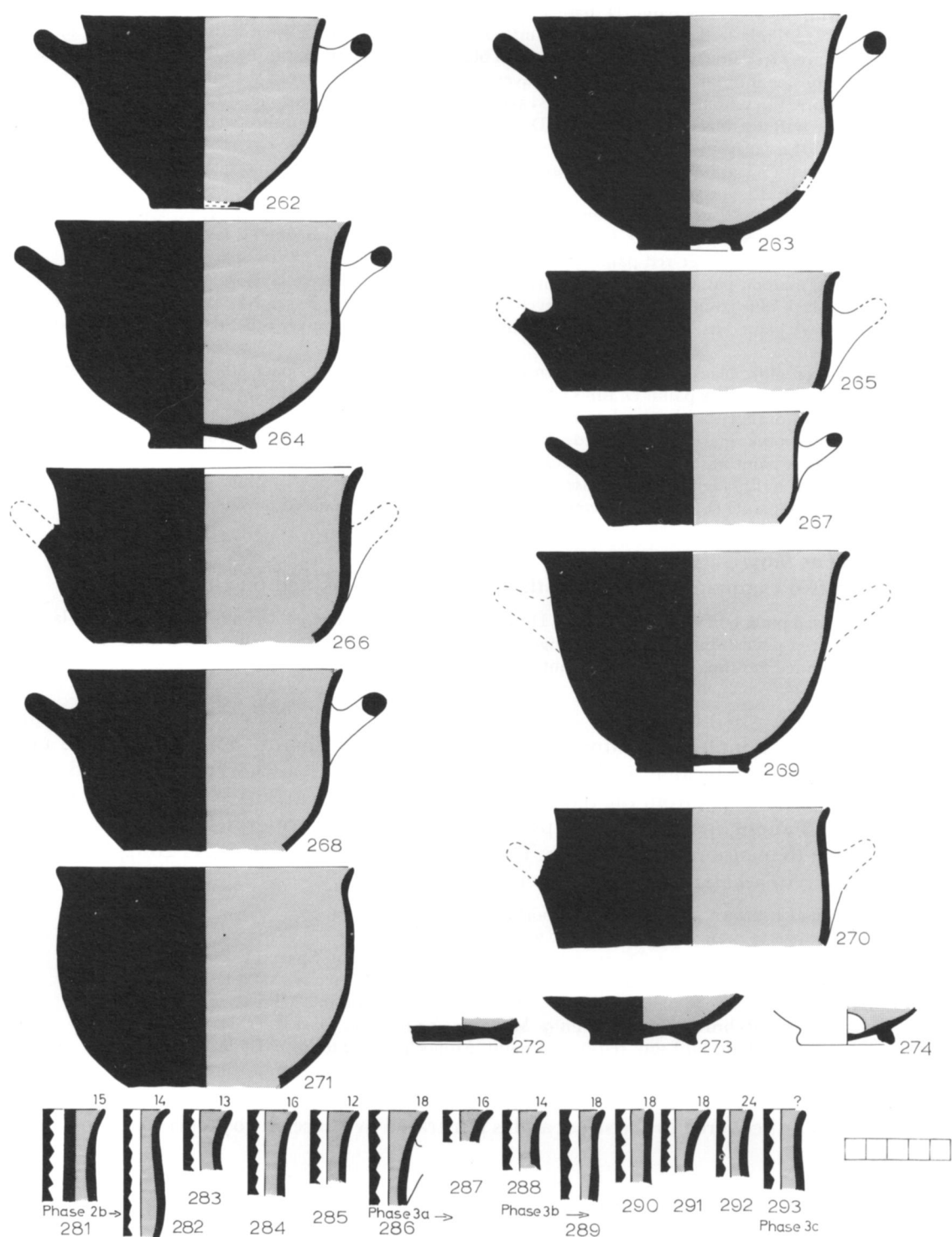


FIG. 5.18 Phases 2b to 3c: deep bowl. Scale 1:3

Table 5.5
Relation of shapes and patterns in the shrines, street and OLd, phases 2b—3c

	<i>FS</i> 37, 42 Piriform jar	<i>FS</i> 63, 64 Collar-neck jar	<i>FS</i> 96 Alabastron	<i>FS</i> 325 Double jar	<i>FS</i> 330 Double jar <i>Hydria</i>	<i>FS</i> 110, 121, 136 etc. Jug	<i>FS</i> 173 etc. body shoulder Stirrup jar	<i>FS</i> 186 Flask	<i>FS</i> 195 Askos	Miscellaneous	Total closed	Total open	<i>FS</i> 10, 281, 282 Krater	<i>FS</i> 226 Mug	<i>FS</i> 236 Dipper	<i>FS</i> 242 Lipless conical bowl	<i>FS</i> 258, 259 Kylix, rounded	<i>FS</i> 274 Kylix, conical	<i>FS</i> 284 Deep bowl, lip band	<i>FS</i> 295 Basin	Cup, bowl	<i>FS</i> 305 Stemmed bowl	Lid	Miscellaneous
<i>FM</i> 18 Flower	2						3				5	3					3							
<i>FM</i> 19 Multiple stem	2						1				3	6							6					
<i>FM</i> 23 Whorl shell												4					3				1			
<i>FM</i> 25 Bivalve							2				2													
<i>FM</i> 27 Rosette												2						2						
<i>FM</i> 42 Joining semicircles							1				1													
<i>FM</i> 43 Isolated semicircles	2	1					1				4	5						5						
<i>FM</i> 45 U pattern												1						1						
<i>FM</i> 46 Running spiral	2						1				3	14	6				1	6			1			
<i>FM</i> 48 Quirk							1				1	1					1	1						
<i>FM</i> 49 Curved stemmed spiral												1												
<i>FM</i> 50 Antithetic spiral	1										1	27	1					26						
Miscellaneous spiral	5		2			9					16	31	2	2			2	23			2			
<i>FM</i> 51 Stemmed spiral						1					1	2						2						
<i>FM</i> 53 Wavy line	1					1	2				4	24	5	1				16	1		1			
<i>FM</i> 58 Chevron						1					1	4	1				1	2						
<i>FM</i> 60 N pattern						1					1	2						1			1			
<i>FM</i> 62 Tricurved arch	1										1	3						3						
<i>FM</i> 64 Foliate band												1						1						
<i>FM</i> 65 Wavy border						1					1													
<i>FM</i> 74 Half rosette												1						1						
<i>FM</i> 75 Panel	2		1			4	1				8	47	3	3			1	39			1			
Dotting												9				9								
Figure Style												3	3											
Miscellaneous	21					19	1			3	44	33	7	1			2	22			1			
Totals	38	2	3			37	14			3	97	224	27	8	9		14	157		1	7	1		
Percentage of total patterned sherds	11.8	0.6	0.9			11.5	4.4			0.9	30.2	69.8	8.4	2.5	2.8		4.4	48.9		0.3	2.9	0.3		
Linear	28	3	1		154	12	79	1	602	880	546	41	11	22	3		62	2	367	3	1	20	3	2
Red Monochrome	4									16	20	538	1				72	3	80		5			9
Red Monochrome unpainted exterior												20						2						377
Black Monochrome	12		1	2							26	597	1				66	13	104		2			18
Black Monochrome unpainted exterior												40					1	8						31

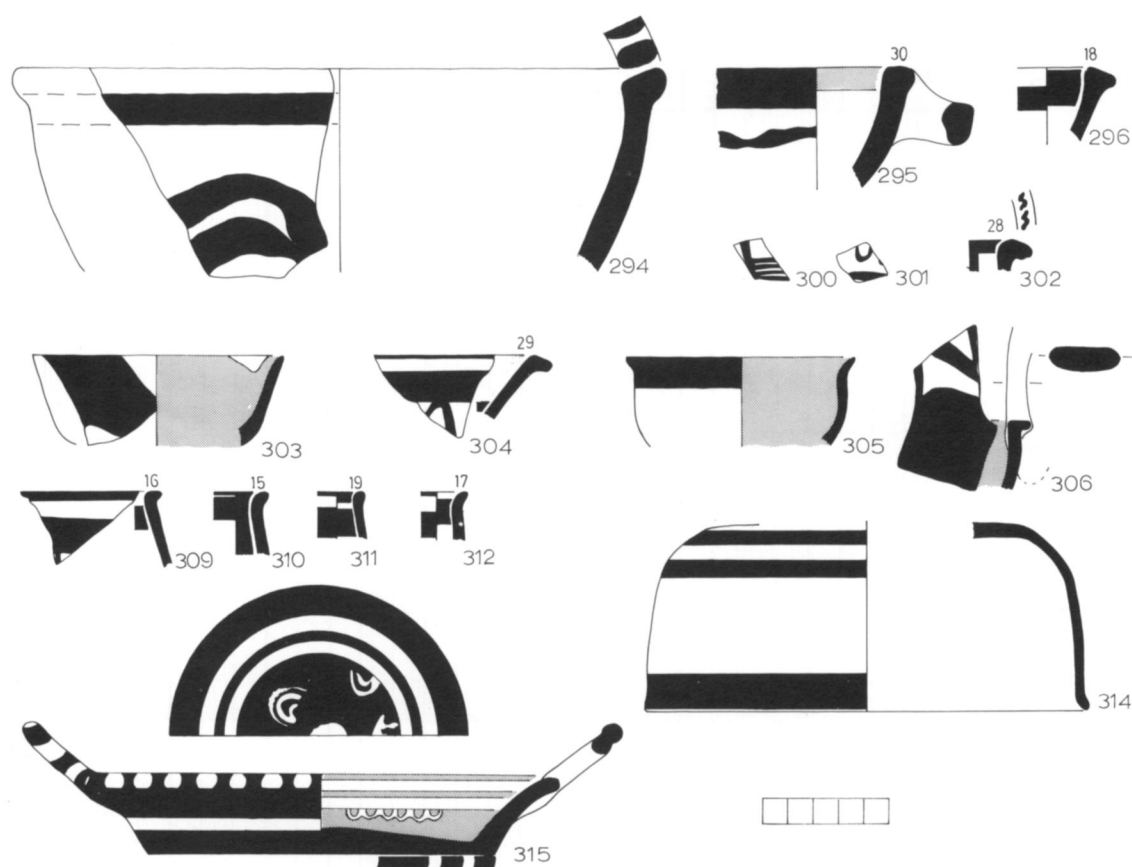


FIG. 5.19 Phases 2b to 3c: large bowl or basin, cup, bowl, stemmed bowl, lid, tray. Scale 1:3

- 309** Orange; buff slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 16. Edge of panel. OLd layer 54.
310 Buff; black to orange paint. D. rim 15. MLd layer 511.
311 Buff; orange paint. D. rim 19. NLc layer 252.
312 Buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 17. OLc layer 30.

Lid FS 334 (FIG. 5.19)

There are two examples of this shape in the corpus; one is from Phase 2a **313**. **314** has been discussed above (Phase 3c); it is quite deep and could be a bowl but its profile, fabric and decoration are so similar to that of **313** that it has been classed as a lid. Another example from Space II is illustrated **394**.

- 314** Grey fired orange-buff; white slip, orange-brown paint. D. rim 17. 5. P1520. NLc layer 262.

Tray FS 322 (FIG. 5.19, PLATE 20)

A monochrome circular tray was found decorated with added white and comparable to vases from Phase 2a at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 341, fig. 5.7).

- 315** Buff; pink-buff slip, red-brown paint with decoration in white. D. rim 18.7, D. base 13.5, H. 3.2. Circular with a basket type handle. FM 43, isolated semi-circles on base inside and FM 42, joining semi-circles on wall inside. P899 NLc layer 241.

Table 5.6
Numbers of different types of unpainted ware in the shrines,
street and OLd, phases 2b–3c

		<i>Rims</i>	<i>Handles</i>	<i>Bases</i>	<i>Body Sherds</i>
Amphora, Jug etc.		12	21	8	
Lipless bowl	<i>FS</i> 204	22			
Mug	<i>FS</i> 226	2			
Dipper	<i>FS</i> 236	10	1		
Kylix, rounded	<i>FS</i> 265, 273	204	61	137	27
carinated	<i>FS</i> 267	343			75
Cup	<i>FS</i> 222	7		1	
Deep bowl	<i>FS</i> 284	1	2	2	
Shallow angular bowl	<i>FS</i> 295	26		1	
Basin	<i>FS</i> 295	3			
Miscellaneous bowl		1			
Krater		1			
Pedestal vase		3			
Miscellaneous		7		1	1384
Totals		642	85	270	1486
Total number of sherds					2483

12. The Unpainted Material

There are 2483 unpainted sherds from Phases 2b–3c of the Shrines, Street and OLd, excluding earlier survivals such as goblets,² comparable to 2988 decorated, linear and monochrome sherds. This confirms the hypothesis that in LH IIIC the proportion of painted sherds is greater than that of unpainted (Wardle 1973, 322). The material is in a very fragmentary condition and most of the sherds are body sherds. Thirteen shapes are represented, the most popular being the carinated kylix (343 rims) as in Phase 2a, followed by the rounded kylix (204 rims). These high numbers are partly accounted for by the inclusion of the rim sherds of the shallow angular bowl and cup with the carinated and rounded kylix respectively as they are generally indistinguishable from the rims of these shapes. Other Mycenaean shapes are scantily represented.

The fabric is either 'standard' or 'rough' (Wardle 1969, 281) both types being present in equal proportions; there are not many 'polished' sherds (apart from those of the earlier goblets) but many of the 'standard' are very well smoothed. The local fabric is grey. In the table the whole pots are counted in with the rims.

Amphorae, Jugs, Jars etc. (FIG. 5.20)

A very small number of fragments of finer fabric have been taken into account, the coarse fabrics, of which there is a large number, are not included. No complete example could be restored but a selection of rims is illustrated 316–22. All are lipless and flaring except 317 which is hollowed, 318 which is everted and 320 an unusual rolled example. 317, 319, 322 are polished, 318 rough and the rest standard. 316 belongs to Phase 2a.

2. There are 95 goblet sherds.

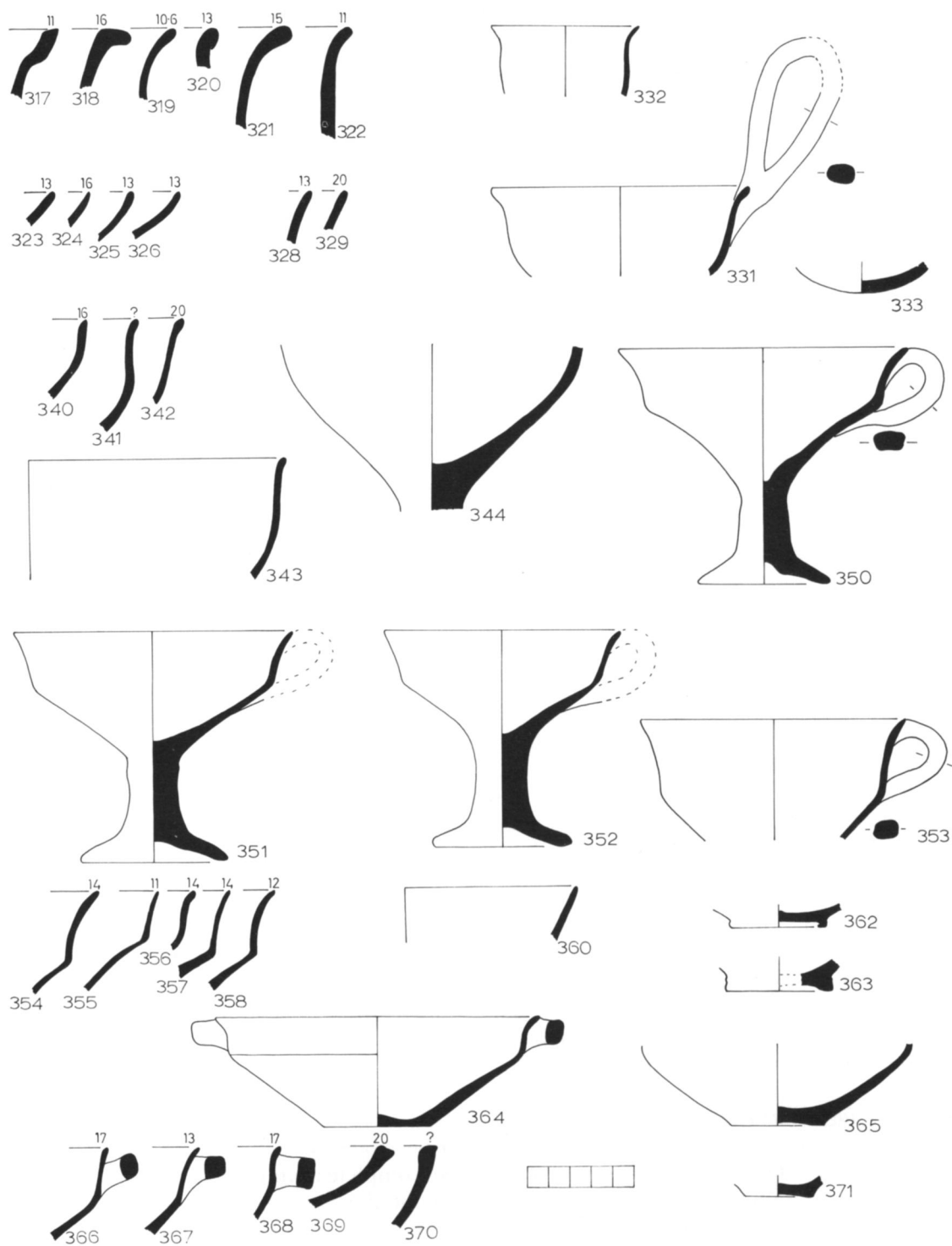


FIG. 5.20 Phases 2b to 3c: amphora etc., lipless bowl, cup, mug, dipper, kylix, deep bowl, shallow angular bowl, shallow basin. Scale 1:3

- 317** Pinkish; polished. D. rim 11. Space I layer 64.
- 318** Orange; buff slip, rough. D. rim 16. NLa layer 318.
- 319** Pinkish; greenish slip, polished. D. rim 10.6. MLb Room B layer 1038.
- 320** Buff, standard. D. rim 13. NLa layer 316.
- 321** Grey fired pink; buff slip, standard. D. rim 15. NLc layer 214.
- 322** Buff, polished. D. rim 11. OLd layer 53.

Lipless Bowl FS 204 (FIG. 5.20)

There are 22 sherds of this shape mostly made of rough smoothed fabric. The average rim diameter is 12–13 cm but there are a few larger examples **324**.

- 323** Pinkish; buff slip, rough. D. rim 13. MLd layer 509.
- 324** Grey fired buff, standard. D. rim 16. NLa layer 317.
- 325** Grey fired pink; pink-buff slip, rough. D. rim 13. Space III layer 22.
- 326** Pink-buff, smoothed. D. rim 13. Space III layer 22.

Shallow Cup FS 222

There are seven rims which could belong to this shape but none is enough preserved to give a profile. The difficulty of identifying these sherds from those of the rounded kylix has been mentioned above. A flat, slightly concave base with the beginning of the handle is illustrated in Phase 2a **327**.

Mug FS 226 (FIG. 20)

Only two sherds belonging to this shape were found in all the deposits **328–29**. Both are of standard fabric.

- 328** Buff, standard. D. rim 13. MLd layer 510.
- 329** Buff, standard. D. rim 20. NLc layer 235.

Dipper FS 236 (FIG. 5.20)

There are nine dipper rims and one half pot **331**. The fabric of most of the examples is standard. **330** is from Phase 2a.

- 331** Pink-buff; buff slip, standard. D. rim 12. P1542 Space I layer 56, OLd layer 60.
- 332** Buff, polished. D. rim 7. MLd layer 510.
- 333** Buff, standard. Space IV layer 148.

Kylix, rounded FS 265, 273 (FIG. 5.20)

This is the second most popular shape but only one half profile can be restored **334** from Phase 2a. All the vessels except **340** seem to be of a deep globular type, none with a high swung handle; bases are domed inside. There are more lipless than lipped examples and most sherds are of standard fabric with a few rough and quite a few polished examples. **340** is a rounded-conical shape. **334–39** belong to Phase 2a.

- 340** Buff, smoothed. D. rim 16. Space IV layer 96.
- 341** Buff, polished. Space IV layer 148.
- 342** Pink; buff slip, polished. D. rim 20. NLa layer 316.
- 343** Buff, smoothed. D. rim 24. Space IV layer 80.
- 344** Grey fired buff, standard. MLb Room A layer 971.

Kylix, carinated FS 267 (FIG. 5.20, PLATE 21 and 23)

The carinated kylix is the most popular shape in the deposits even though some of the rims may belong to the shallow angular bowl (see above). The fabric is rough, often smoothed, or standard and there are a few polished examples. The number of sherds with a lipped rim is very small and they are perhaps earlier survivals. There is no example of a flat base with a swirl although this is quite common in LH IIIB levels at Mycenae in rough fabric (Wardle 1969, 288; Mountjoy 1976, 98). Four whole or almost whole pots could be restored **350–53**. The bowl is conical below the carination and everted, slightly concave or straight-sided above it. Handles begin at the rim and rise a little above and, where restorable, the whole pots seem to have had only one handle; there are no examples of the high-swung type. A small group of kylikes can be separated whose upper body is about 4 cm deep instead of the usual 2.5–3 cm and has very concave sides **353–54**. The fabric is a very smooth, almost polished buff or pink-buff well-levigated clay. A further example is illustrated **395**. There are no genuine examples with the LH IIIC swollen stem although the stems of **350–51** both have a slight hump. **345–49** belong to Phase 2a.

- 350** Pinkish-buff, standard, polished inside. D. rim 13.6, D. base 6.2, H. 11. P127 Space I layer 56.
- 351** Pink; buff slip, standard, polished inside. D. rim 13.2, D. base 6.8, H. 10.8. P192 Space c layer 72.
- 352** Grey; pink-buff slip, standard. D. rim 11.1, D. base 6.5, H. 10.1. P193 Space c layer 74, Space IV layer 96.
- 353** Buff, standard, very well smoothed. D. rim 12.4. P1540 Space IV layer 67, 68.
- 354** Orange; pink-buff slip, polished. D. rim 14. MLb Room B layer 1036, MLd layer 512.
- 355** Grey, standard. D. rim 11. Space c layer 75.
- 356** Pinkish; buff slip, standard. D. rim 14. MLd layer 511.
- 357** Grey; buff slip, standard. D. rim 19. MLb Room A layer 970.
- 358** Grey fired pink; pink-buff slip, standard. D. rim 12. OLd layer 65.

Kylix, conical FS 274 (FIG. 5.20)

There are no examples of this shape from Phases 2b–3c but an example from Phase 2a is illustrated **359** and one from OLd layer 53 **360** which is unphased. They are the only examples from the Shrines; there are also very few monochrome examples qv.

- 360** Pinkish; buff slip, polished. D. rim 16. OLd layer 53.

Deep Bowl FS 284 (FIG. 5.20)

Five sherds belonging to this shape could be identified of which two bases are published here **362–63**. A rim belonging to Phase 2a is illustrated **361**.

- 362** Buff, polished. D. base 4.5. Space III layer 33.
- 363** Buff, standard. D. base 5. Space c layer 45.

Shallow Angular Bowl FS 295 (FIG. 5.20)

Twenty-five sherds and one whole pot belong to this shape but there may be more sherds which have not been identified owing to the confusion with the carinated kylix rim qv. The sherds divide equally between rough, standard and polished ware; the whole vase **364** is polished.

- 364** Grey fired buff, polished. D. rim 15.3, D. base 5.1, H. 5.1. P1415 MLb Room B layer 1037.
- 365** Buff fired orange; buff slip, polished. D. base 4.3. NLb layer 421.
- 366** Yellow, no slip, smoothed. D. rim 17. Space IV layer 79, 80.
- 367** Buff; grey slip, standard. D. rim 13. Space I layer 64.
- 368** Deep pink; buff slip, standard. D. rim 17. NLc layer 214.

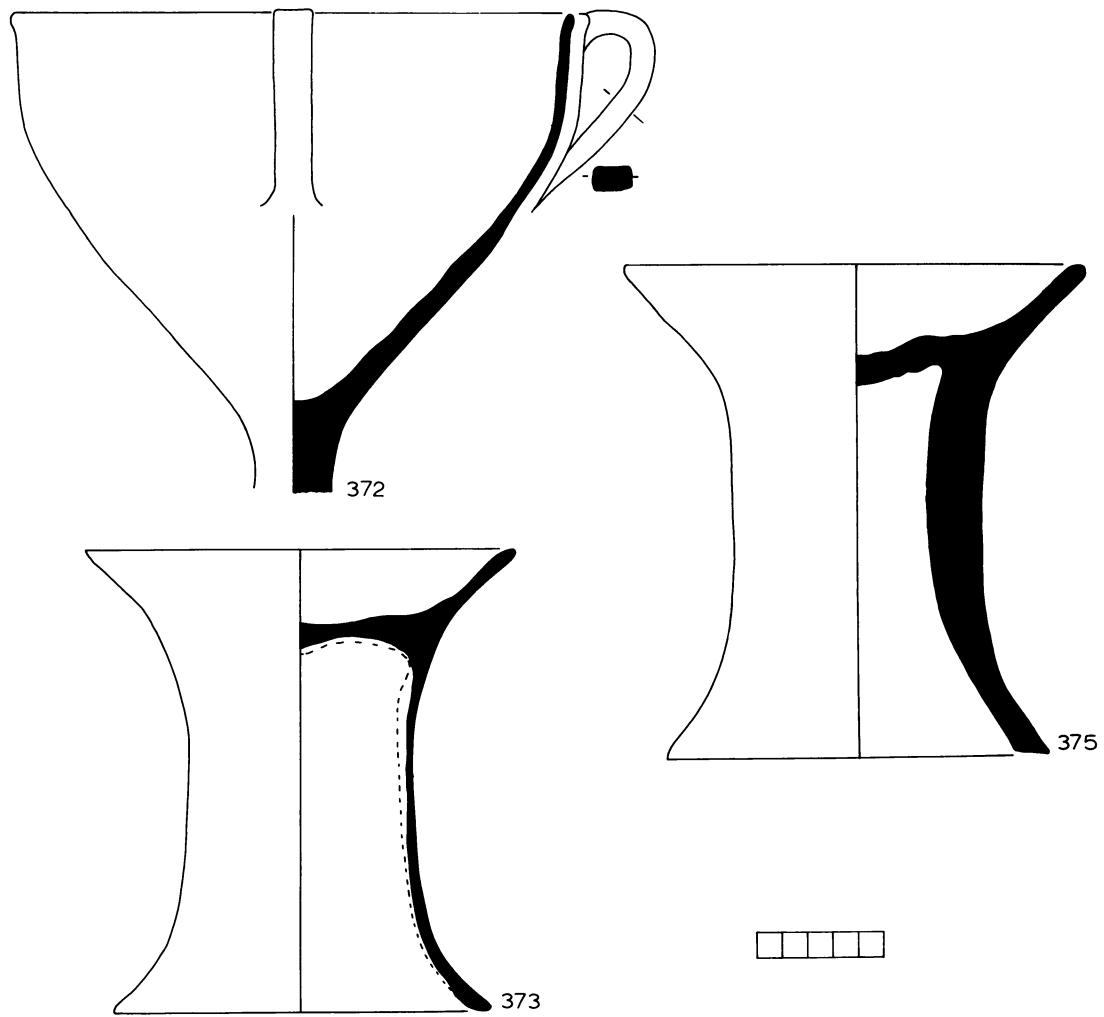


FIG. 5.21 Phases 2b to 3c: krater, pedestal vase. Scale 1:3

Shallow Bowl or Basin FS 295 (FIG. 5.20)

There are only three rims from this shape of which two are published **369—70**.

369 Orange; buff slip, standard. D. rim 20. OLd layer 66.

370 Grey fired pink-buff, polished. Space c layer 72.

Miscellaneous Bowl (FIG. 5.20)

There is a fragmentary rim and a base **371**.

371 Grey fired orange, standard. D. base 3.2. OLd layer 54.

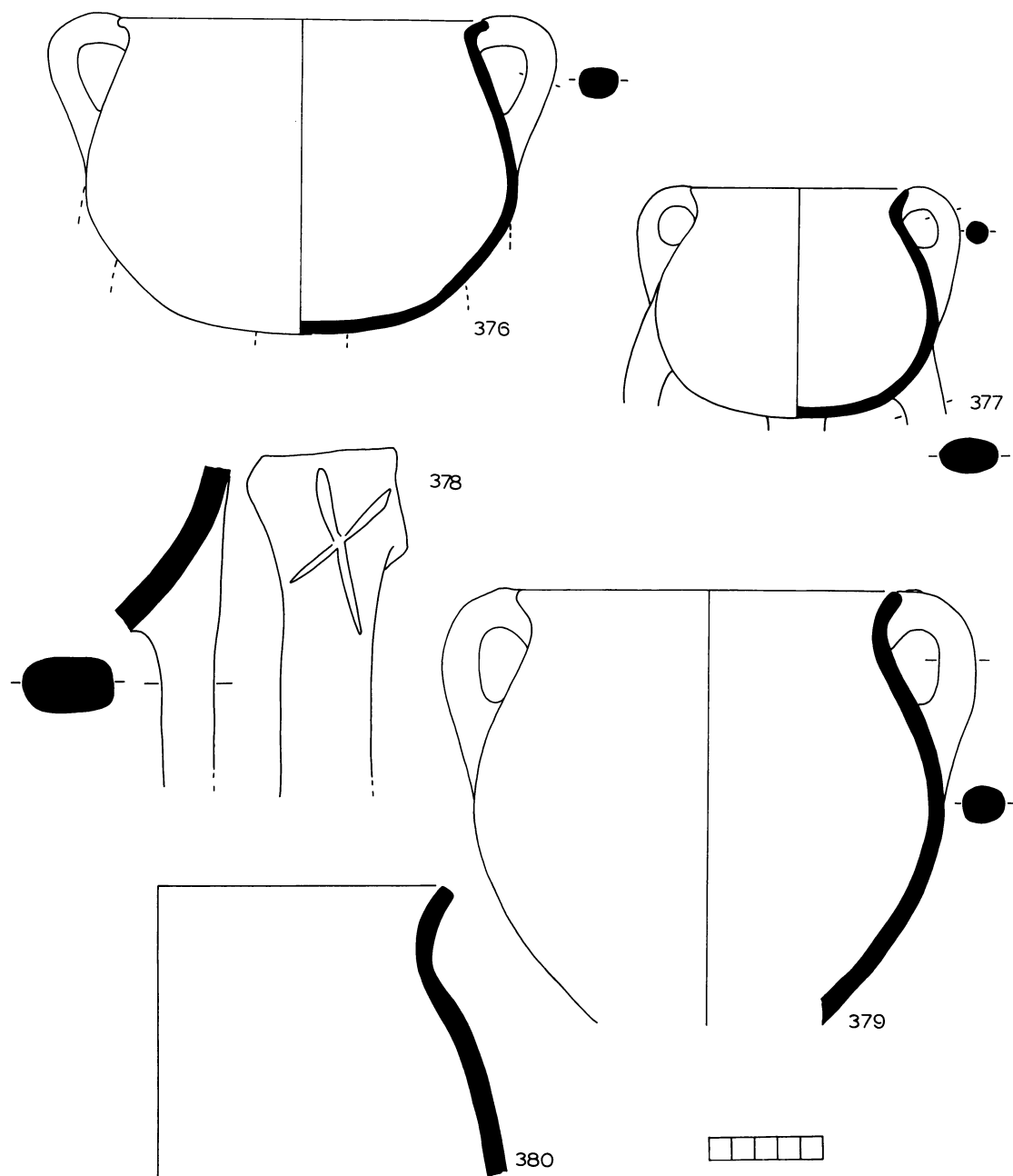


FIG. 5.22 Phases 2b to 3c: cooking pot. Scale 1:3

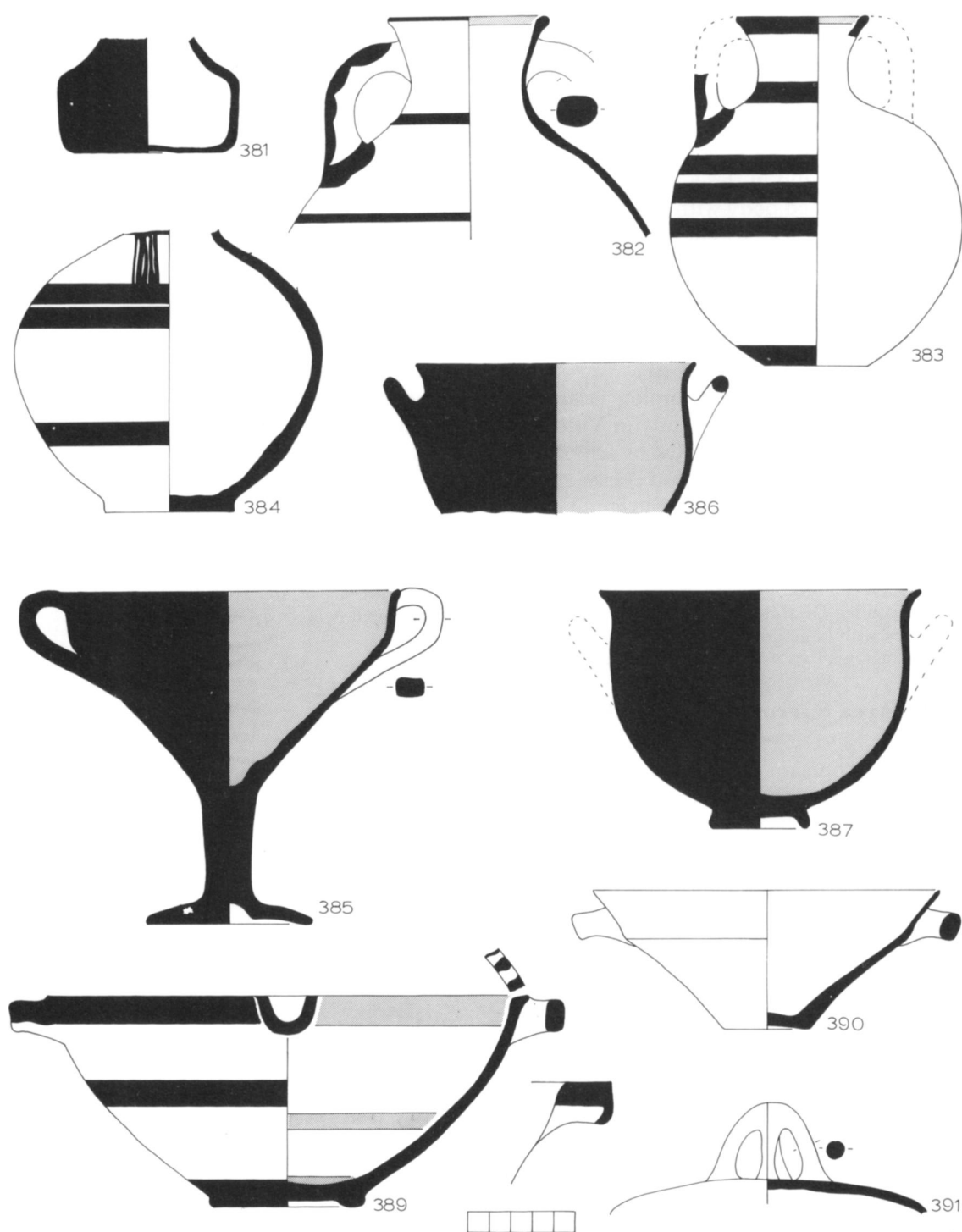


FIG. 5.23 Pottery from areas surrounding the sanctuary: NLc North. Scale 1:3

Krater (FIG. 5.21, PLATE 21)

There is a three-handled krater **372** similar to the linear one **130**. Unfortunately no base has been preserved.

372 Grey fired pink; buff slip, standard. D. rim 22. Three-handled. P462 NLb layer 418.

Pedestal Vase (FIG. 5.21, PLATE 20)

One vase was found in the East Shrine and two in the West Shrine. They have a wheel-made, cylindrical, waisted body with a hollow stem topped by a shallow bowl. They were probably for ritual use. **374** is very fragmentary and could not be drawn.

373 Pink with grits, worn. D. rim 17, D. base 15, H. 18.3. P1405 MLb Room A layer 963, 965.

374 Buff with grits, worn. Fragment from middle. P1404 Space III layer 27.

375 Grey with grits, standard. D. rim 18.5–19.1, D. base 14.2–15.1, H. 19.5. P13 OLc layer 22.

Cooking Pot (FIG. 5.22, PLATE 21)

Only the complete or semi-complete vessels are discussed here as they and the remaining sherds will form part of a separate study in Volume II. No statistics of sherds have been taken by the present author. Two examples of tripod cauldrons were found almost complete; both are wheelmade and globular with an everted **376** or flaring **377** rim. **378** is an incised oval tripod leg found in Room A of the West Shrine. Two jars **379–80** are probably the same shape as **543** which has a raised concave base.

376 Tripod cauldron FS 320 Grey with grits, burnt inside. D. rim 16, H. 13.7. P466 NLa layer 320, 321.

377 Tripod cauldron FS 320 Orange with grits, burnt outside. D. rim 9.5. P1409 MLb Room B layer 1036.

378 Tripod leg Deep buff with grits. Incised mark. P1436 MLb Room A layer 976.

379 Grey with large grits fired buff. D. rim 17. P26 OLc layer 30.

380 Orange with grits burnt outside. D. rim 26. P1435 NLc layer 214.

13. The Area Surrounding the Shrines (Phases 2b–3c)*NLc North* (FIG. 5.23, PLATE 24)

This area lies outside the north wall of the West Shrine. Ten whole or partially restorable pots were found in the collapse material on Floor I. **385** is the only complete monochrome kylix from the excavation and **381**, **384** the only almost complete examples of their kind. The two deep bowls **386–87** both have very flaring rims, and the shallow angular bowl **390** a very splaying upper body. All the examples belong to Phase 2b–3c, nearly all to Phase 2b.

381 Straight-sided alabastron FS 96 Grey; worn black paint. D. base 7. Paint over base. P457 NLc layer 213 pb 1322.

382 Amphora FS 70 Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, black paint. D. rim 14.8–15.2. P467 NLc layer 213 pb 1315.

383 Amphora FS 69 Buff; orange paint. D. rim 12.4, D. base 9.5, H 32.5. Hollowed rim. P470 NLc layer 213 pb 1315.

384 Jug ?FS 121 Pinkish-buff; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. base 6. FM 75, panelled. P435 NLc layer 213 pb 1315.

385 Kylix, rounded Pinkish; black to streaky red paint. D. rim 16.4, D. base 7.8, H. 15.5. P453 layer 213 pb 1317.

386 Deep bowl FS 284 Orange; red paint. D. rim 13. P1532 NLc layer 213 pb 1317.

387 Deep bowl FS 284 Grey with mica fired pinkish; orange to black streaky paint. D. rim 15, D. base 4.3, H. 11.2. P1543 NLc layer 213 1316, pb 1320–22.

388 Void.

389 Spouted bowl FS 302 Pinkish; buff slip, black to red-brown paint. D. rim 22.9, D. base 6.8, H. 9.6–10. P471 NLc layer 213 pb 1321.

390 Shallow angular bowl FS 295 Grey with mica fired buff, polished. D. rim 16.3, D. base 4.1, H. 6.5. P664 NLc layer 213, pb 1314, 1315.

391 Lid Grey fired buff, standard. H. ex. 5.4. No rim; quadruple handle. P458 NLc layer 213 pb 1321.

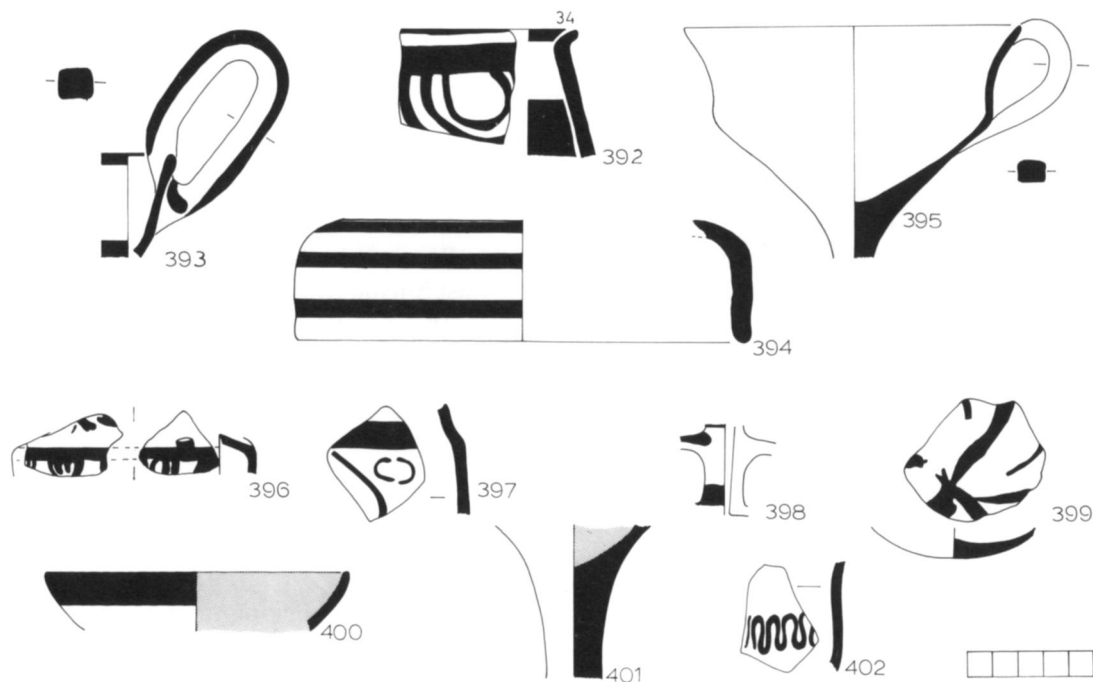


FIG. 5.24 Potsherds from areas surrounding the sanctuary: NLd space II, NLe space d. Scale 1:3

NLd Space II (FIG. 5.24)

This area is adjacent to NLc North outside the north wall of the West Shrine. Layer 12 has a join with 135 from the street and OLD. 395 belongs to the group of kylikes having a deep upper body 353–54.

- 392 Krater FS 281 Pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 34. FM 43, pendent semi-circles. Space II layer 12.
- 393 Dipper FS 236 Buff; red-orange paint. Space II layer 12.
- 394 Lid FS 334 Grey; pink-buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 18. Space II layer 14.
- 395 Kylix, carinated FS 267 Buff; polished. D. rim 13.2. P1510 Space II layer 12.

NLe Space d (FIG. 5.24)

This lies outside the North wall of the East Shrine. There is a join from layer 81 with 207 and from the East Baulk layer 26 with 508 and 135. 398 is the only recognisable sherd from a small flask found in the excavation, 399 is a dipper base with unusual decoration, 401 a LH IIIC kylix stem and 402 from a deep bowl shows another version of wavy line.

- 396 Alabastron, straight-sided FS 96 Orange; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. FM 43, isolated semi-circles. Space d layer 26.
- 397 Alabastron, straight-sided FS 98 Grey; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. FM 43, isolated semi-circles. Space d layer 26.
- 398 Flask Buff; red-brown paint. Space d layer 26.
- 399 Dipper FS 236 Buff; black paint. Space d layer 26.
- 400 Lipless conical bowl FS 242 Buff; black paint. D. rim 12. Space d layer 26.
- 401 Kylix Pink; buff slip, black to red paint. Monochrome interior. Space d layer 26.
- 402 Deep bowl FS 284 Buff; black lustrous paint. FM 53, wavy line. Space d layer 81.

14. Pottery Out of Context

There now follows a selection of pottery from the Shrines and the surrounding areas chosen to supplement the pottery already illustrated concentrating on shapes and motifs not so far represented. It includes LH I – LH IIIA2 from all levels and LH IIIB – C from the debris and surface levels.

LH I – IIB (FIG. 5.25)

A few sherds from these periods have been published in the discussion on the lower levels from the shrines. The sherds illustrated here come from the Late Bronze I building below the West Shrine (NLa layers 329, 330) and from the levels below the East Shrine (Space a/b layers 132, 133, 137 and Space c layers 134–36) as well as from the LH IIIB – C levels above. The quality of the sherds is uniformly good; they are all imported and from their appearance it seems that most of them are from the Mainland; indeed the Marine Style sherds analysed spectrographically in the Marc Fitch Laboratory at the British School at Athens all have a clay composition closer to the Mainland than to that of Crete (see Mountjoy, Jones and Cherry, 1978, *passim*). However, much more clay analysis must be effected before definite judgements can be made. There is a wide variety of shapes and of decorative motifs represented.

LH I

A few Vaphio cups with a rough interior (see Dickinson 1974, 114) belong to this period **403** – **6** decorated with tortoise-shell ripple **403** and double-axe **404**; a hole mouth jar rim could belong to this period or to the following one **407**.

- 403** Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 11. *FM* 78, tortoise-shell ripple. Space d layer 85.
- 404** Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; red-brown crackled paint. *FM* 35, double-axe. MLb Room A layer 972.
- 405** Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Grey fired buff; red-brown paint. NLa layer 319.
- 406** Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; black paint. D. base 6. MLb Room B layer 1037.
- 407** Hole-mouth jar *FS* 100 Buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 8. Space c layer 49.

LH IIA/LM IB (PLATE 28 *c* and *d*)

Most of the early Mycenaean or Minoan sherds belong to this period. They come from Palace Style jars **408** – **10**, jugs **411** – **18**, tall and squat alabasters **419** – **22**, Vaphio cups **430** – **34**, semi-globular and bell cups **435** – **44**, **447** – **49** and goblets as well as odd sherds from the rhyton **424** and hole-mouth jar **423**. A variety of patterns are represented: variegated stone pattern on open and closed shapes, the Marine Style including an example of the scarce Octopus Type C (see Mountjoy 1974, 177–80 for a definition of Types A–C) **426**, tortoise-shell ripple on Vaphio cups, crocus blooms in the Alternating Style on bell cups **447**, **449** and a semi-globular cup **439**; there is one example from a vase decorated with adder mark **429** which is so worn inside that it is impossible to tell whether the vase belongs to an open or a closed shape, such as a goblet or a handleless jar. Other patterns include papyrus, spiral, double-axe and sea-urchins.

- 408** Jar, Palace Style Pinkish with grits; pale yellow slip, lustrous chocolate brown paint. *FM* 35, double-axe with background of *FM* 76, variegated stone pattern. NKc/d layer 817.
- 409** Jar, Palace Style Grey fired buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. Octopus Type A and edge of trefoil. NLc layer 221.
- 410** Jar, Palace Style Grey; whitish slip, shaded-brown paint. Octopus Type B with air bubbles. Space III layer 4.
- 411** Bridge-spouted jug *FS* 103 Buff; black lustrous paint. Foliate band down handle, groups of wavy lines across rim. NKc/d layer 816.
- 412** Bridge-spouted jug/piriform jar Buff; pale yellow slip, fugitive black paint. *FM* 76, variegated stone pattern, probably background decoration. Space a/b layer 59.

- 413 Jug Pinkish with a few grits; pale yellow slip, black paint. OLd layer 55.
- 414 Jug/ewer Buff; shaded-brown paint. Foliate band with *FM* 11, papyrus. MLb Room A layer 974.
- 415 Jug/ewer Buff; lustrous black paint with added white. *FM* 32, rock pattern I. NLc layer 231.
- 416 Jug/ewer Grey with grits; buff slip, brown-orange paint. *FM* 16, reed pattern. NLc layer 240.
- 417 Jug/ewer Grey fired buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown to black paint. *FM* 64, foliate band. Space d layer 88.
- 418 Jug/ewer Pink; buff slip, orange-red paint. Dotted scale pattern enclosing swastikas. Space c layer 89.
- 419 Alabastron, tall Buff; pale yellow slip, black paint. *FM* 69, adder mark on rim. NLc layer 237.
- 420 Alabastron, tall Buff; greenish slip, black fugitive paint. *FM* 62, tricurved arch. OLc layer 53.
- 421 Alabastron, tall Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 27, sea-urchin. OLd layer 66.
- 422 Alabastron, squat Pale orange; yellow slip, orange paint. Dots. Space c layer 49.
- 423 Hole-mouth jar *FS* 100 Buff; black paint. *FM* 35, double-axe. Space III layer 24.
- 424 Rhyton, pear *FS* 202 Greenish; fugitive shaded-brown paint. ?Octopus. OLc layer 25.
- 425 ?Stirrup jar Pink-buff; shaded brown paint. Octopus Type B and weed. P255 Space d layer 85.
- 426 ?Stirrup jar Pinkish; pale yellow slip, red-brown paint. Octopus Type C. MLb East layer 12.
- 427 ?Shape Pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. Small octopus Type B on open ground. P437 Space d layer 112.
- 428 ?Shape Pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. Octopus Type A. P438 Space a/b layer 126.
- 429 ?Shape Pinkish; deep buff slip, lustrous black crackled paint. *FM* 69, adder mark. NLa layer 330.
- 430 Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Orange; greenish slip, crackled black paint with traces of white. D. rim 14. *FM* 46, running spiral with large filling discs. NLa layer 304.
- 431 Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; red-brown paint. D. rim 10. Edge of spiral. NLa layer 317.
- 432 Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; lustrous black paint with added white. D. rim 12. Spiral. MLb East layer 19.
- 433 Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 9. *FM* 78, tortoise-shell ripple. NLa layer 330.
- 434 Vaphio cup *FS* 224 Buff; brown paint. *FM* 64, foliate band. Space III layer 4.
- 435 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 211 Pinkish; pale yellow slip, brown paint. D. rim 12. MLb East layer 27.
- 436 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 211 Pinkish; buff slip, black paint. Monochrome interior. OLc layer 13.
- 437 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 211 Pink; buff slip, black to brown paint with added white. D. rim ca. 20. *FM* 46, running spiral. Monochrome interior. MLb Room B layer 960.
- 438 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 211 Pink; pale yellow slip, lustrous black paint. *FM* 35, double-axe. Monochrome interior. NLa layer 315.
- 439 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 211 Pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. *FM* 10, crocus. Monochrome interior. ?Alternating Style. Space c layer 135.
- 440 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 211 Pinkish; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 76, variegated stone pattern. Monochrome interior. OLd layer 67.
- 441 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 211 Orange; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 35, sacral knot. Space a/b layer 137.
- 442 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 218 Grey; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. base 4.8. Space d layer 85.
- 443 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 218 Grey fired pink; buff slip, red-brown to black paint. D. base 5. Monochrome interior. MLb Room A layer 963.
- 444 Cup, semi-globular *FS* 218 Buff; brown paint. D. base 4.2. *FM* 46, variegated stone pattern. Space a/b layer 152.
- 445 Cup, miniature orange; buff slip, orange paint. D. base 3. Edge of decoration. Monochrome interior. OLd layer 67.
- 446 Cup/bowl Buff; black paint. D. base 5. Edge of decoration. Monochrome interior. NLc layer 214.
- 447 Cup, bell Orange; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 9. *FM* 10, hatched crocus with *FM* 62, tricurved arch. Monochrome interior. OLd layer 66.
- 448 Cup, bell Buff; black paint. D. rim 10. *FM* 76, variegated stone pattern. Monochrome interior. NLc layer 236.
- 449 Cup, bell Buff; black paint. *FM* 10, crocus. Monochrome interior. MLb Room B layer 1035.

LH IIB (FIG. 5.25, PLATE 29 a)

Sherds recognisable from this period consist of Ephyraean and other goblets and jugs, some decorated in the Ephyraean Style 451–53. The Ephyraean goblets are decorated with spirals and argonauts and often have a chevron at the base of the handle 459–60; the other goblets are mostly decorated with rock pattern and spirals. There is one whole profile from an unpainted goblet 463.

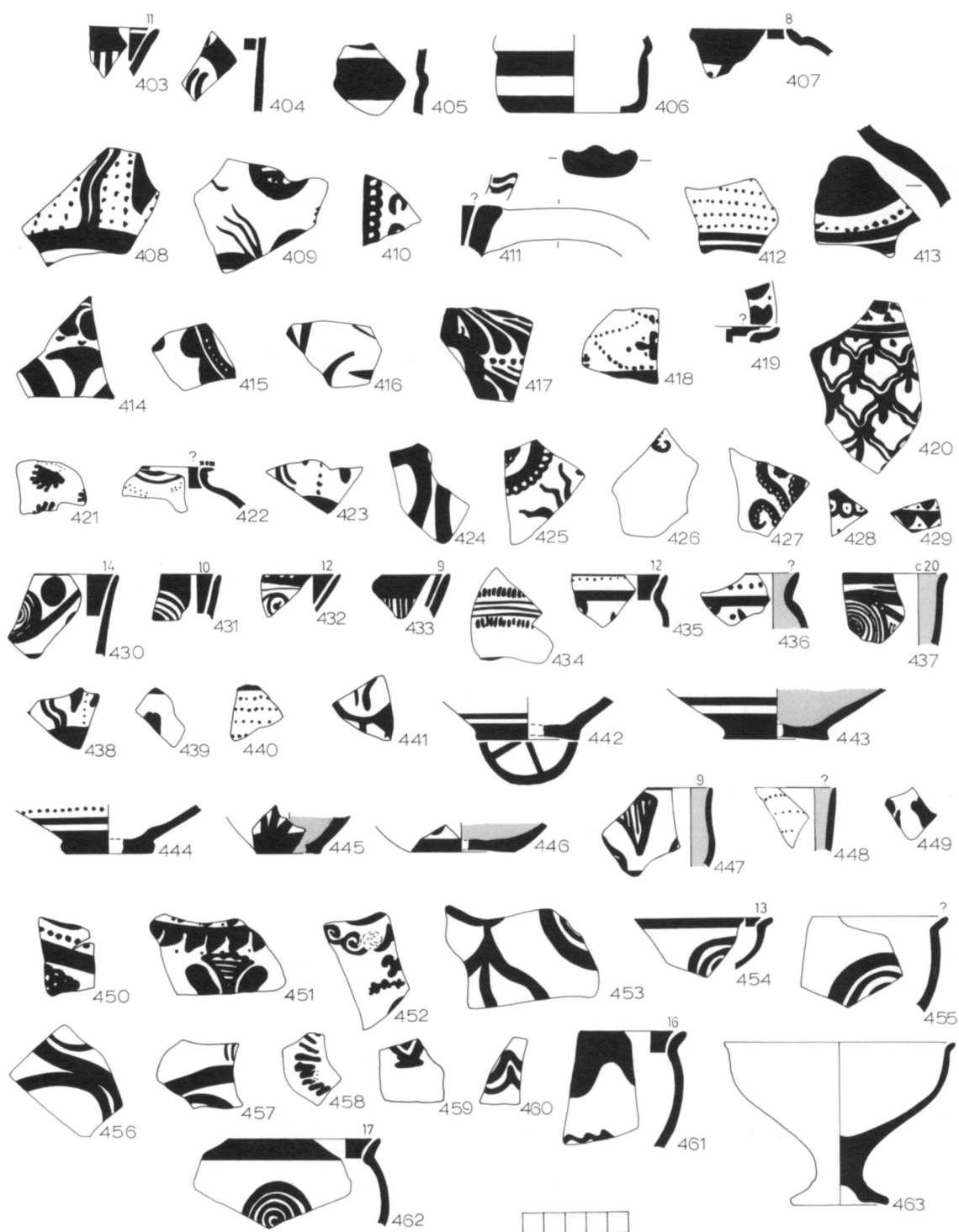


FIG. 5.25 Potsherds found out of context: LH I (nos. 403–7), LH IIA (nos. 408–49), LH IIB (nos. 450–63). Scale 1:3

- 450 Jug/ewer Grey fired pinkish; pale yellow slip, black paint. ?*FM* 42.3, patch of joining semi-circles. OLd layer 6.
 451 Jug/ewer Buff fired pinkish; buff slip, red-brown paint. *FM* 69, adder mark with *FM* 11, papyrus. OLd layer 46.
 452 Beaked jug *FS* 143 Pinkish; buff slip, orange paint. Scroll and edge of ?lily LH IIB – IIIA1. OLd layer 47.
 453 Beaked jug *FS* 143 Buff; brown-red paint. 'Tails' from edge of handle and edge of decoration ?spiral/argonaut. MLb room A layer 972.
 454 Cup, shallow *FS* 219 Pinkish; pale yellow slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 13. Spiral. NLc layer 204.
 455 Goblet, Ephyraean *FS* 254 Orange; buff slip, red to black paint. *FM* 9, lily. Space c layer 38.
 456 Goblet, Ephyraean *FS* 254 Buff; brown paint. *FM* 22, argonaut. NLc layer 216.
 457 Goblet, Ephyraean *FS* 254 Buff; brown paint. ?*FM* 14, palm I. Space V layer 11.
 458 Goblet, Ephyraean *FS* 254 Orange; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 17, rosette. NLa layer 313.
 459 Goblet, Ephyraean *FS* 254 Orange; buff slip, black paint. Chevron under handle. OLc layer 23.
 460 Goblet, Ephyraean *FS* 254 Pinkish; yellow slip, red-brown paint. ?Chevron under handle. NLb layer 414.
 461 Goblet *FS* 254 Buff; yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 16. *FM* 32.5, rock pattern with wavy line. NLc layer 214.
 462 Goblet *FS* 254 Buff; greenish-buff slip, black to brown paint. D. rim 17. ?lily. Space II layer 18.
 463 Goblet/kylix Grey fired pink, rough. D. rim 11, D. base 4.5, H. 7.8. P1512 MLb Room A layer 972.

LH IIIA1 (FIG. 5.26, PLATE 29 *b–c*)

There are many sherds from this period. One complete vase from the West Shrine has already been catalogued 18 and some half profiles from the East Shrine 53, 70, 74 as well as a few sherds from the lower levels of both shrines. The goblet is by far the commonest shape, but there are also examples of the straight-sided alabastron, mug and many sherds, mostly linear, from piriform jars. Krater and straight-sided cup sherds are scarce. The most popular patterns are scale, spirals, stipple and diaper net. Spirals and scale appear especially on goblets and piriform jars, diaper net on these shapes 465, 483 and on square-sided alabastra 470 and mugs 477, stipple on small handleless jars 469 and occasionally goblets 76. Large papyri are depicted on krater sherds 472 – 73 and a voluted flower on a piriform jar 464; one goblet 480 is decorated with a wavy band. The sherds are all made of well-levigated clay, often pinkish-buff, and many examples have a pale yellow slip and lustrous paint. As with the LH I – II material, these sherds seem to be all imported, the whole effect being one of very high quality compared to that of the LH IIB – C sherds.

- 464 Piriform jar Orange; greenish slip, shaded-brown to red paint. *FM* 9, lily. MLb Room B layer 1038.
 465 Piriform jar Buff; orange paint. *FM* 57, diaper net. NLc layer 213.
 466 Jug Buff; orange paint. *FM* 19, multiple stem. Space c layer 101.
 467 Jug Buff; black paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. OLd layer 53.
 468 Jug Greenish; black fugitive paint. Neck ridged. Space d layer 83.
 469 Jar, small handleless *FS* 77 Buff; brown paint. *FM* 77, stipple. Space a/b layer 62.
 470 Alabastron, straight sided *FS* 93 Orange; pale yellow slip, orange paint. D. rim 7. *FM* 57, diaper net. Space d layer 81.
 471 Alabastron, straight-sided *FS* 93 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 53, wavy line. Space c layer 101.
 472 Krater *FS* 6 – 7 Grey fired pink; pale yellow slip, lustrous red-brown paint. *FM* 11, papyrus. NLa layer 315.
 473 Krater *FS* 6 – 7 Grey fired pink; buff slip, black to brown paint. *FM* 11, papyrus. OLc layer 22 and Space a/b layers 50, 159.
 474 Krater *FS* 6 – 7 Buff fired pink; pale yellow slip, orange-brown paint with added white. *FM* 9, lily. OLd layer 47.
 475 Mug *FS* 225 Grey fired buff; orange paint. *FM* 77, stipple. NLc layer 258.
 476 Cup, shallow *FS* 219 Buff; black to orange paint. D. base 4. *FM* 77, stipple. NLc layer 214.
 477 Mug, *FS* 226 Whitish; lustrous orange paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 57, diaper net. Space d layer 115.
 478 Cup, straight-sided *FS* 230 Buff; orange paint. D. rim 10. Miscellaneous decoration. Space c layer 38.
 479 Cup, straight-sided *FS* 230 Pink; buff slip, brown to orange paint. ?*FM* 12, sacral ivy. Space III layer 5.
 480 Goblet *FS* 255 Buff; black to brown paint. D. rim 12. Wavy band. MLb Room B layer 1038.
 481 Goblet *FS* 255 Orange; yellow slip, orange paint. D. rim 17. *FM* 49, curve-stemmed spiral. NLc layer 221.
 482 Void.



FIG. 5.26 Potsherds found out of context: LH IIIA1. Scale 1:3

- 483** Goblet *FS* 255 Orange; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 57, diaper net. OLd layer 66.
484 Goblet *FS* 255 Grey fired orange; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 18. Spiral. NLa layer 312.
485 Goblet *FS* 255 Grey fired orange; buff slip, pale brown paint. *FM* 62, tricurved arch. NLa layer 315.
486 Goblet *FS* 255 Pinkish; buff slip, orange paint. ?curved stems. NLc layer 252.
487 Goblet *FS* 255 Grey fired deep buff; orange paint. Miscellaneous decoration. NKc/d layer 812.
488 Goblet *FS* 255 Orange; buff slip, red-orange paint. D. base 10. Space d layer 81.

LH IIIA2 (FIG. 5.27, PLATE 29 *d*)

There are remarkably few sherds assignable to this period in the shrines and only one complete vase, a stirrup jar, which has been illustrated **25**, together with some sherds from the early floor levels of the West Shrine. Nineteen further pieces from the LH IIIB – C levels are published here to give an overall picture. Very few shapes are present; the piriform and stirrup jar are the only closed shapes, while open ones consist of krater, deep bowl, cup and stemmed bowl. There is one sherd from a bowl with side-handle **504** and a second possible one **505**. The most popular patterns are tricurved arch, wavy line and whorl shells, the latter especially being used on kylikes. One very fine krater rim **491** is decorated with curve-stemmed spiral and another krater

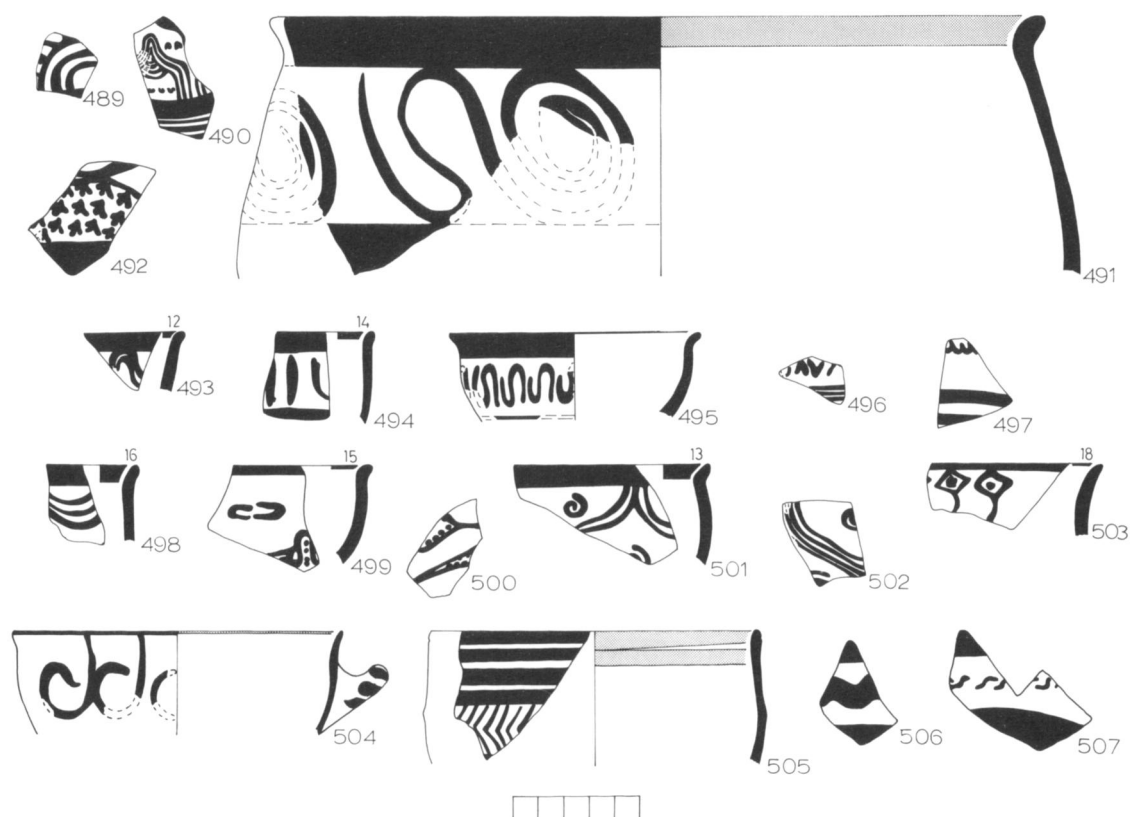


FIG. 5.27 Potsherds found out of context: LH IIIA2. Scale 1:3

fragment with figure style **492**. A cup **495** is decorated with N pattern and another **496** with V pattern; two stemmed bowls are illustrated **506**–**7**. The appearance of the clay and paint suggests that the sherds are all imported.

- 489** Piriform jar *FS* 45 Pinkish; pale yellow slip, orange-brown paint. *FM* 19, multiple stem. Space c layer 34.
- 490** Piriform jar *FS* 45 Pink fired buff; lustrous orange paint *FM* 62, tricurved arch. OLc layer 22.
- 491** Krater *FS* 7–8 Grey fired buff; brown to black paint. D. rim 30. *FS* 49 curved-stemmed spiral. MLb Room A layer 976.
- 492** Krater Buff; pale yellow slip, brown paint. Figure style. Space I layer 9.
- 493** Cup *FS* 220 Buff; orange paint. D. rim 12. ?*FM* 53, wavy line. MLb Room B layer 952.
- 494** Cup *FS* 220 Buff; red paint. D. rim 14. Miscellaneous decoration. Space I layer 56.
- 495** Cup *FS* 220 Greenish; black fugitive paint. D. rim 10. *FM* 60, N pattern. MLb East layer 17.
- 496** Cup *FS* 220 Orange; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 59, V pattern. NLc layer 217.
- 497** Cup *FS* 220 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 53, wavy line. Space d layer 115.
- 498** Kylix *FS* 257 Buff; orange paint. D. rim 16. *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles. NLc layer 216.
- 499** Kylix *FS* 257 Pinkish; yellow slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 15. *FM* 23, horizontal whorl shell with isolated semi-circle fill. Space I layer 15.
- 500** Kylix *FS* 257 Pink-buff; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 23, horizontal whorl shells. MLd layer 532.
- 501** Kylix *FS* 257 Buff fired orange; yellow slip, red-brown paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 62, tricurved arch. Space IV layer 70.
- 502** Kylix *FS* 257 Pinkish; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 62, tricurved arch. NLa layer 332.
- 503** Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; cream slip, orange to black paint. D. rim 18. *FM* 10A.7, iris derivative. Space IV layer 70.

- 504 Bowl *FS* 283 Pink; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 19, tongues. Space c layer 90.
 505 Bowl *FS* 283 Buff fired orange; buff slip, lustrous orange paint. D. rim 13. *FM* 58, horizontal chevrons. OLc layer 14.
 506 Stemmed bowl *FS* 304 Buff; red-orange paint. Wavy band. Space c layer 77.
 507 Stemmed bowl *FS* 304 Pinkish; buff slip, black to brown paint. *FM* 48, quirk. Monochrome interior. Space c layer 77.

15. LH IIIB – C Debris Layers (FIGS. 5.28 and 5.29, PLATE 30 *a* and *b*)

A few whole or partially restorable vases were recovered from these levels. They include a neck handled jug 508 decorated with added white and painted in the Pictorial Style. Only a few fragments from this vase, which was once a very fine piece, were found and the proposed reconstruction of the decoration should be treated with caution: it seems to consist of three smaller animals, possibly dogs, and one larger one, whose feet only are present, at a flying gallop. A large filling rosette gives the impression of a chariot wheel rolling downhill pursued by the large animal; a similar rosette or 'chariot wheel' appears on 135. The whole vases consist of 542 a krater whose single handle is so pushed in that the vase was called 'The Potty' by the excavation staff; its surface is so worn that it is impossible to tell whether it was painted or not; 539 a linear hydria and 543 a cooking pot similar to 379 – 80. Of the sherds illustrated 509 is decorated with a wavy line of LH IIIC type, 510 with antithetic loops which are found at Lefkandi in Phase 2a (Popham and Milburn 1971, pl. 57.1) or with a scroll decoration, 522 shows the carination which many of the dippers from the excavation exhibit while 524 has an unusually wide base for a dipper. 528 a deep bowl decorated with whorl shells probably belongs to LH IIIB₁, 530 – 31 are from LH IIIB₂ Group B deep bowls and are two of the rare sherds from this period and 535 – 38 are miscellaneous deep bowls.

- 508 Jug Orange; creamy white slip, orange paint with added white. D. rim 13.8. ?*FM* 8, dog with fill of *FM* 27, rosette. P1506 Space III layer 4, Space d layer 26, OLd layer 41, 50, 58, PLa layer 20.
 509 Jar Grey; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 53.20, wavy line. Space I layer 9.
 510 Jar Grey fired orange; whitish slip, black paint. Antithetic loops or scroll. OLd layer 59.
 511 Jar Grey fired buff; black paint. *FM* 75, panelled. OLd layer 59.
 512 Jug Grey fired orange; grey slip, black paint. D. rim 9. *FM* 75, panelled. Space III layer 5.
 513 Jug Grey; buff slip, black paint. D. rim 6. OLd layer 59.
 514 Jug Grey fired buff; black paint. ?*FM* 51, stemmed spiral. OLc layer 15.
 515 Jug Grey fired buff; black paint. *FM* 19, multiple stem. OLc layer 14.
 516 Alabastron, straight-sided *FS* 96 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 46, running spiral. NLb layer 406.
 517 Stirrup jar Buff; brown paint. D. base 4.8. OLd layer 59.
 518 Stirrup jar Grey; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled on shoulder, *FM* 53, wavy line on body. NLc layer 213 pb 1314.
 519 Krater Grey fired pinkish; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. Spiral. MLd layer 507.
 520 Krater Grey fired pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. *FM* 23, whorl shell. OLc layer 12.
 521 Mug *FS* 226 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. NLc layer 231.
 522 Dipper *FS* 236 Buff; black paint. D. rim 9. OLd layer 59.
 523 Dipper *FS* 236 Buff; orange paint. D. rim 8. NLc layer 259.
 524 Dipper *FS* 236 Orange; buff slip, orange paint. D. base 2.3. OLc layer 13.
 525 Kylix *FS* 258, 259 Buff fired pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. Zygouries type, LH IIIB₁. OLc layer 13.
 526 Kylix *FS* 258, 259 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint *FM* 75, panelled. Zygouries type, LH IIIB₁. MLd layer 508.
 527 Kylix *FS* 258, 259 Pinkish; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 23, whorl shell. OLd layer 52.

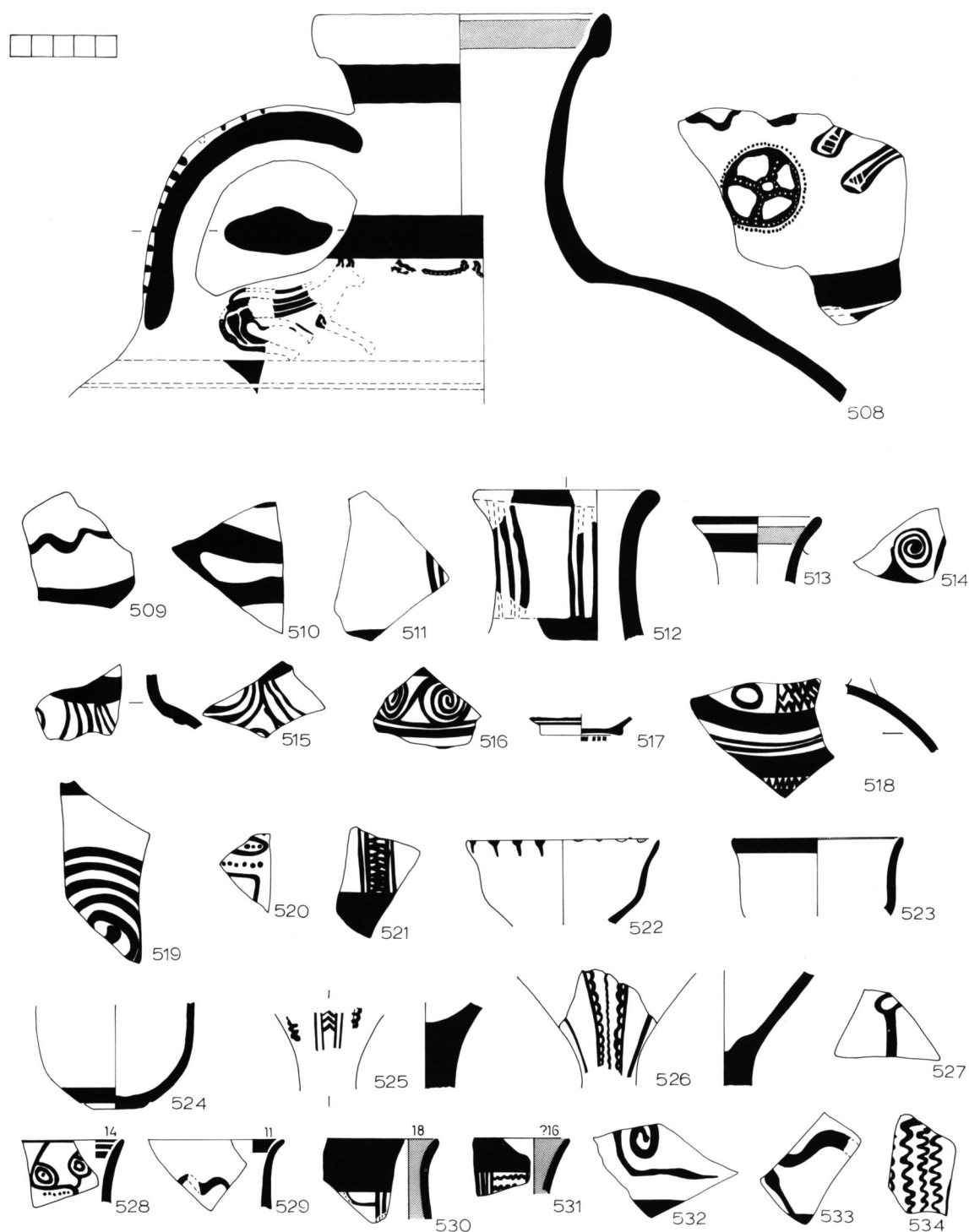


FIG. 5.28 Potsherds from the Debris layers, LH IIIB–C. Scale 1:3

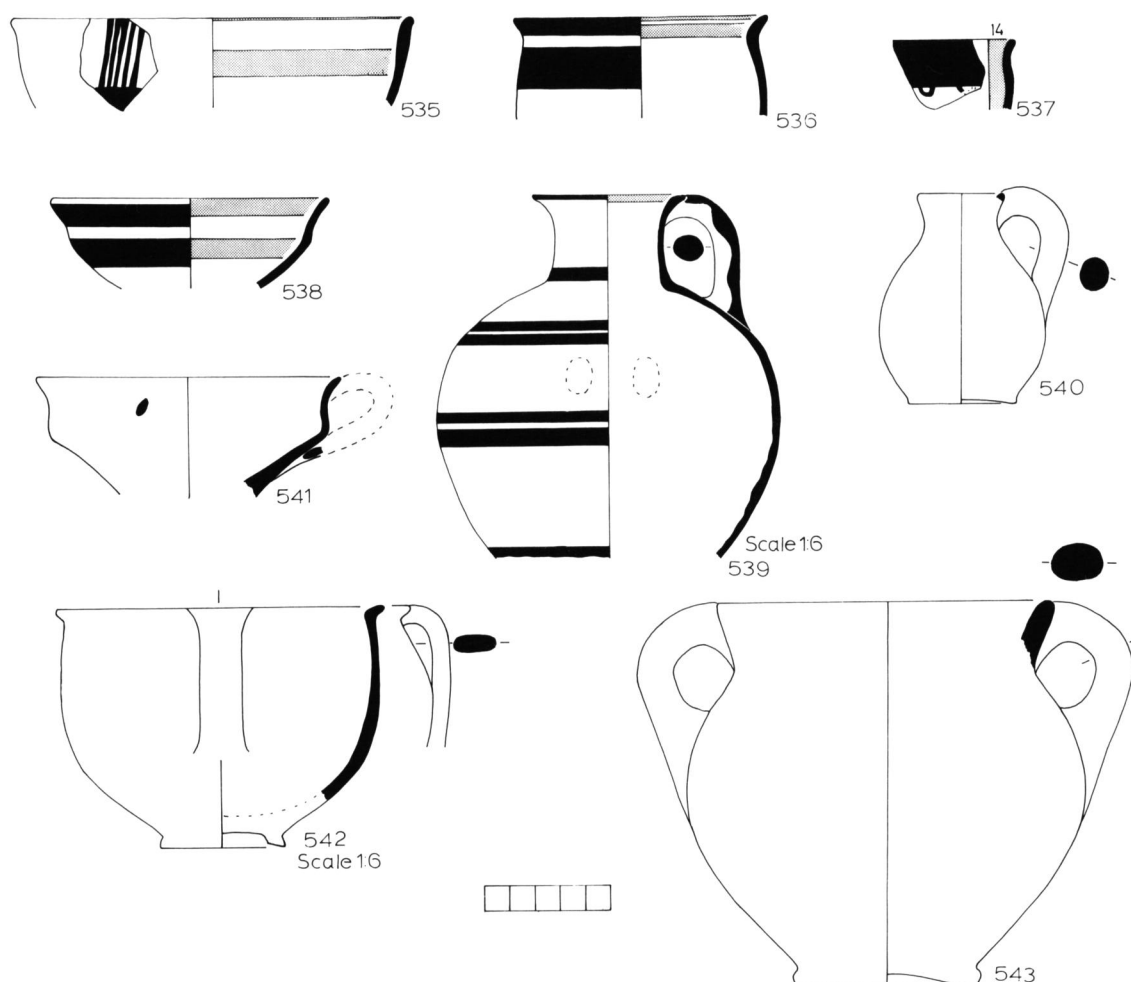


FIG. 5.29 Pottery from the Debris layers, LH IIIB–C. Scale 1:3

- 528 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Pinkish; buff slip, orange paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 23, whorl shell. OLd layer 50.
 529 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired buff; orange paint. D. rim 11. *FM* 53, wavy line. OLc layer 13.
 530 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired pink; buff slip, black paint. D. rim 18. *FM* 75, panelled. Monochrome interior. Group B. OLc layer 12.
 531 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown to black paint. D. rim ?16. *FM* 75, panelled. Monochrome interior. Group B. OLc layer 13.
 532 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 51, stemmed spiral variant. OLc layer 13.
 533 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired buff; orange paint. *FM* 53, wavy line. NLc layer 259.
 534 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Pinkish; grey slip, light brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled, triglyph of vertical wavy lines. MLd layer 508.
 535 Bowl Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 16. *FM* 75, panelled. NLa layer 314.
 536 Bowl Orange; buff surface with white wash, black paint. D. rim 10. MLb Room B layer 958.
 537 Bowl Grey; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. D. rim 14. *FM* 43, pendent semi-circles. NLc layer 213 pb 1314.
 538 Bowl Grey; black paint. D. rim 11. OLd layer 59.
 539 Hydria *FS* 129 Grey fired orange; white slip, black paint. D. rim 12. P1406 NLc layer 261.
 540 Jug Buff, rough. D. rim 5.1, D. base 4.2, H. 8.3. P663 NLb layer 434.

- 541 Kylix, carinated *FS* 267 Buff with mica, standard. D. rim 12. Splash of paint on body. P1538 NLb 422.
 542 Krater Pinkish-buff; surface worn, ?once painted. D. rim 18–26, D. base 9.8, H. 19. One-handled, very pressed in by handle. P472 NLc layer 213 pb 1316.
 543 Cooking pot Orange, burnt on side. D. rim 13.4, D. base 6.5–7, H. 15.2. NLc layer 231.

16. LH IIIB – C Surface layers (FIG. 5.30, PLATE 30 *c* and *d*)

The most interesting find is 574 an unpainted cup which is close to an example from Phase 1b at Lefkandi (Popham and Milburn 1971, 335 fig. 1.5). Other unpainted sherds include 576 a dipper with handle and 575 the lower half of a cup with a ring base. Patterned sherds include the only example of a jar with a tassel decoration recovered from the excavation 544, although this type is common at Lefkandi (*Ibid.* 335 fig. 1.7). 551 is a stirrup jar shoulder decorated with an advanced form of whorl shell and 552 is one of the few examples of a coarse ware stirrup jar. 560 is from a monochrome deep bowl with a reserved and dotted rim for which there are parallels from Korakou (Rutter 1976, 16 fig. 15.4); 572 is possibly from a linear shallow angular bowl (French 1975, 66 fig. 1); the arrangement of the bands is uncanonical but it could be a local variant.

- 544 Jar Orange; white slip, orange paint. *FM* 72, tassel. MLd layer 529.
 545 Jug Grey fired pink; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. NLa layer 332.
 546 Jug Grey fired pink; buff slip, orange paint. *FM* 75, panelled. NLa layer 305.
 547 Jug Grey; buff slip, black to brown paint. *FM* 43, pendent isolated semi-circles. MLd layer 528.
 548 Stirrup jar Grey; red to black paint. Wavy line in body zone. Space III layer 4.
 549 Stirrup jar Buff; black paint. *FM* 42, joining semi-circles on shoulder. Space III layer 4.
 550 Stirrup jar Grey; buff slip, shaded-brown paint. ?*FM* 73, lozenge on shoulder. Space III layer 4.
 551 Stirrup jar Buff; pale yellow slip, shaded-brown paint. *FM* 23, whorl shell. OLd layer 41.
 552 Stirrup jar Buff with grits; red-brown paint. D. rim 6. OLd layer 14.
 553 Krater *FS* 281 Grey; buff slip, black to brown paint. D. rim 22. Edge of panel. OLd layer 14.
 554 Krater Grey; black paint. *FM* 43, pendent isolated semi-circles. NKc/d layer 802.
 555 Krater Grey fired pink; buff slip, brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. NLc layer 227.
 556 Krater Grey fired pink; grey slip, black paint. *FM* 74, panelled with half-rosette. NLa layer 303.
 557 Kylix *FS* 258, 259 Buff; orange-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled. Zygouries type, LH IIIB1. NLa layer 310.
 558 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 16. Edge of spiral. NLc layer 227.
 559 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 60, N pattern with wavy line. Monochrome interior. NLc layer 227.
 560 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Orange; buff slip, red-orange paint. D. rim 12. Monochrome with reserved and dotted rim. Space III layer 4.
 561 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; black paint. *FM* 25, bivalve. Space III layer 4.
 562 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; orange paint. *FM* 27, rosette. Monochrome interior. NLa layer 310.
 563 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Pinkish-buff; red paint. *FM* 27, rosette. Monochrome interior. NLa layer 310.
 564 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired buff; black to shaded-brown paint. Panelled with *FM* 43, pendent isolated semi-circles. Monochrome interior. NLc layer 227.
 565 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey fired pink; buff slip, red-brown paint. *FM* 48, quirk. NKc/d layer 802.
 566 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; red-brown paint. ?Antithetic spiral. NLc layer 227.
 567 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Orange; buff slip, brown paint. *FM* 74, triglyph and half-rosette. MLd layer 530.
 568 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Buff; shaded-brown paint. *FM* 75, panelled; triglyph with *FM* 48, quirk. Space III layer 4.
 569 Deep bowl *FS* 284 Grey; black to orange paint. D. rim 15. MLd layer 533.
 570 Feeding bottle *FS* 160/161 Buff; black paint. D. rim 4. NLa layer 332.
 571 Bowl Grey fired buff; orange-brown paint. D. rim 28. Zigzag on rim. NLa layer 303.
 572 Bowl *FS* 295 Buff; shaded-brown paint. D. rim 18. MLd layer 514.
 573 Deep conical bowl *FS* 290 Greyish; buff slip, black paint. D. base 12. NLa layer 332.
 574 Cup *FS* 217 Buff, standard, burnt outside. D. rim 11.2, D. base 3.4, H. 8–8.2. P460 NLa layer 307.
 575 Cup Grey fired deep buff, polished. D. base 5. OLd layer 45.
 576 Dipper *FS* 236 Grey fired pink-buff, standard. MLb East layer 16.



FIG. 5.30 Pottery from the surface layers, LH IIIB–C. Scale 1:3

Acknowledgements: I should like to thank Professor C. Renfrew for offering me the opportunity to work on his material, Dr O. Dickinson, Dr C. Mee and Mr M. Popham for much helpful discussion, and Dr K. Kilian for allowing me access to his unpublished material from the Tiryns excavations for purposes of comparison. I am especially grateful to Dr E. French who read and criticised the chapter in manuscript, which was completed apart from minor revisions, in 1978.

Chapter VI

The Figures and Figurines*

by Elizabeth French

The figurines (and figures, as defined French 1981a) from the Phylakopi shrines are essentially individual, though related to the standard mainland types. It has thus been decided to discuss them in the following order rather than that usually employed:

- Female figures
- Male figures
- Female figurines
- Bovine figures
- Group figurines: Chariot groups
- Driven oxen
- Furniture and seated figurines
- Animal figurines
- Miscellaneous

Discussion in this section is typological and concerns the character of the figurines. Discussion of the interpretation of the figurines in their assemblage or context is found in Chapter IX.

Some of the figurines are clearly imported and of well-known fabrics. Many however have been assigned to local origin. In these two fabrics predominate. The most obvious is a fine dark buff clay on which the paint appears very dark and lustrous almost purple in tone. This fabric is very noticeable in the pottery also. The surface finish is good though it is not clear whether it is produced by a slip or wash or by burnishing. The second fabric is lighter in colour and appears more sandy. There is no obvious surface finish; the clay is porous and the paint appears matt as a result.

One animal figurine (SF 767) is in a quite different fabric, a bright red micaceous clay covered with a creamy white slip with patterns in red. The fabric seems to be that of earlier figurines from Kea, though these are not as well preserved and their surface treatment is hard to distinguish. Micaceous red clay is certainly more typical of Kea; it is not native to Melos.

The final shaping of the figures particularly of the first fabric group is often by very obvious tooling. I have not observed this tooling on figures from any other site.

The larger figures are elaborately made using the techniques of the potter. Many pieces are turned on the wheel (sometimes as if pieces of actual pots, e.g. SF 850 is composed of parts of a Stirrup Jar) and then combined with others, handmade, to complete a figure. The heavy emphasis on firing holes, so noticeable in the larger figures from Mycenae, does not occur. It is not in general a feature of bovids and this might indicate that they are of a different inspiration to the human figures.

* My thanks are due to the German Archaeological Institute for permission to use the male figure from Tiryns found by the Anastylis service and now in the custody of the Institute, to the late Professor J. L. Caskey and to Miriam Caskey for showing me the figurines and figures from Kea and to Mervyn Popham for keeping me informed about figurine finds from his excavations at both Lefkandi and Knossos and allowing me to mention them and for his very constructive comments on the Lady of Phylakopi.



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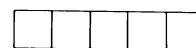


FIG. 6.1 Female figurines. Scale 1:2

The more complex figurines and figures are illustrated by a series of drawings by Miss Jenny Moody.

Details and other pieces more fragmentary or less elaborate are illustrated by photographs. As these are examples of a unique kind the catalogue has been compiled to give maximum detail even for well illustrated pieces. At least one original measurement is given for each. The original *locus* has been assigned as the lowest stratigraphically in each case. An asterisk in the catalogue indicates that the piece is listed in the analysis of join linkages in Appendix B.

1. Female Figures and Related Pieces

Three known types of female figures were found in the sanctuary area and there is also one extraordinary and unparalleled example (SF 2658). The first group resemble female figures and figurines from Crete where the body is made separately and mounted on a cylindrical base, the so-called 'bell-skirt'. The second group are pots on which arms are applied and a head and neck substituted for the neck of the pot. Two almost complete examples of this type are known from Mycenae (Taylour 1970 PL XXXIX c; Mylonas 1975, fig 91) and others will doubtless be identified now that the type is isolated. The third group from Phylakopi consists of figures with a tall cylindrical or conical stem topped by a rounded or pinched body and an elaborate head. The stem is wheel or coil made; the accessory parts are made separately and applied. The examples from Phylakopi do not have firing holes and thus resemble the smaller figures of type from the mainland (French 1981b). There is no consistency in arm position or angle of the head (where these features are preserved). Fragments of this type were found in the earlier excavations (Nos. 1, 4, 5 below), and the group are now well known from the mainland (see the FIG. 10.1).

It must be noted that there is no evidence that some of these figures are female but their relationship to the female figures makes their discussion in this section convenient, and I personally believe that Mycenaean figures were intended to be female (or at least human) in all cases where explicit male attributes are not shown (French 1981b). It is important to note that all the human figures which are probably female come from the West Shrine or areas of debris related to the West Shrine through other categories of find, except SF 2275 which is only a very small plait fragment.

It is perhaps useful to consider the unusual figure before the others. SF 2658 (FIG. 6.3, PLATE 34 d) was found in Room A immediately beside the figure SF 2660 which must, I think, have been the main feature of the S half of the West Shrine when the Shrine was built. SF 2658 is unique, of poorly baked local fabric on which only slight traces of paint are preserved. The arm position cannot be ascertained. Most unusual of all is the applied inverted 'U' on the front of the skirt which probably represents the female genitalia. I know of no parallels for this among Mycenaean figures and the normal representation on Near Eastern figures of this period is quite different. This explicit sexual attribution must be remembered in discussion of the function of the areas of the West Shrine. It should be noted that unique rough and unparalleled figures were also found in each of two other shrines: the shrine of the Double Axes (Evans 1921, 52 fig. 14; 1928, 342 and n.5) and Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 212).

The most conventional of the Cretan group is SF 520 (PLATE 38 d) which has a solid triangular body. Though we have no evidence below the waist this probably fitted by means of a tang into a wheelmade base (best illustrated by the figure from Phaestos, Pernier 1902, fig. 52:3a,b). There is a better preserved example of the type from the earlier excavations (N.M. 5850, Phylakopi 1904, pl. 39:16) and similar bodies exist on the mainland but are rare (French 1961, fig. 33:1,2; French 1971, 135, 137). I suggest that the lower bodies for all these were of the bell-skirt type (cf.

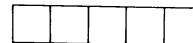


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2007

FIG. 6.2 Female figurines. Scale 1:2



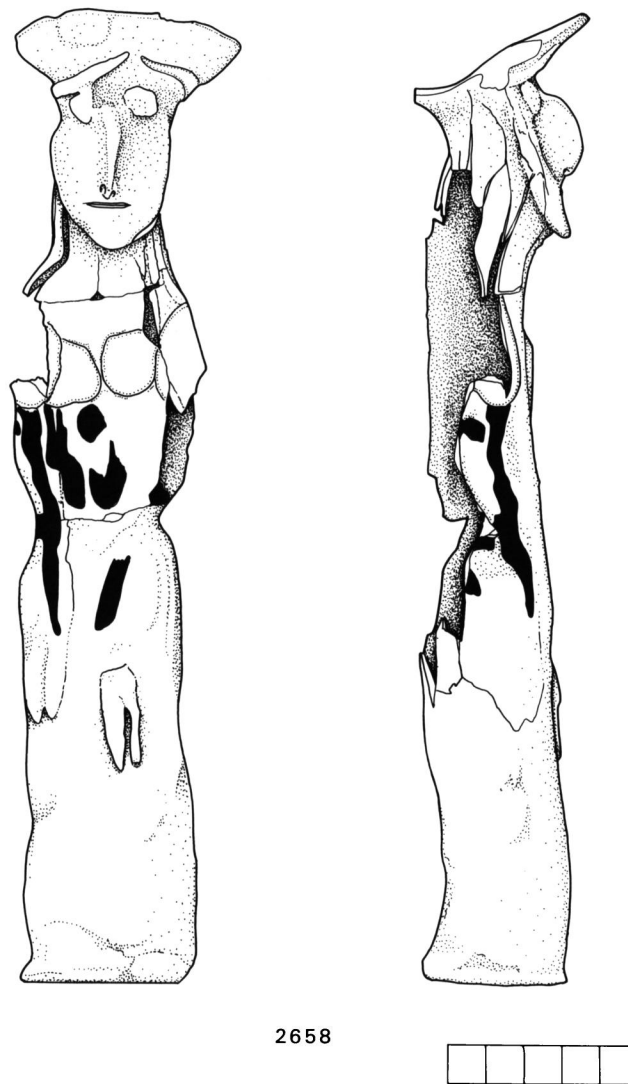


FIG. 6.3 Female figure. Scale 1:2

Evans 1928, fig. 193). SF 2661 (FIG. 6.7) from Room A is a particularly interesting hybrid. In outline it belongs to this group, particularly the side profile, but it is made in one piece. It is a local product in the same sandy fabric as the figurines (with wheelmade stems) SF 1521 and 2007. The arms appear to have been uneven. The decoration is, of course, similar to that of early mainland figurines. It is probable that the apparently unpainted SF 583 (FIG. 6.8, PLATE 33 *c*) from Assemblage K was also of the 'Cretan' type. It seems to have been mounted and a bell-skirt seems likely. The left hand rested on or near the breast. It could well be an earlier pose of a type similar to the larger figures from Gazi discussed below (Chapters IX, X) some of which are unpainted.



FIG. 6.4 Female figure: the Lady of Phylakopi. Scale 1:3

The ugly head SF 2691 (PLATE 32 *c*) from the niche by Room A comes from the early version of the mainland type in which a head is placed on a vessel-shaped body and plastic arms are attached to the shoulder. The Phylakopi example is locally made but possibly of similar date to the Mycenae examples cited above (i.e. LH IIIA_{1/2}). This would put it very early in the locally made series and would be of considerable interest. The modelling of the head is very awkward (in contrast to that of the other local head SF 2672) as the major features including the chin are all applied. SF 2679 from the floor make up of Room A is the arm fragment probably of another example of this pot type as is SF 1083 from the Debris.

The other figures can be assigned to the third group. Two pieces are almost certainly imported, the fragment SF 2274 from the make up of the East Shrine floor (phase o/2a) and the main figure, the Lady, SF 2660. The others are of dark fabric and presumably of local manufacture.

The figure SF 2660 (FIG. 6.4, PLATE 31) is of outstanding quality and the surface is well preserved. The fabric, the type of pattern and the use of designs in white paint on a red band seem to indicate a date in LH IIIA₂ early and in a stylistic series the figure can be considered between the LH IIIA₁ piriform figures from Mycenae (Taylour 1970, PL XXXIX *c*; Mylonas 1975 fig. 91) and the small LH IIIA₂ late figure from there (Taylour 1969, PL XIII *c*).

The date and place of manufacture of this figure are obviously of considerable importance but without clay analysis objective evidence is not available. The fabric is visually very close to that of the Argolid but other fabrics often resemble the central group which was presumably the standard aimed at. A detailed study of the pattern types and methods of decoration has been carried out and I am grateful for the help of Mr Mervyn Popham who has called my attention to the Cretan parallels. Unfortunately there are no groups of Argolid pottery of the period LH IIIA_{2e} and the mainland parallels are thus less satisfactory than the Cretan.

The Zigzag in the horizontal form used on the body and the top of the stem is very frequent in Crete and particularly in this form. Popham illustrates many examples from Knossos (1970, pl 37a, 42b). I do not know any early example from the mainland. The vertical version however that occurs in two forms on the lower stem is unparalleled in both places. I feel that the alternating black and white effect recalls the Curved Stripe motive (FM 67) (and to some extent the Wavy Border, FM 65) which is very common on the mainland in LH IIIA₁ and 2e. In zones it is used on conical rhyta and the stem of this figure is clearly decorated in the same way as a rhyton.

The Rock Pattern (FM 32) in this form as a border design is frequent on the mainland from LH IIB (on alabastra and goblets) to IIIA₂ (on alabastra and spouted cups). There are examples on Crete (Popham 1970, pl. 1b and 9d).

The use of dots in white and of simple patterns in thick white paint begins in LH IIIA_{2e} on the mainland and is extremely common. Some well preserved examples have been published from Thebes (Symeonoglu 1973, 32f). Popham (pers. comm.) does not know this feature on Crete at this time, though there is evidence for added white in LM IIIC as in LH IIIC.

On balance I think that this figure can be considered a mainland, probably Argive, product of LH IIIA_{2e} on the basis of its fabric, the use of this type of white paint and its position in the series of female figurines from this region already known. I would emphasise however that this phase is one in which there are very close links between the mainland and Knossos and new discoveries or scientific tests may overthrow this opinion, which is, to a considerable extent, subjective.

I believe that the acquisition of this figure is contemporary with the building of the West Shrine and that she would have been the central figure of its south section. Perhaps this imported figure was found insufficiently female when she arrived and the local crude figure was placed

beside her to accentuate the sex at a period when a local tradition for the manufacture of larger figures was not yet established. The crude figure SF 2658 may however be much older. It seems unlikely to be later when local manufacture of figures and figurines was well established.

Lack of sexual accentuation is common in the mainland figures (cf. the discussion as to the sex of the Mycenae figures, Taylour 1969, 92; 1970, 277f.) in contrast to the more life-like character of the earlier ladies from Ag. Irini on Kea (Caskey 1964, pl. 57–61). As so often, the hands of SF 2660 are missing but must have been extended in some way; there is no way of guessing what the hand position might have been. It must be noted that the hand of a similar figure was found in the earlier excavations (No. 5 PLATE 48 *f–g*), as also an arm (No. 4).

Also in Room A was the slightly larger head, SF 2672 (FIG. 6.5, PLATE 34 *b*), of local manufacture. The shape of the face, nose and chin and the angle of the head compare closely with SF 2660 as with other large figures (e.g. Taylour 1969, pls XII, XIII; 1970, pl XXXIX *c*); the painting of the hair is simplified and there is only a single plait and no polos. The chin is however painted. There is no indication of sex on this figure but it is discussed here because of its relation to SF 2660. It has now become clear that a heavily modelled or painted chin is not an indication of a beard and that the 'Lord of Asine' (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 211) and the 'bearded Aphrodite' in Cyprus (Nicolaou 1964, Pl IV) are probably female. A shoulder piece, SF 773, of a pinched-bodied figure (cf. Taylour 1969, pl XII *c* and *d*) matches well with this head. It was found in a late phase of the street deposit. The two are illustrated together in PLATE 34 *a*. Two other matching fragments (SF 1090 and 768, FIG. 6.6) are from a similar figure.

The important factors of the group of human figures seem to be diversity, with relations to both Crete and the mainland, and a strong individuality in local styles which combine and adapt features taken from mainstream types. This individuality makes it difficult in almost every case to suggest a date of manufacture but it seems quite clear that several of the figures belong to the earliest periods of the use of the West Shrine and that all must antedate the collapse.

SF 520 (PLATE 38 *d*)

Female figure, body only, broken.

H. (ex.) 6; W. (ex.) 7; Di. (waist) 2.6

Grey clay with large inclusions, fired pink; pale buff slip; smoothed surface; red brown paint; local.

Thick triangular body with arms rather low set; applied breasts; probably solid painted.

OLd layer 65, Street and Courtyard? (Phase 2a/3c)

SF 583 (FIG. 6.8 and PLATE 33 *c–d*)

?Female figure, torso only.

H. (ex.) 14; Di. (base?) 13; Th. (body) 0.9

Buff clay with grey core (slightly pinker in than out) with many inclusions; tooled and smoothed surface; unpainted; local.

Wheelmade cylinder with added flattened base; additional ?base perhaps extending into more elaborated feature beneath; top pinched and pulled into arms (not preserved); applied hand at left perhaps on breast.

NLd space 3, layer 24, Assemblage K.



2672

FIG. 6.5 Female figure. Scale 1:2

SF 768 (FIG. 6.6)

?Human figure, base only.

H. (ex.) 5.3; Di. (base) 6.3; Di. (stem) 3.9; Th. 1

Grey core, fired dark buff; hard; lustrous surface where preserved but not apparently slipped; dark brown to black paint; local.

Cylinder spreading slightly toward base, wheelmade; flattened base extending both outside and inside cylinder though central hole preserved.

Broad band at base, vertical lines above.

Lower body of SF 1090 or similar.

NLe space c, layer 49, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

SF 773 (PLATE 34 a)

Female figure, right shoulder only.

H. (ex.) 10; W. (ex.) 10; D. (just below breast) 6.5

Very hard grey clay, fired pale pink; surface smoothed and ?polished (now worn and pitted); dark brown slightly lustrous paint; local.

Top of wheelmade cylinder pinched to close and form shoulder; applied disk breast; thin arm, position uncertain; clay join for overlapping head/neck.

Breast solid painted; otherwise design on front unclear; three vertical bands on back beside arm of which the outer runs up the arm; one or more wavy vertical bands in a zone on the centre back (?derived from plait).

Cf. head SF 2672

NLe space c, layer 49, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

SF 1083 (PLATE 33 i-j)

?Human figure, shoulder only.

H. (ex.) 4.9; W. (ex.) 3.6; W. (arm) 1.6

Orange clay, fired buff on outer surface; tooled and lightly polished; matt red paint at neck; origin uncertain.

Arm applied to shoulder of pot-like vessel; wheelmarks inside and typical curve; sharply angled shoulder, bulge at 'elbow', broken below. The bulge might indicate a bovid tail but the angle of application and the paint make this unlikely.

Ring of paint at neck. Otherwise apparently unpainted in this section.

NLc layer 213 pb 1314, Surface/Debris

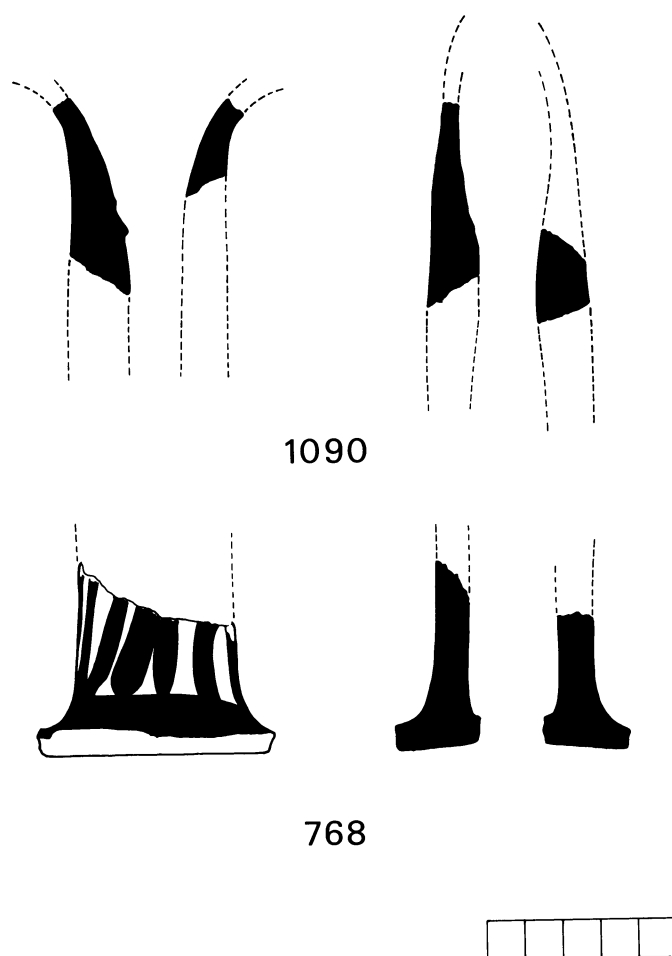


FIG. 6.6 Female figures. Scale 1:2

SF 1090 (FIG. 6.6)

?Human figure, top of stem and start of shoulders only.

H. (ex.) 7; Di. (stem) 3.9; Th. (stem) 1.3; W. (ex.) 4.8

Grey core, fired dark buff; surface once lustrous; brown paint; local.

Cylindrical stem, pulled out into two arms and pinched (?slightly uneven in level); wheelmade; ringed horizontally.

Upper part of SF 768 or similar.

NLc layer 213 pb 1316, Surface/Debris.

SF 2274 (PLATE 33 *g-h*)

Figure, ?female, shoulder fragment only.

L. (ex.) 4.3; Di. (arm) 2; Th. (body) 0.5

Pink clay, buff slip; polished surface; shaded very dark brown paint; ?imported.

?Globular body, hollow; ?handmade; pulled up into curving arm which may have been added and smoothed on, though little trace of this remains.

Irregular horizontal lines on body; cross lines on arm.

NLd space 1, layer 66, East Shrine (Phase o/2a)

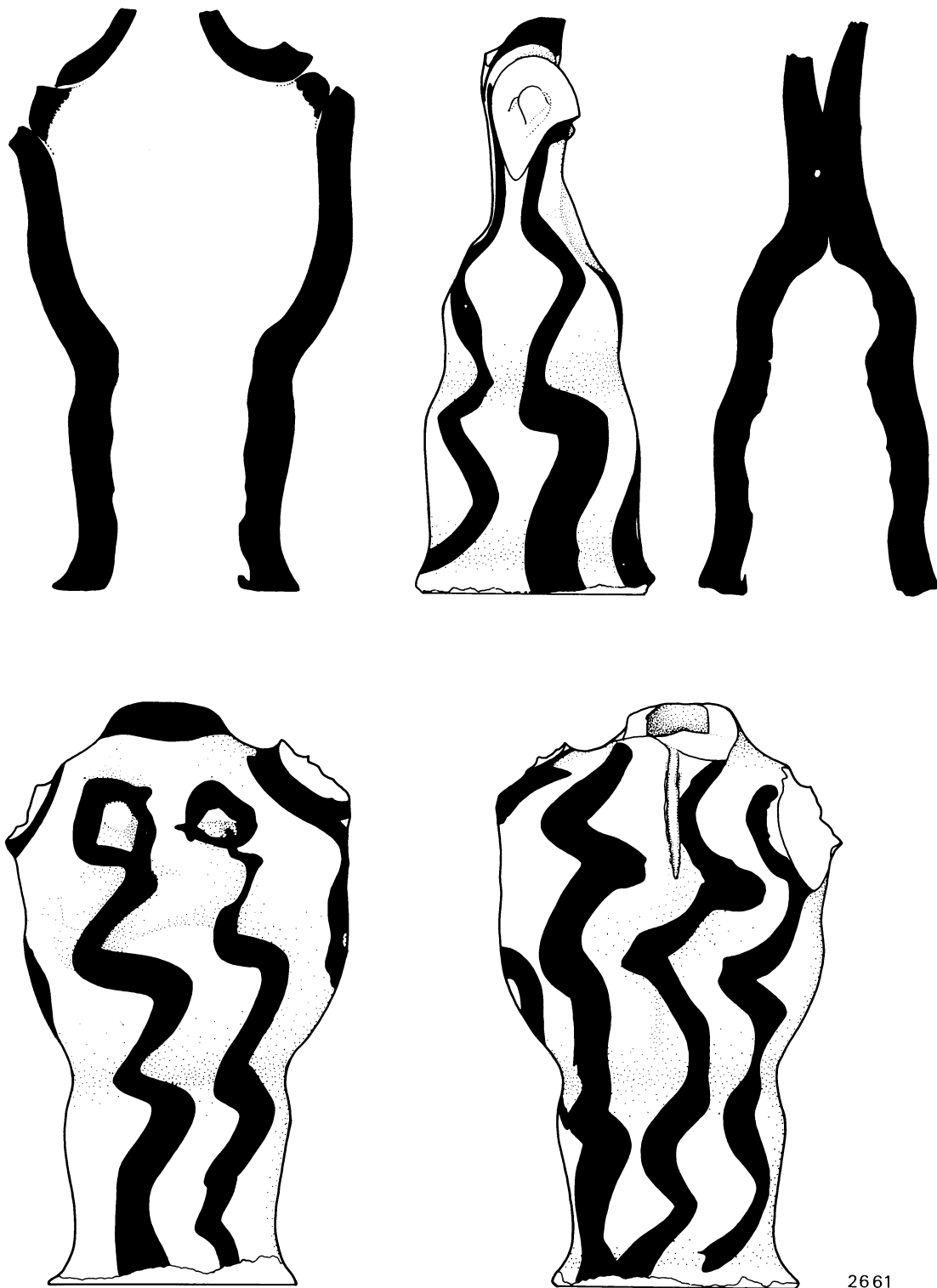
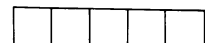
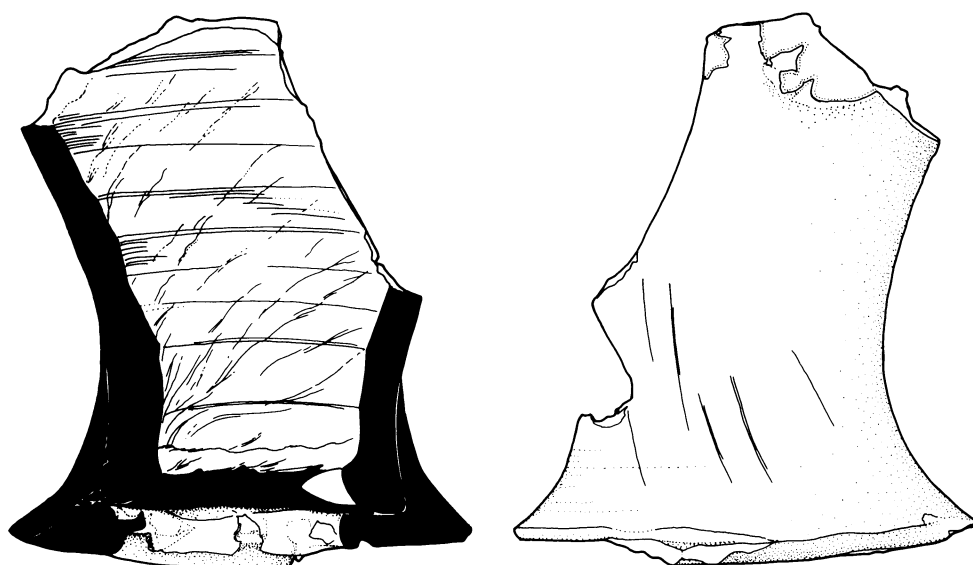


FIG. 6.7 Female figure. Scale 1:2





583

FIG. 6.8 Female figure. Scale 1:2

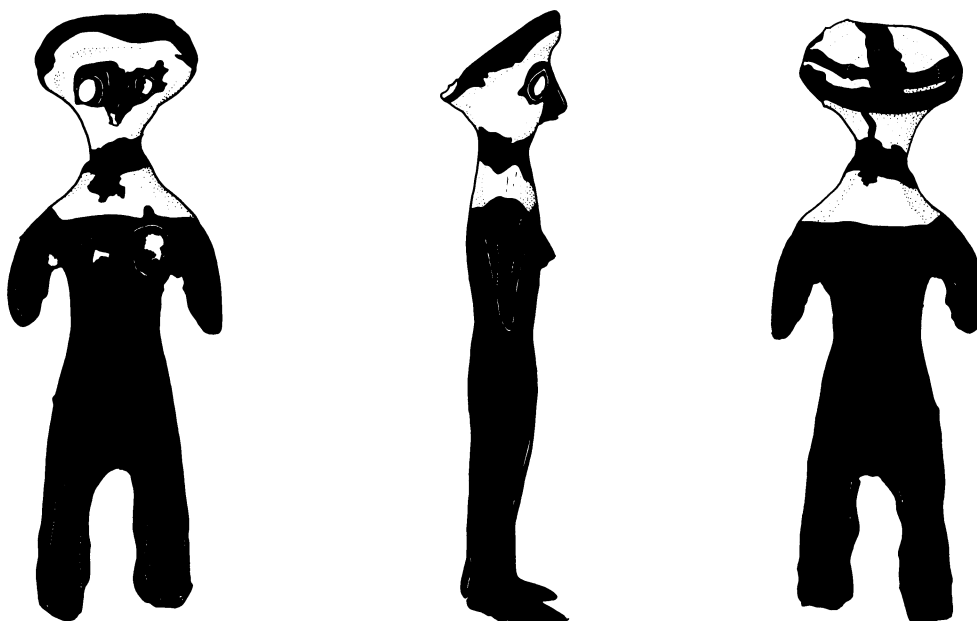
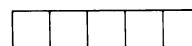


FIG. 6.9 Female figurine. Scale 1:2

2015



SF 2658 (FIG. 6.3, PLATE 34 *d-e*)

Female figure, arms missing, very poor condition.

H. 25.5; W. (at base) 4.5; D. (at base) 3.8

Grey core, pinkish dark buff clay, very lightly fired; tooled and lightly burnished surface; brown paint almost totally obscured; ?local.

Cylindrical lower body with slight flare behind at bottom so that the figure will stand; applied reversed 'U' of clay on front (?sex symbol); narrowed waist; flattened upper body; applied arms perhaps extending forwards and upwards; applied breasts now missing; heavy chin, incised mouth and nostrils; sharply pinched nose; applied eyes; broad thin polos; applied ?locks on front under edge of polos.

Lines on front of body; no other decoration distinguishable.

MLb layer 961, Assemblage C

***SF 2660** (FIG. 6.4, PLATES 31, 32 *a*, 33 *a-b* and Frontispiece)

Female figure, arms broken

H. 45; W. (body ex.) 11; W. (head) 8; Di. (head) 8.5; Di. (base) 11

Fine buff clay; well polished surface; deep red paint; thick added white paint; imported.

Conical stem, thick coil-made with slight base; bulbous wheelmade body with small plastic breasts; arms attached plastically with no plug, rising like handles; thin neck inserted with plastic ridge to hide join; head basically wheelmade with applied features: pointed chin, well-made nose, plastic eyes plastic ears; top of polos pinched with finger impressions showing and emphasised; plait starting from top of head and made of two twisted strands from base of neck to waist.

Vertical stick marks on inside of lower stem (?from propping during manufacture); coil marks in upper stem; wheelmarks on body and neck. Hole at top of head and false hole beside it. Twig marks on inside of neck from top to bottom.

Band above base; Rock Pattern I; monochrome broad band with, in white, 'V' at centre and row of dots at top and bottom; zone of panelled vertical Zigzags using solid and reserved systems; three thin bands; further Zigzags similar but more extended horizontally; monochrome broad band topped by Rock Pattern with, in white, Quirk in middle and rows of dots at top and bottom; zone of horizontal Zigzag; two thin bands; at base of body: Rock Pattern; zone of Zigzag at breast level with arms rising from it; row of red dots below neck ring; Rock Pattern above neck ring; row of dots, thin band, Quirk, Rock Pattern at top of neck.

Chin solid painted with outline line; reserved (and incised) mouth; solid painted nose; eyes solid centred with lashes above and below; eyebrows; solid painted curves on ears; waves of hair with dots outlining them; solid painted area of hair on back of head; lines on lower plait; inner edge of polos solid but now worn.

MLb layer 961, Assemblage C

SF 2661 (FIG. 6.7)

Female figure, head and arms missing.

H. (ex.) 18; W. (body) 10.2; Di. (base) 7.8; Th. (at neck break) 0.7

Pink clay with small black grits, hard fired; buff slip, matt; no surface finish visible; red brown paint, matt; ?local.

Wheelmade cylinder, flattened at base to stand; marks of straw on base. Irregular pinching to form waist; flattened body (hold of fingers from pinching clear); applied small breasts and short plait (clay join only preserved); arms and head made separately and applied over plug; position of arms uncertain.

Breasts, arms and neck ringed; two wavy lines on front, three on back and one under each arm.

MLb layer 963, Assemblage C

SF 2672 (FIG. 6.5, PLATE 34 *a-b*)

?Female figure, head only.

H. (ex.) 8; W. 7; Di. 8.5. Thickness of fabric at neck 1.5

Hard grey clay with slight inclusions; pale buff slip; dark brown paint; local

Basic ovoid with added features: pointed chin, plastic mouth, pointed nose, plastic eyes (one missing), simple plastic ears, applied plait from top of head to base of neck, ridged eyebrows.

Solid painted chin, line at mouth, band along flattened top of nose, eyes probably solid painted; lines on eyebrows, solid paint inside ears; two fine wavy lines down either side of face, one down each side of nose to corners of mouth and one down each side of nose itself; two fine wavy lines across forehead; three bands starting on top of head and running down each side; solid paint on plait.

Cf. shoulder, SF 773.

MLb layer 970, Assemblage C

SF 2679 (PLATE 33 *e-f*)

Human figure, right shoulder and arm only, hand missing.

L. 10; W. (ex.) 6; Th. (arm at elbow) 1.5

Fine grey clay, fired deep orange buff, orange red paint slightly lustrous; origin uncertain.

Arm curving from shoulder with angular elbow.

Curved clay join at shoulder which could be either vertical making Phi type arm or horizontal attached to shoulder of 'vessel' type figure. Flat strip of clay under wrist, either the other arm or a support of some kind.

Irregular red bars of paint across arm.

MLb layer 972, Room A (Phase 1b/2a)

SF 2691 (PLATE 32 *c-d*)

Human figure, head only and start of left arm.

H. (ex.) 14.3; W. (head) 12; D. (head) 12

Grey clay with a little largish grit; fired bright pink in and out; well smoothed surface; red brown paint; local.

Vessel-like body with neck and bulbous head; added features; start of applied left arm; applied band running up either side of body behind arm and over top of head (halo); applied sharply pointed chin; applied beaky nose; applied upside down 'U' curved ears; applied eyes in indentations; applied plait from top of head to break at back of neck. Apparently handmade, or at least as visible in neck/shoulder area.

Spirals on back; front zonal pattern not clear; double ladder on arm; spreading diagonals with central pendant on front of neck; solid paint on actual face and bands; curved lines on chin; straight lines down forehead; two zones on back of head, lower with vertical lines, upper with Chevron/Multiple Stem.

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C, Niche.

Female figures, plait fragments:

SF 2251

Fragment of lower plait only

L. (ex.) 2.15; W. 0.8

Fabric almost identical with that of SF 2661 but not apparently from this figure which had a straight plait.

Curve with clay join behind; lowest end of plait curl.

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C, Niche

SF 2275

Similar fragment

L. (ex.) 2.7; W. 0.5

Dark buff clay; smoothed; brown paint; local.

As above but straighter.

OLc layer 22, Assemblage L

2. Male figures (PLATES 35–7)

The presence in the sanctuaries at Phylakopi of figures with clearly indicated male attributes is the single most unusual factor in the evidence. On the mainland previously only two fragments of male figurines were known: a fragmentary male of small size but elaborate decoration is known from the Acropolis (French 1971, 148; Casson 1921, 345) and one is mentioned from the sanctuary at Hagia Triada near Zygouries (with one hundred female examples: Karo 1913, 116; 1935: 600). More recently a large example has been identified from Tiryns (unstratified West Wall deposit; FIG. 6.10 and PLATE 37 *e–h*). It comes from a large (about half lifesize) wheelmade figure which shows an erect penis held in the right hand in the gesture of the figure from near Larisa (Wace and Thompson 1912, Fig. 30). There is an orifice and the figure may have served as a rhyton or been used in some realistic ritual. It is generally supposed that the figures in chariots etc. wearing conical helmets or hats are male, on analogy with the bronze figures of the 'smiting' god in similar headgear. These charioteer figures are extremely abbreviated and there is no explicit sexual indication. It may be noted that some of these wear a polos and would on this analogy have to be considered female.

From Assemblage D of the East Shrine there is a fragment SF 817 (FIG. 6.11) of a small locally made and apparently unpainted figurine which may possibly have been male. No other male figures came from the East Shrine, and this fragment is thus of unusual importance. If accepted as male, it would be an indication of the duplication of offerings seen in other types of figure; if it is rejected then males are unique to the West Shrine. This piece may be compared with a rough unpainted male figure from a good LH IIIC context at Lefkandi which I had originally considered to be pre-Mycenaean. It is however possible that male figures may prove more widespread in LH IIIC than now appears.

From the West Shrine there are two assemblages with male figures. From Assemblage A are two figures (SF 1553 and 2340) and the arm of a third (SF 1550). (The figure itself was found at a higher level and thus offers one definite example of re-use in a subsequent phase). SF 1553 (FIG. 6.12) is the most elaborately painted of the male figures, and has a zone of diagonal cross-hatching on both front and back. Small plastic breasts are shown irregularly in a reserved zone. The body is slightly elongated and is unrealistically flattened though other details like elbows and knees are realistic. The legs were not found with the body but came from a later deposit in the street. Unfortunately the base and the prop which attached to the buttocks were not found. The arms extend forward, the right further than the left. Each hand is tightly curled and has incised fingers. There is a clay join on the top of the left hand. If something were carried on the left this might account for the greater reserved area of the chest on this side. This figure strongly resembles the centaur from Lefkandi (Desborough et al. 1970) both in pose and decoration and the possibility was considered that this might be a centaur. The human legs and genitals might seem to rule this out, but there is a centaur from Cyprus (Tatton-Brown 1979, no. 290) with two sets of genitals.

SF 2340 (FIG. 6.12) appears bigger and is rather ill proportioned; the surface is eroded and it is very difficult to tell what the original decoration was. Apparently clear are curls on the back of the neck below a pointed cap (separately made) and a waist band with painted dagger or sword (compare the swords separately made in clay on the Mycenae cavalryman (Hood 1953) and the Markopoulo chariot driver (Mollard-Besques 1954 No. A1)). This figure also was carefully constructed to stand upright; the legs and buttocks are almost those of a seated figure and there is a small hole which will conveniently hold a reed support (FIG. 6.12 and PLATE 37 *c*). Two reeds had been stuck through the body; these presumably gave support while the figure was still soft and burnt out during firing allowing heat to penetrate. The surface on the front of the chest

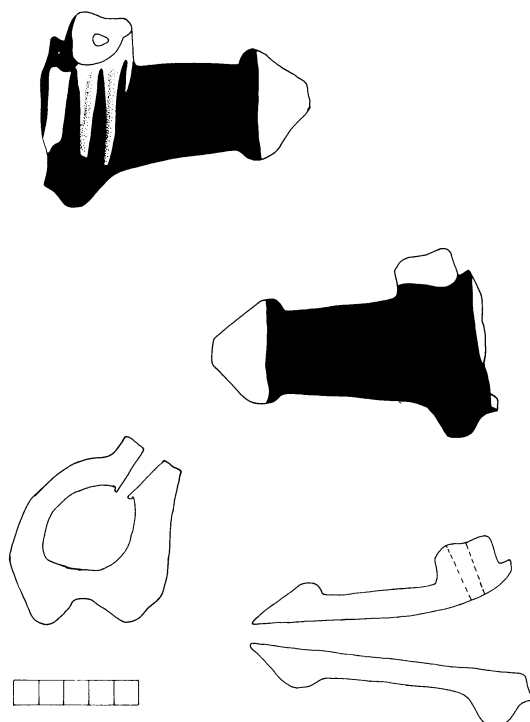


FIG. 6.10 Male figure fragment (penis) from Tiryns. Scale 1:3

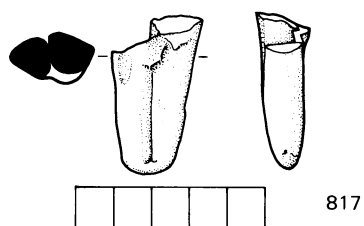


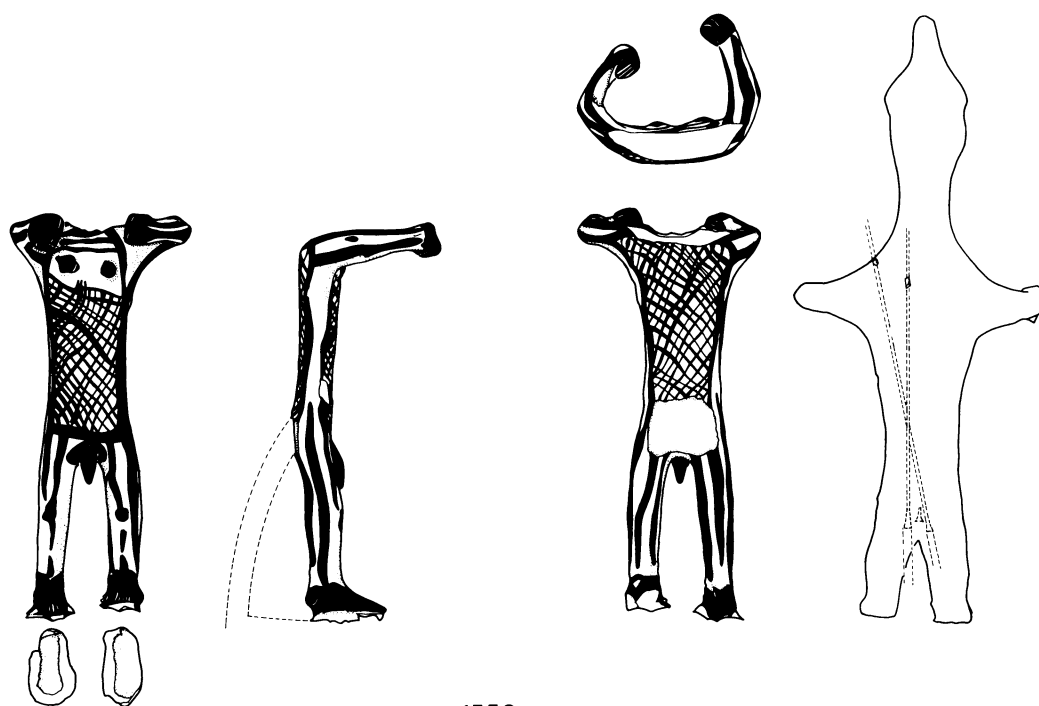
FIG. 6.11 Figurine, possibly male. Scale 1:2

appears to be less well finished than on the rest of the figure, though the wear makes it difficult to be certain. This feature and the clay joins on the top of the curled right hand and at the end of the left arm (which probably had no hand) make it seem likely that the figure carried something large across his arms obscuring the chest. The third figure SF 1550 is exaggeratedly tall and the juxtaposition of the three varied figures is striking.

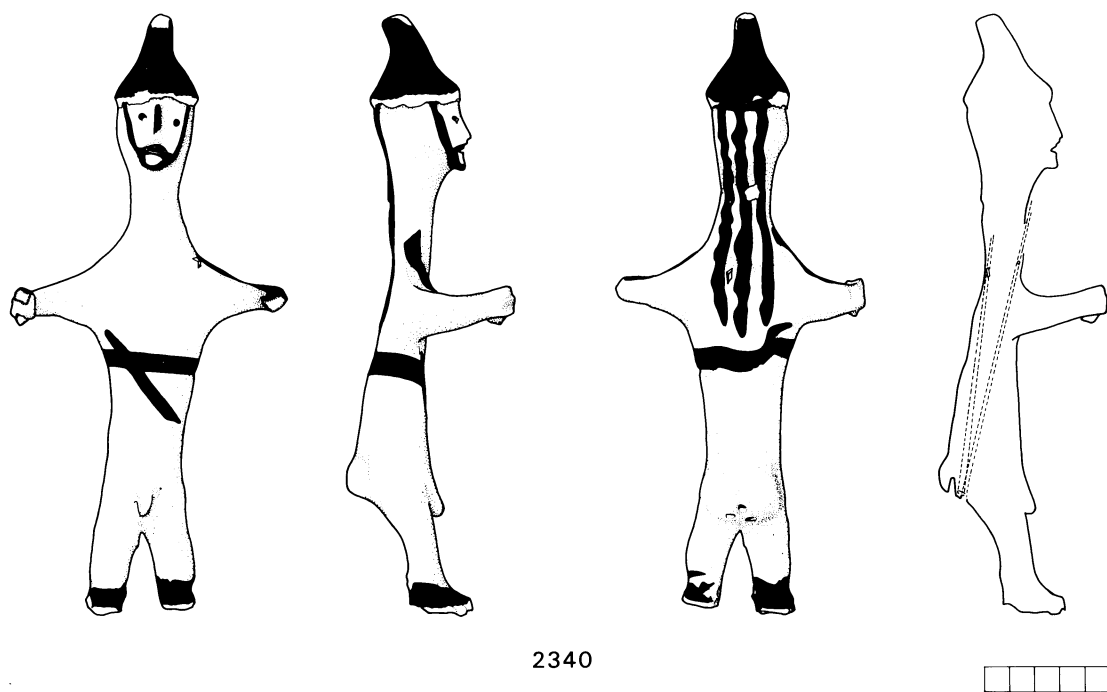
The figures from the higher level (Assemblage G) are also an ill-assorted group. SF 1544 (FIG. 6.13) is in some ways similar to SF 2340 but the fabric is different being finer with a wet-smoothed and tooled surface. There are marks on the buttocks which seem to be those of attachment perhaps to a separately made support or chair. The body stripes at the back of the neck appear curled, and the pointed cap here has curls around the forehead and a possible chin strap. The legs are missing but were strengthened before firing by a reed in each; one runs through the body to the top of the head, the other emerges from the left thigh and has caused a piece of the surface to lift off. The arms bend forward evenly; both hands are missing but the position was not the same; there is a clay join on the top of the left arm and the chest appears to have been masked. SF 1520 (FIG. 6.13) is in an extremely poor state of preservation; almost the whole surface is eroded and only on the headdress and left arm are there traces of paint. The headdress is bulbous with flattened top, a type with parallels (French 1971, 147) but not common. The body is extremely elongated but there is the start of projecting buttocks or prop at the break. The arms extend forward but the hands are missing. This figure was presumably comparable to SF 1550 which was reused in this phase. This (FIG. 6.14) is the largest of the five and is exceptionally elongated. It is possible that this elongation was to make the figure tall enough to accompany some other figure perhaps a bovid, though the elongation of the necks of the horses in the Mega Monastirion chariot is comparable (Megaw 1965: 20). The elongation occurs only in the middle of the body; if a tuck is taken across the waist the upper and lower parts join easily and in proportion. The lower body is realistic with shapely buttocks and distinct knees. The feet are large, so that the figure stands independently. The body has been carefully bent forward to give stability. During this process the body broke and had to be mended with clay and supported with a reed from the top of the head. The head is slightly bulbous. The arms curve forward evenly and the hands are curled. Apart from three locks on the back of the head the painted decoration is entirely schematic.

It may be noted that three fragmentary pieces from the same two assemblages of the West shrine (and one from another part of the site) resemble the hands of the more complete figures; but the finials of furniture can also be of this shape. The identification as hands is however strengthened by the context of the finds and by the complete absence of furniture fragments in the area. I think the varied arm position of these figures is crucial in assessing their function but not the various methods of standing (with the possible exception of the free-standing SF 1550) which seem more a matter of practical experiment. The pose of the small male figure from the Shrine of the Double Axes (Evans 1928 fig. 192) should be remembered. This has a stand below the feet and the angle of the legs and body makes him look as if he was meant to be seated. He carries a dove in both hands. Perhaps he was copied from a larger figure such as those from Phylakopi. One figure (SF 1550) is elongated but seems to have carried nothing; one (SF 1553) to have carried something small, probably in the left hand only; two (SF 2340 and 1544) carried a larger object attached to the left arm (and in 2340 also to the right) and obscuring the chest. SF 1520 is too worn for any suggestion to be made.

Professor Renfrew suggests below (Chapter IX) that the freestanding elongated example SF 1550 may be a cult figure, not only because of the size but also because it does not seem to have carried anything. This seems a reasonable suggestion and the re-use of the figure in assemblage G



1553



2340

FIG. 6.12 Male figures. Scale 1:3

would seem to support it. It may be noted that two smaller votaries carrying offerings, as well as other figurines, accompanied the tall figure in each assemblage (A and G).

SF 817 (FIG. 6.11)

Figure, possible male, legs only.

H. (ex.) 4.2; W. (at top of legs) 2.2; D. (at top of legs) 1.25

Grey clay fired warm buff; tooled surface; unpainted as preserved; local.

Two cones of clay joined at feet by being pressed together; added clay at top of legs on one side only; this with traces of the remaining clay join makes it likely that the piece once had male genitals.

NLe space a/b layer 61, Assemblage D

SF 1520 (FIG. 6.13, PLATE 36 d)

Figure, presumably male, right arm and lower body missing, left hand broken.

H. (ex.) 24.4; W. (ex.) 9.5; Di. (waist) 2.1

Grey core with some grit, fired pink; ?originally with pale buff slip; surface almost completely eroded; brown/black paint; local.

Tall thin body (roughly rectangular in section); start of slight projection at bottom back for ?low buttocks or other feature; chest flattened and extending as triangular arms which curl forward.

Tall neck; pinched face; low bulbous polos/hat.

Decoration clear only on head and left arm; arm has lines along the back and across the front; solid polos, locks on back of head; dotted eye.

NLc layer 213 pb 1323, Assemblage G

***SF 1544** (FIG. 6.13, PLATE 36 e)

Male figure, legs missing, hands broken.

H. (ex.) 23; W. (at arms) 9.7; Di. (waist) 2.8

Dark clay, fired pinkish buff; scraped surface; orange paint, once lustrous; local.

Hole for stick from crotch to top of head; cylindrical body, shaped buttocks, cylindrical legs; genitals: small applied cone, not erect; odd stick hole in front of left leg which seems to have lifted a patch off the surface; clay join on back of left leg and firing shadows on right buttock(?) and upper right leg.

Flattened body extending into triangular arms which bend forward evenly; both hands missing but position seems to have been slightly different; ?clay join on top of left arm; short thick neck; rough face with incised mouth and nostrils; painted eyes; conical hat with rounded top and bulbous ring at base.

Solid painted hat; ringed eyes with central dot; locks down back of neck; vertical and horizontal bands on back and on legs; front of body worn.

NLc layer 215, Assemblage G

***SF 1550** (FIG. 6.14, PLATE 35)

Male figure, restored from fragments.

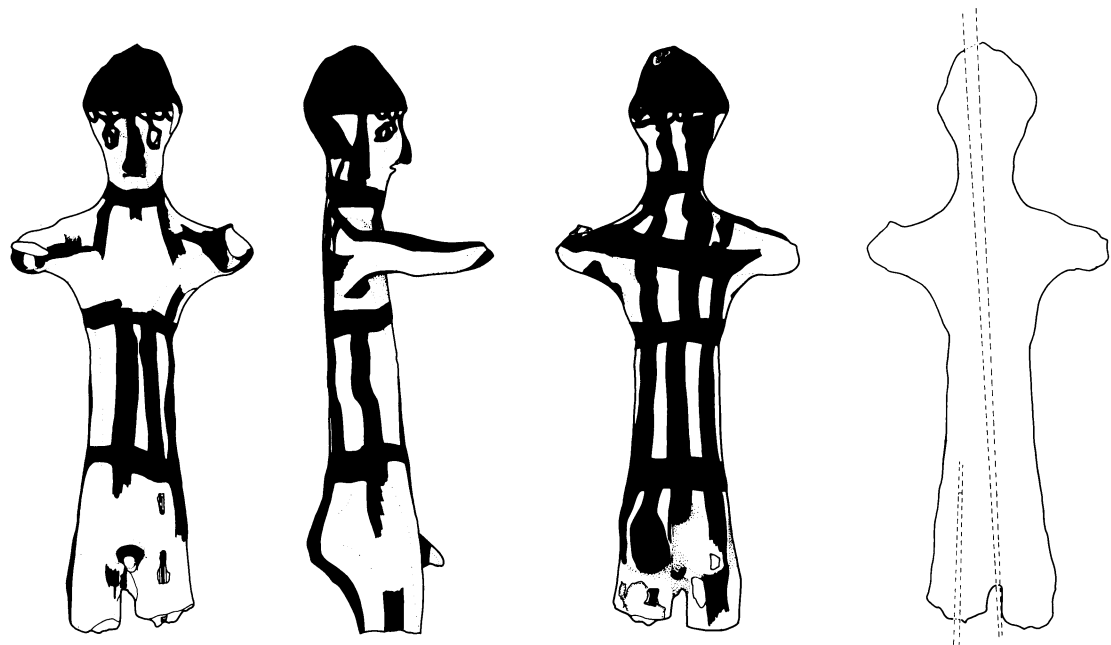
H. 35; W. (at arms) 10; W. (body) 4.6; Th. 2.3

Dark clay, fired pink; pale buff slip; brown paint much faded; local.

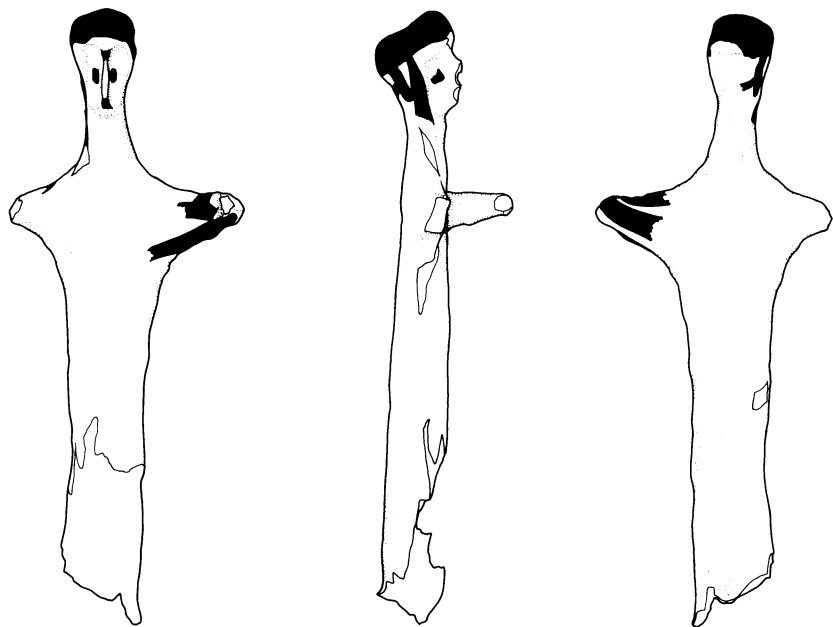
Elongated flattened body; stick hole from top of head to middle of body; marks of break before firing, mended with additional surface clay at front and back; shaped buttocks; cylindrical legs with shaped knees; long feet (stands well); fully rendered genitals but not erect; flattened chest extending into triangular arms which curve forward evenly; curled hands; short neck, pinched face but well shaped in traditional manner; bulbous top to head.

Lines along arms; vertical lines on body front and back; nose line; dotted eyes; solid painted hat; locks on back of neck. Deep bands on lower legs and on feet; ?waist band.

NLc layer 218, Assemblages A and G



1544



1520



FIG. 6.13 Male figures. Scale 1:3

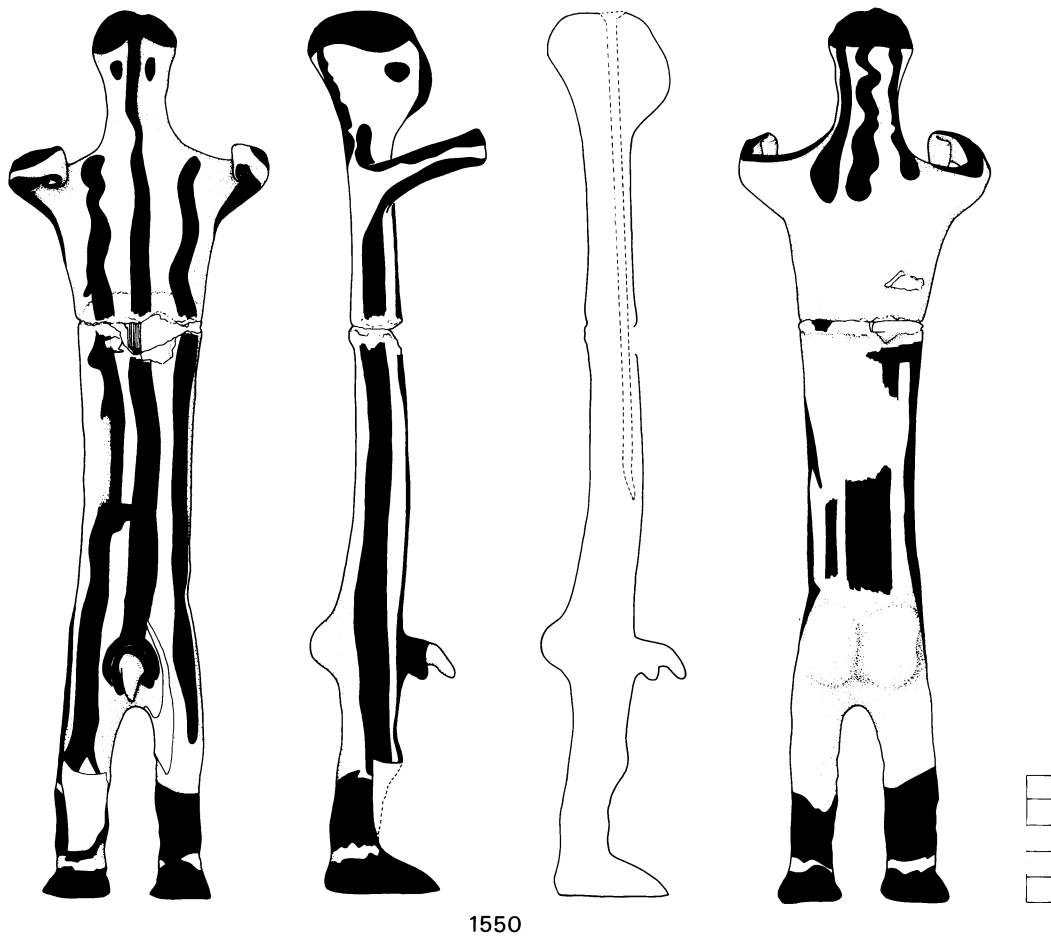


FIG. 6.14 Male figure. Scale 1:3

***SF 1553** (FIG. 6.12, PLATES 36 *b* and 37 *a, b, d*)

Male figure, head missing.

H. 15.8; W. (at elbows) 7; Th. (body) 1.35

Dark buff clay, with pinkish tinge; legs and arms tooled, body lightly polished; shaded lustrous brown paint; local.

Handmade; flattened body; cylindrical legs with shaped knees and feet (including heels); feet attached to flat surface and made to stand level by means of small extra pieces of clay; right toe curls as if over edge of stand; break from prop at back (as shown by the balance of the figure when standing); genitals shown by pendent cone applied between legs; small irregular plastic breasts; arms extend from corners of rectangular body; right extends further forward than left; both hands curled tight; clay join on top of left hand; elbows shown, fingers incised.

Decoration: solid painted feet; ankle bands; lines up legs; solid painted breasts and penis; diagonally cross hatched zone on body front and back; lines on arms; painted fingers; three cross lines above area of breasts which is unpainted.

NLc layer 218, Assemblage A

***SF 2340** (FIG. 6.12, PLATES 36 *a* and 37 *c*)

Male figure.

H. 23; W. (arms) 10; Di. (waist) 2

Dark pinkish buff clay; smoothed surface almost entirely eroded; dark brown paint; local.

Cylindrical lower body with applied shaped buttocks and short legs (also cylindrical) extending forward and ending in feet; three holes in buttocks; inner two extend up into body as firing holes; outer one presumably for wooden prop; genitals: small conical applied piece between legs.

Flattened chest extending sideways into triangular arms which curve evenly forward; right arm ends in curled hand with clay join on top; left arm ends in large clay join and probably had no hand (NB arms much eroded and error possible).

Tall thick neck, rudimentary but well shaped face with chin, mouth nose; incised eyes; shaped conical hat applied over top of head, peak falls to rear.

Solid painted feet; waist band and diagonal through it (?sword); three vertical wavy lines up back and head; solid painted hat; trace of painted line around edge of face and across mouth; all other painted decoration eroded, but many areas seem to have been undecorated.

NLc layer 237, Assemblage A

Human figures, ?hands**SF 2172**

H. 1.5; W. (ex.) 1.4; Th. 0.5

Grey core, fired buff, smoothed surface; red paint, slightly lustrous.

Flattened strip of clay pinched at end; rounded end.

Probably solid painted both sides.

NLc layer 216, Assemblage G

SF 1537

H. 1.2; W. (ex.) 1.75; Th. 0.5

Warm buff clay, surface worn; brown paint.

Strip of clay curled; line of paint on either edge.

Catalogued here because of resemblance to hands of complete male figure but finials on thrones are also of this shape.

NLc layer 215, Assemblage G

SF 1582

H. 1; W. (ex.) 1.9; Th. 0.6

Warm buff clay, smoothed surface, brown paint.

Strip of clay curled; line of paint on either edge and band of paint on outside.

NB see caveat above re. SF 1537.

NLc layer 218, Assemblage A

3. Female figurines

All the main types of female figurine (except those with hollow stem, which are not known outside the major mainland centres, French 1971, 126, 128) were found in the earlier excavations at Phylakopi (TABLE 6.1). The absence, therefore, from the shrines themselves of any female figurine (even fragmentary) of a type antecedent to the Late Psi type is remarkable, though SF 156, SF 589 and SF 2246 from Surface and Debris levels are of earlier types as well as SF 2170, the legs of a naturalistic seated figurine (catalogued below under furniture) which comes from below the West Shrine. This absence is in marked contrast to the occurrence of the basic types of animal figurine. The female figurines which one would expect to accompany animals such as SF 789 and 1557 are not present.

The spatial distribution, moreover, seems to indicate a very clearly defined function. In the West Shrine one female figurine was found in connection with each of the south-west (Assemblage B), north-west (Assemblage G) and north-east (Assemblage K) platforms and in the East Shrine two were found on Floor 1 (Assemblage L), none earlier. It is possible that small female figurines were not used in the shrines when each was first built. It may even be that the larger females had been put away damaged before the use of the smaller figurine in the south of the West Shrine which was encapsulated in the collapse debris.

Recent work has not provided any further evidence for the beginning of the Late Psi type of figurine (French 1971, 133) but at Lefkandi groups A, B and C are all found in good contexts of Lefkandi 1a. (It must be remembered that this is the first LH IIIC phase well represented at Lefkandi (Rutter 1977, 2)). To judge from the preliminary reports these types are also represented in the 'Früh' LH IIIC phase at Tiryns (Kilian 1981a, Abb. 17).

It may be noted that the figurine SF 1521 (FIG. 6.2) from the north-west platform (Assemblage G) is almost identical to SF 2007 from Assemblage B. These two figurines have wheelmade stems and are decorated in a form typical of the Late Psi B type. It seems likely that these were originally a pair and that SF 1521 was subsequently re-used as the male SF 1550 had been from the same assemblage. Of the other three examples (FIG. 6.1) those from the East Shrine, Floor 1 (Assemblage L, SF 172, 174) also belong to this stylistic group though the latter has very irregular decoration on the back. SF 579 from the north-east platform of the West Shrine (Assemblage K) is covered with irregular squiggles both front and back. All are of local fabrics. All these decorative features are found in the deposit of figurines from the Amyklaion (French 1971, pls. 21, 22; Demakopoulou 1982, pls. 2–24).

Figurines of Late Psi type were thus present in contexts of phase 2b including a fragment (SF 2163, PLATE 38 d) in Room B of the West Shrine and SF 2007 on the South-west platform (Assemblage B); they were one of the factors originally used to date this phase.

With SF 2007 on the south-west platform of the West Shrine (Assemblage B) was another figurine, preserved complete, SF 2015 (FIG. 6.9). This figurine is, overall, completely without parallel. The head wearing a polos with cross on top has roughly pinched features and applied eyes and is similar to that of many Late Psi figurines, but the rest of the body is unique. The arms turn downwards like the flippers of a penguin; the legs are modelled separately and end in feet. The whole body from just above the breasts is covered with paint, even the soles of the feet. The breasts presumably indicate that this figure is meant to be considered female but some male figures (e.g. SF 1553) are given breasts. This is not decisive. There is no clue to the significance of the pairing of the two figurines on the south-west platform, but the peculiarities of the figure are clearly intentional.

SF 156

Female figurine, naturalistic, applied; body only.

H. (ex.) 3.7; W. (ex.) 4.5; Di. (waist) 1.8

Dark buff clay; smoothed surface; worn; brown paint; local.

Thick columnar body with free arms, stumps only preserved, but probably curling back to rest on stomach; applied breasts; clay join surface behind.

Ring lines at neck and shoulders and ?around breasts; lines along arms; pendent locks at back of neck; lower back undecorated.

OLc layer 8 or 9, Surface

***SF 172** (FIG. 6.1)

Female figurine, Psi type, stem and left arm missing.

H. (ex.) 8.5; W. (ex.) 6.4; Di. (stem) 1.9

Dark buff clay; pale buff slip; smoothed surface; dark brown paint; local.

Stem presumably columnar, normal psi body; plastic breasts (somewhat battered); pinched face, polos.

Waist band, vertical bands on stem; front: large dots at neck; wavy lines between breasts; dividing cross curves on arms; back: dividing lines on arms; thick central wavy band and thinner one on each side extending up back of neck; nose line; eye dots; decoration on edge of polos very worn, ?festoon around front; edge line; cross-hatching on top.

Late Psi B

OLc layer 22, Assemblage L

***SF 174** (FIG. 6.1)

Female figurine, Psi type, left arm, head and stem chipped.

H. (ex.) 10.8; W. (ex.) 7.3; Di. (base) 3.4

Pink clay with grey core; slipped buff, polished surface; red paint lustrous except under base; secondary burning on head and left arm; local.

Conical stem, hollowed beneath; normal Psi body; conical applied breasts (left missing); thick neck, pinched face, polos; eye once applied.

Painted solid under base; zones of ladder on stem; front worn and encrusted but apparently lines divide in middle as in Psi B; irregular muddle of lines on central back, arms dividing; painted hair; ringed eye; decoration on top of polos.

Late Psi B

OLc layer 23, Assemblage L

SF 553 (PLATE 38 d)

Female figurine, head and arms broken; base chipped; Psi type.

H. (ex.) 5.6; W. (ex.) 3.5; Di. (at waist) 1.3

Pink clay, buff slip, polished surface; shaded red paint; origin uncertain.

Solid flaring stem, splaying base (now broken); flattened body, normal arms as far as preserved; very small plastic breasts.

Irregular bands on stem, lines on body front; on back ?central zone of two bands with diagonal between, dividing lines on arms.

Probably late Psi A

NLd layer 4, Surface

SF 579 (FIG. 6.1, PLATE 34 *c*)

Female figurine, Psi type, head missing, right arm broken.

H. (ex.) 9 (base to top of left arm); W. (body) 6.5; Di. (base) 3.2

Dark buff clay, buff slip; smoothed surface; red brown paint; local.

Short thick stem with rough flaring base and irregular depression underneath; flattened body and normal psi arms; tiny plastic breasts.

Dots on breasts: irregular very wavy lines on front and back; vertical lines/blobs all round neck.

Unusual

NLd layer 22, Assemblage K

SF 586 (PLATE 38 *d*)

Female figurine, Psi type, part of body only.

H. (ex.) 4.3; W. (ex.) 4.1; Th. (upper body) 0.9

Dark buff clay, polished surface, dark brown paint; local.

Triangular body with stump of short arm; applied breasts; flattened body thickening at waist.

Solid painted breasts; irregular lines on front; rough diagonal cross-hatching on back.

Late Psi B

NLd East Baulk layer 26, Surface/Debris

SF 589

Female figurine, Phi type, part of body only.

H. (ex.) 2.9; W. (ex.) 3.75; Th. 0.6

Fine buff clay fired pink; buff slip, red brown paint; polished surface; imported.

Disc body, plastic breast, applied plait; wavy lines front and back; cross bars on plait.

NLd East Baulk layer 26, Surface/Debris

SF 1029 (PLATE 38 *d*)

Female figurine, fragment, ?arm.

L. (ex.) 3.8; Di. 1.1

Dark buff clay; smoothed; brown/black paint; local.

Clay cylinder slightly curved; irregular painted band along it.

NLe space c layer 86, Street and Courtyard (Phase 2a)

SF 1521 (FIG. 6.2, PLATE 38 *c*)

Female figurine, Psi type; right arm broken.

H. 16; W. (ex.) 7.5

Pinkish buff clay with grit; smoothed surface much eroded; red brown paint; local.

Cylindrical stem with flaring base; appears wheelturned, hollowed with a stick; flattened body with pointed arms; applied breasts; tall neck with very small face made from applied pinched lump rather than being pulled and pinched; flattened top to head.

Band on edge of base, three bands on stem; cross on body front and back; dividing lines on arms; bands on neck and edge of polos.

Late Psi B

Cf. SF 2007

NLc layer 214, Assemblage G

SF 2007 (FIG. 6.2, PLATE 38 *b*)

Female figurine; Psi type; right arm broken.

H. 15.2; W. (ex.) 9; Di. (base) 4.2; Di. (polos) 3.4

Pinkish buff clay with grit; well smoothed surface; chocolate brown paint; local.

Slim cylindrical stem with flaring base; wheelmade, stem hollowed with a stick; flattened body with straight arms; neck and polos continue the main body outline; tiny applied breasts well worked in; applied pinched face; top of head closed with disk.

Band on edge of base, three bands on stem; cross on body front and back; dividing lines on arms; bands on neck and edge of polos; face undecorated.

Late Psi B

Cf. SF 1521

MLb layer 13, Assemblage B

SF 2015 (FIG. 6.9, PLATE 38 *a*)

(?)Female figurine, complete.

H. 15.3; W. 5.8

Buff clay, smoothed and tooled surface; slightly lustrous red brown paint; local.

Hand shaped; separated legs with feet (does not stand); modelled waist; low set pointed breasts; small free arms rather like flippers; sloping shoulders; small head becoming slanting large polos; applied eyes, small pinched nose.

Solid paint (even under feet) to above breasts; neck band; paint on eyes and nose; band on edge of polos; cross on top.

Unusual

MLb layer 13, Assemblage B

SF 2163 (PLATE 38 *d*)

Female figurine, waist area only, probably from late type.

H. (ex.) 3.35; Di. (stem) 1.5

Pink clay, smoothed surface; red paint; vertically tooled; local.

Columnar stem flattening into body.

Three bands at waist, thin vertical lines on lower stem and on body.

MLd layer 509, West Shrine, Room B, phase 2b/3a

Female figurines, polos heads (PLATE 38 *d*)**SF 2246**

Fragment of face and start of polos.

H. (ex.) 3; D. (face) 1.8; Th (face) 0.55

Fine buff clay; well polished; shaded brown paint; imported.

Typical piece with dotted eye and applied plait; polos decoration not preserved; probably LH IIIB.

OLd layer 45, Surface/Debris

SF 1020

Polos and top of head only.

H. (ex.) 1.9; Di. (polos) 2.5

Pinkish buff clay; smoothed surface; dark brown paint; local.

Flaring polos, pinched face; fine hole from centre of polos down.

Band on edge of polos, five vertical lines on back, fringe at front; eyes with ring and dot; band on nose.

From Late Psi type

NLc layer 210, Surface

SF 2222

Polos head, chipped.

H. (ex.) 2.6; Di. (polos) 2.6

Dark buff clay; polished; brown paint; local.

Typical shape; solid paint on top overlapping edge as band; no bottom line; two wavy lines on back; dot eyes.

From Late Psi type

NLc layer 227, Surface/Debris

SF 2253

Polos only, broken.

H. (ex.) 2; Di. (polos) 2.8

Flaring polos with hollow top; cross on top with edge band; festoon over edge; vertical row of horizontal blobs on either side.

From Late Psi type

NLb layers 420 and 421, Assemblage E

Female figurines, stem fragments:**SF 582**

Columnar stem only.

H. (ex.) 3.35; Di. (stem) 1.4; Di. (base) 2.65

Dark buff clay, polished surface; red/brown paint; local

Typical piece, no evidence of type; three vertical lines.

NLd space 3, layer 24, Assemblage K

SF 1030

Fragment of stem/base only

H. (ex.) 1.4; Di. (stem) 1.1

Dirty buff clay, orange paint; very worn; local.

Probably from stem just above base, ?solid painted.

NLd space 4, layer 80, Street and Courtyard (Phase 2a)

SF 1608

Waist area with top of stem

H. (ex.) 2.8; W. (ex.) 2.8; Di. (stem) 1.5

Pink clay, smoothed surface rather worn; red paint; origin uncertain.

Typical piece, no evidence of type; four vertical lines on stem; waist band; wavy lines on body front and back.

NLa layer 316, West Shrine (phase 2b/3a)

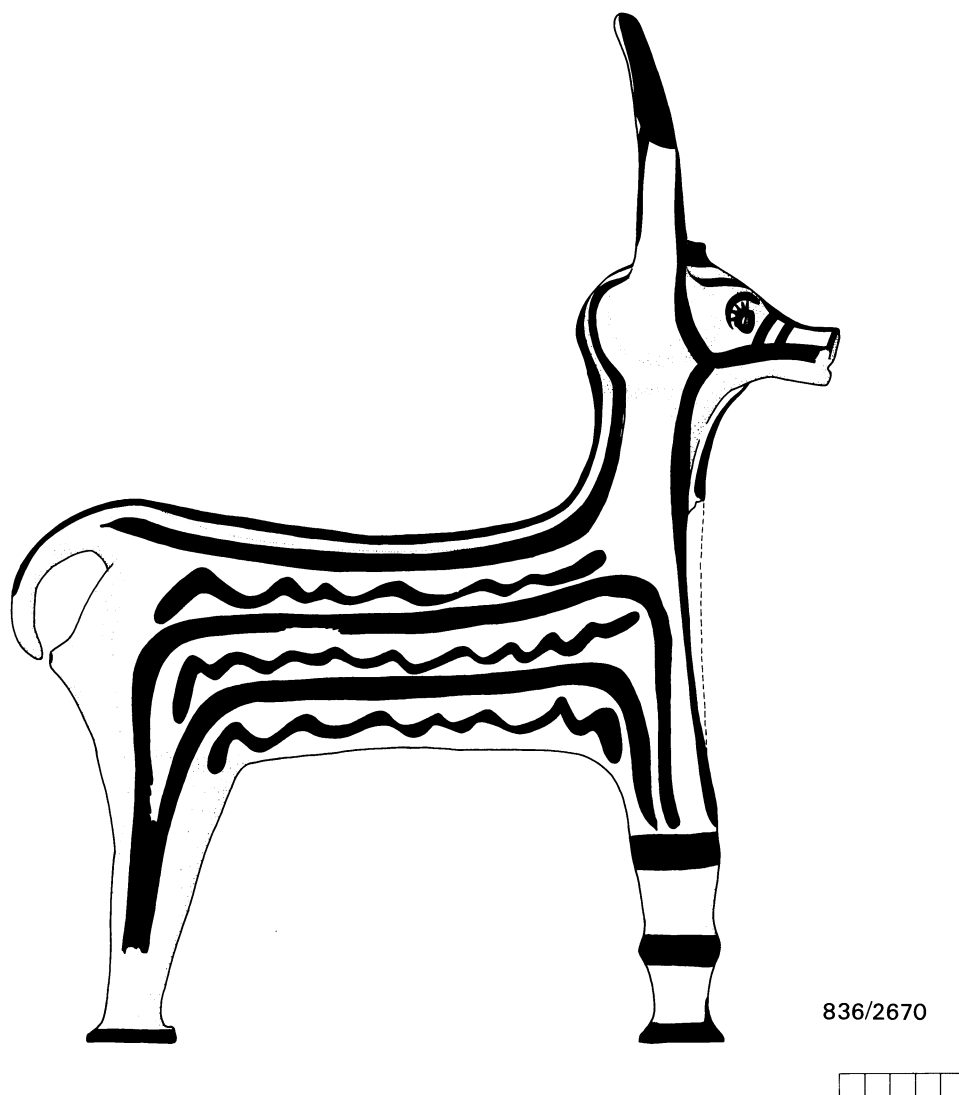


FIG. 6.15 Bovine figure. Scale 1:3

4. Bovine Figures

The nine distinct large bovids all came from the 2b levels of both shrines, six from the West (mainly the niche) and three from the East. From the West Shrine came a large figure SF 2670 from Room A and four from the niche: two with clover designs, SF 2685 and 2687, a large imported figure with attached vase SF 2689 and a large locally-made figure SF 2690. The figures from the niche are in good condition both as regards completeness and surface; SF 2670 is very worn on the surface. The niche itself may have served to protect the figures placed there either in the original destruction or from later soil damage. No small animals were found either in Room A or in the niche. The back and one leg of one of the locally-made figures with attached vase, SF 1561, came from the north-west platform area (Assemblage A); the remaining pieces were

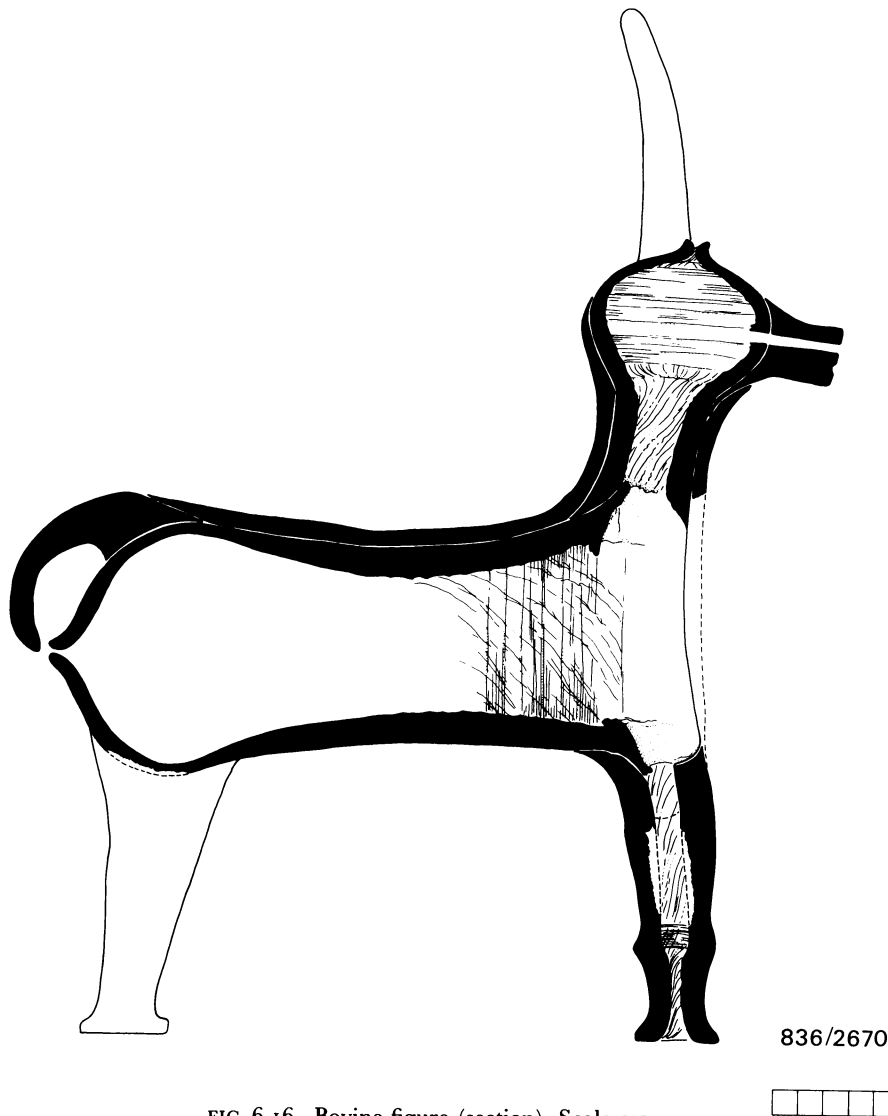


FIG. 6.16 Bovine figure (section). Scale 1:3

scattered in the street and elsewhere. Two small animals and fragments of two other large figures were also found in Assemblage A. From the East shrine, all from the platform assemblage D, are three figures similar to those from the West Shrine, SF 850, 836 and 847. Many small animals came from this deposit.

One fragmentary figure SF 1032 came from levels antedating the East Shrine and may possibly be connected with the early use of the West Shrine. It must be noted, however, that fragments of other similar large bovinds are common both in the shrine area and in other areas, and from levels antedating the building of the shrine. The figures do not appear to have been rescued and reused. When (as with SF 836) fragments are found in higher levels they are very worn. The whole question of large animal figures on the mainland and on Crete has recently been discussed in detail by Nicholls (1970).

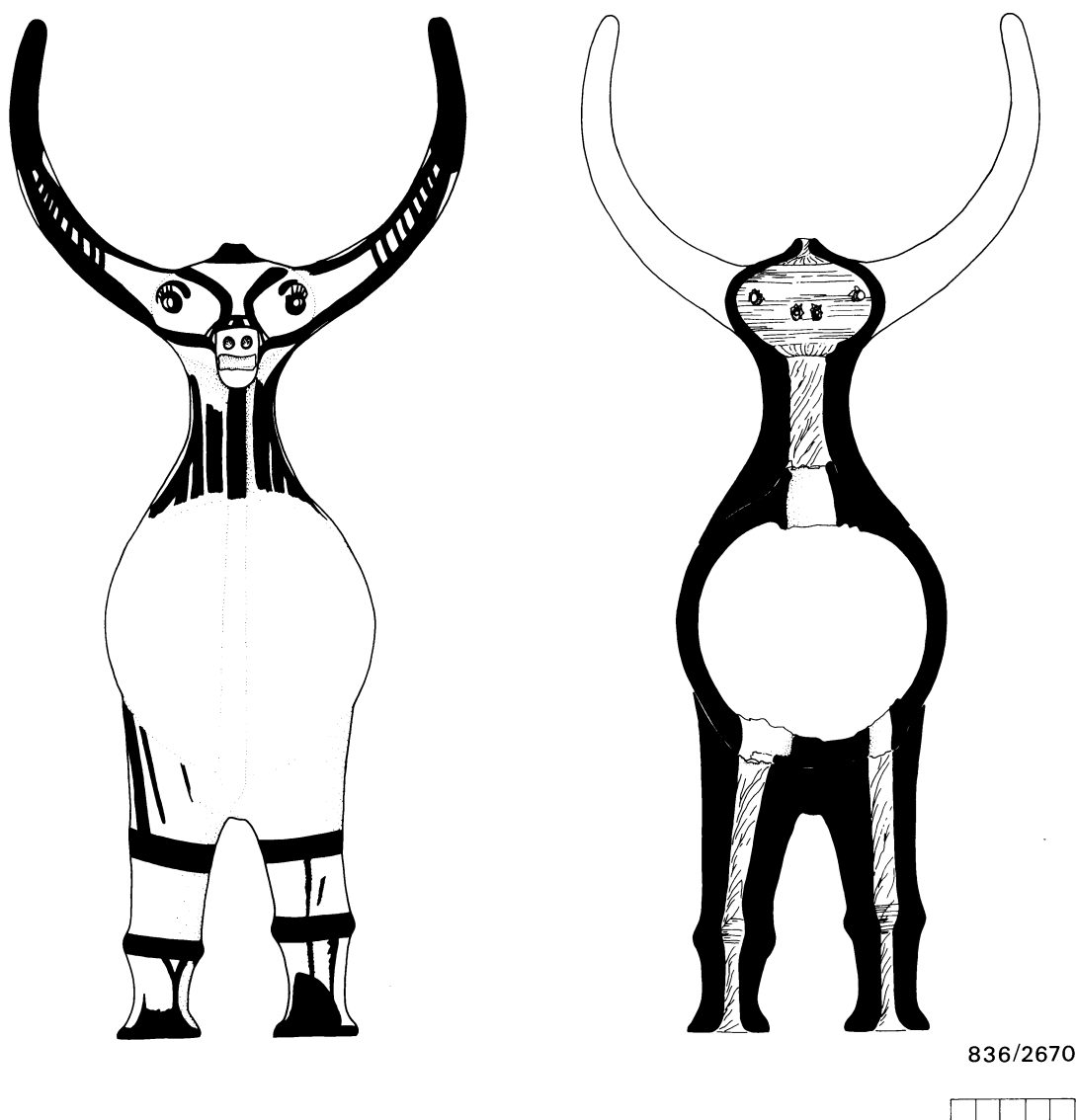


FIG. 6.17 Bovine figure (front). Scale 1:3

I see no reason to doubt that the tradition of making larger bovine figures in the islands, most recently exemplified at Akrotiri (Marinatos 1970 PL A: 2, PL 54) continued uninterrupted throughout the LBA. The earlier figures are almost all bulls with clear sexual attributes; the later examples have no indications of sex. In my view the development from naturalistic to wheelmade figures is a mixed chronological/regional development paralleling the development of female figurines: early naturalistic examples centred in Crete and the islands are superseded by 'mass produced' wheelmade figures found all over the Aegean.

There is no way of dating the manufacture of the figures from Phylakopi but the use of the clover design and naturalistic details suggest that for some a date contemporary with the building of the shrine (as for the Lady SF 2660) is possible. The resemblance of the two clover



FIG. 6.18 Bovine figure. Scale 1:3

figures to that illustrated in FIG. 9.1 from the second city is striking. It is also worth noting that none of the bovine figures from Phylakopi has designs in the LH IIIC style though large animals so decorated are known from several sites, notably the Amyklaion (Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 34; 79). The stylistically latest figure is SF 2689 from the niche which I consider an imported piece probably dating, on the basis of the designs, to LH IIIB. I would re-emphasise however that there is no real evidence for dating the manufacture of any of these figures.

Two (SF 1561 and 2689) of the bovids have vessels on their backs and a third (SF 850) was probably like SF 1561 and has been drawn thus in FIG. 6.23. They were not rhyta in the strict sense; none has a mouth orifice. SF 2689 which is complete has a hole only under the tail. Liquid

offerings of a small quantity could however have been poured *into* the vessel but would have had to be emptied out after the ceremony.

There are two pairs of bovids, one of each in each shrine: SF 2670 from Room A pairs with SF 836 from assemblage D of the East shrine and SF 2690 from the niche pairs not only with SF 847 from the same assemblage of the East shrine but also with Athens NM 5792 (though the angle of the head differs) and a muzzle fragment SF 76. These additional pieces from the same workshop may mean that great significance should not be given to the presence of these pairs; the find spot of NM 5792 (from the earlier excavations at Phylakopi) is not known but at the least the identical figures must be assumed to be contemporary. However as the very similar small figurines SF 789 and 1557 were also found one in each shrine and there is a somewhat similar pairing in the bovine figures with attached vases, SF 1561 and 850, the possibility of a significance in the equipment cannot be overlooked.

Typologically the bovine figures can be grouped in six classes. There is only one fragment of the first group, SF 1713, a tall horn of buff burnished ware comparing in fabric to K 1443 from the Kea temple (Caskey 1962a, fig. 101e). Second is the small naturalistic figure with clover designs, SF 2685. Unfortunately we do not know how the body of this figure was made. The early figure in the National Museum (FIG. 9.1) has a coilmade body and the early Cretan figures were probably mould-made. Third is SF 1032. Notable are the large hole at the rear and the knob-like legs set onto the body at an angle. The figure would not have been very stable. Interestingly the animal figure from the recently discovered shrine at Tiryns is of this type (Kilian 1978, Fig. 22), as is the example from Delphi (Nicholls 1970, Pl 3a). The fourth and fifth classes comprise the figures with attached vases, the imported SF 2689 with the vase in the middle of the back and the barrel shaped locally made examples SF 1561 and 850 with the vase at the rear. Finally there are the larger locally made wheelmade figures of which there are five, the clover-patterned SF 2687 and the two pairs (SF 2670/836 and 2690/847). It should be noted that SF 1561 has all four feet portrayed differently and the front and back legs differ in the larger examples. This makes the assignment of fragmentary feet to other examples a hazardous procedure. The manufacture of the larger of these figures is elaborate. All are made up of separately made units which are then joined. The shape of the actual units and resemblance to known pot types (e.g. Stirrup Jars) make it certain that these figures were made by potters. The use of reeds or sticks to support the figure before firing is attested in SF 836. On SF 2689 there is a plug at the rear filling a pierced hole; after the tail had been applied another hole was pierced with a burnt stick. It would seem that the first hole was needed in making the figure, the second in firing. A feature not readily identifiable is the incised 'beard' of SF 2690 and its parallels (note that the open muzzle of NM 5792 is a restoration for which there is no evidence). The angle of the horns is interesting. Cretan figures seem to favour the forward position, Mycenaean the vertical. The distinction could however be one of date, not origin.

Note: SF 1561 and 850, 2670 and 2687 were plastered before they were catalogued and there is no record of their internal details.

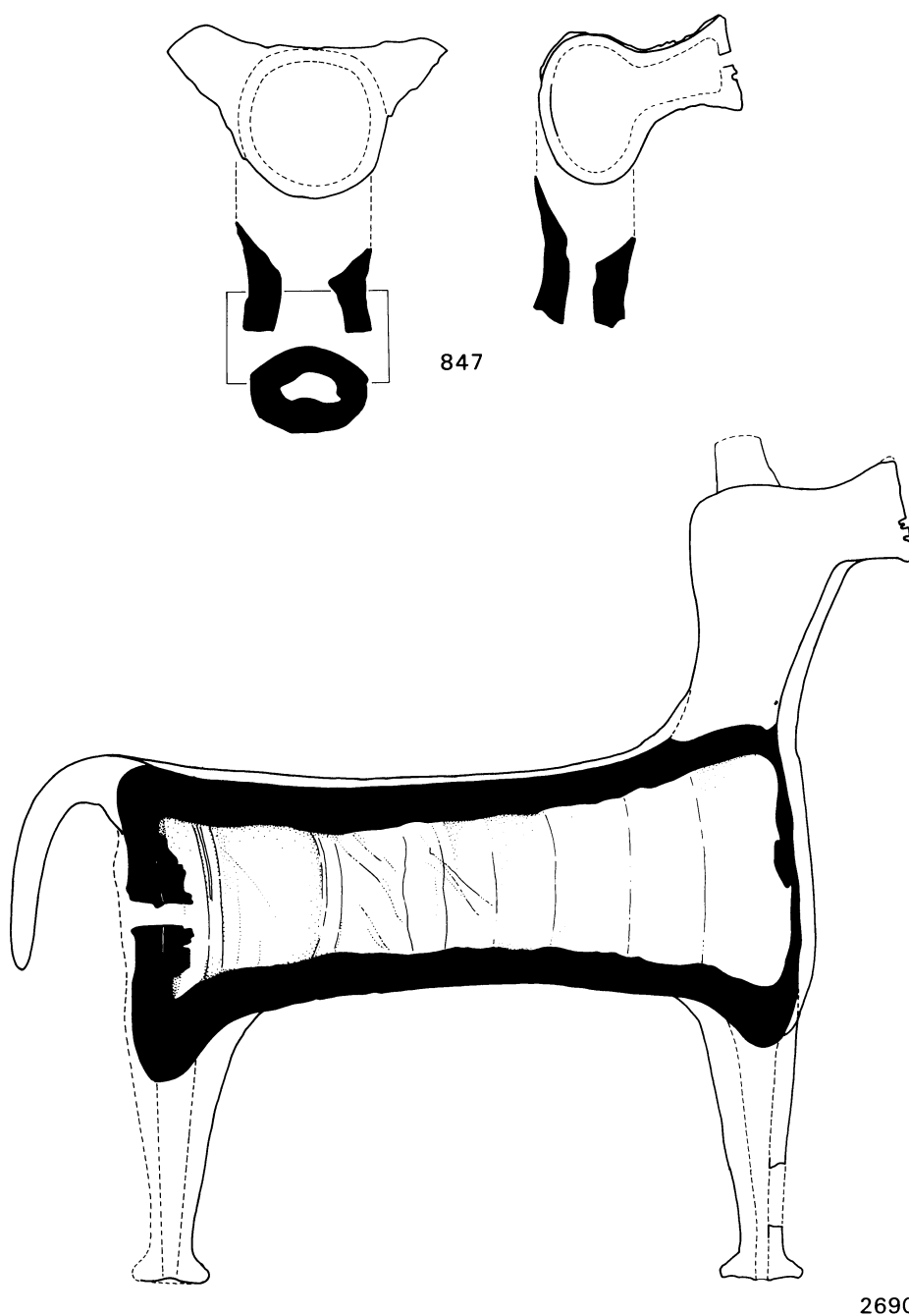
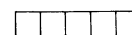


FIG. 6.19 Bovine figures (section). Scale 1:3



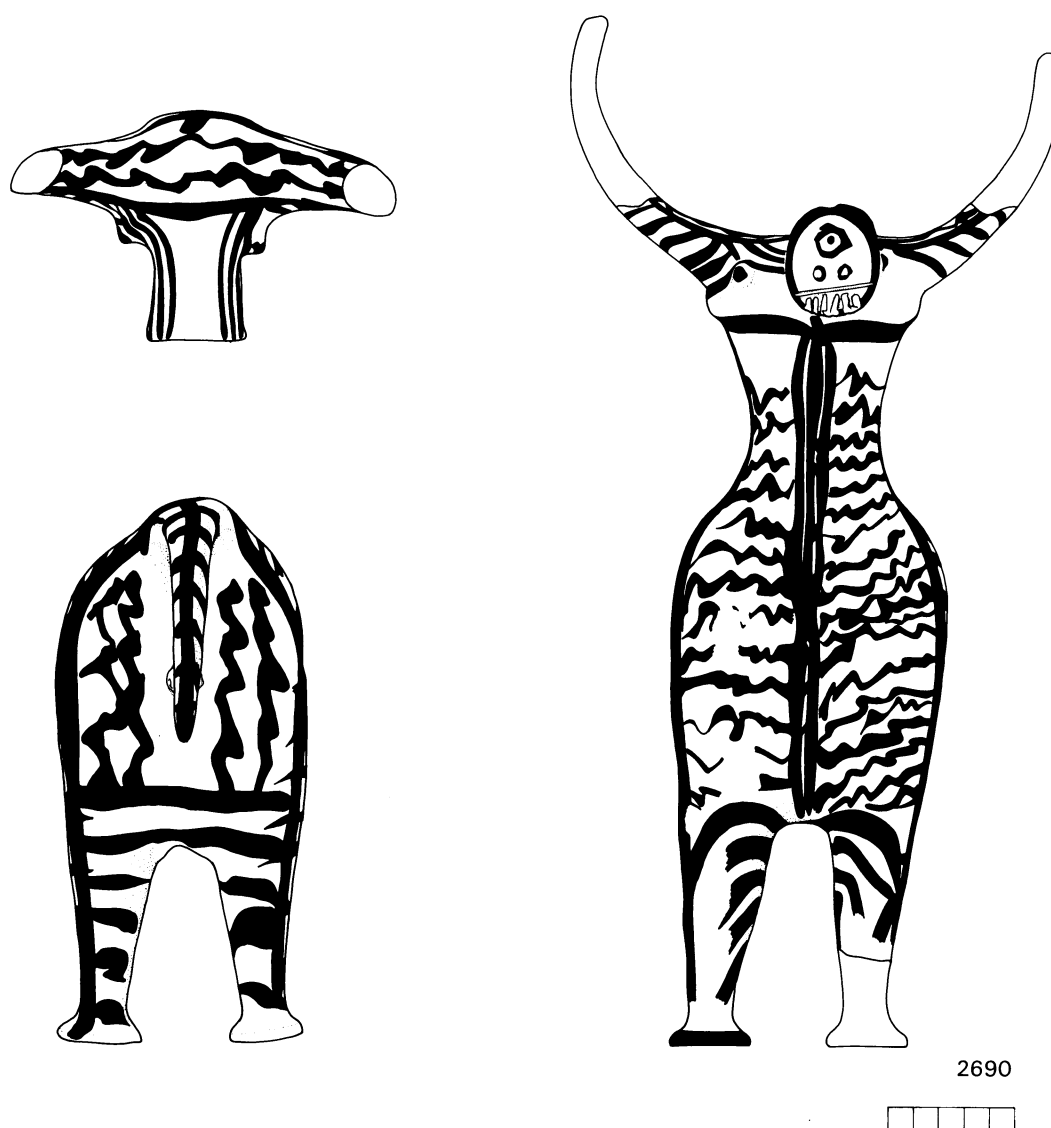


FIG. 6.20 Bovine figure. Scale 1:3

***SF 836** (FIGS. 6.15–6.17, combined with **SF 2670**; PLATE 40 *d*)

Bovine figure, forequarters with separate tail and four leg pieces.

H. (ex. from base of body to top of horn) 31; W. (body) 9.4; L. (without tail) 26; Th. 0.9

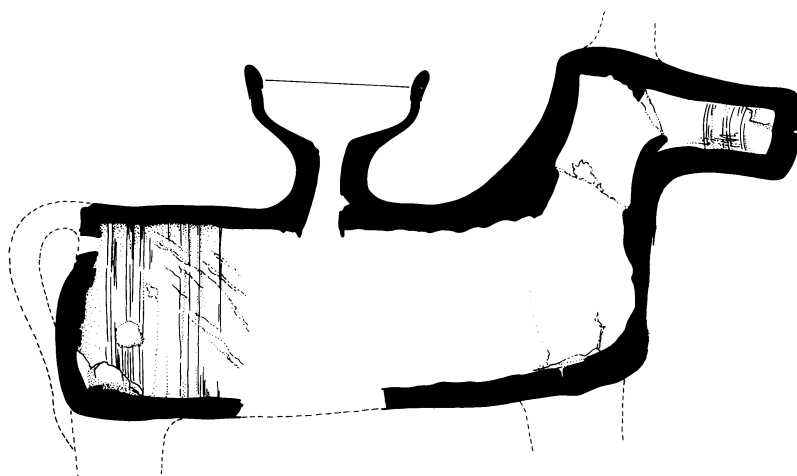
Grey clay fired pinkish buff; smoothed (?washed) surface; paint once lustrous, black/brown on well preserved horn, red/brown on body; very slight traces of secondary firing on horn; origin uncertain.

For overall body description see SF 2670 but this piece is important because it is fragmentary and therefore shows the construction. Wheelmade; head and neck in one piece with added muzzle and vertical horns; stick marks on right side of inner body from supports of head and right front leg, the former lines up with the pierced knob on top of the head.

Decoration as drawing, better preserved on this example than on SF 2670.

Twin of SF 2670

NLe space a, layer 62, Assemblage D



2689



FIG. 6.21 Bovine figure. Scale 1:3

***SF 847** (FIG. 6.19; PLATE 43 *b*)

Bovine figure, head and neck only, horns broken.

H. (ex.) 9; W. (ex.) 11.5; W. (neck) 5; Di. (muzzle) 3.6

Dark buff clay, surface almost completely eroded; traces of red paint; local.

Head and muzzle made as one piece on the wheel; bulbous head section extending through thin section to flaring muzzle; large horns applied; incised nostrils, mouth and 'beard'; lower part of head makes ball and socket joint with ring of clay (not wheelmade) of neck (see drawing and photo), spread well up back of head.

Muzzle and nostrils ringed; diagonal spine designs on top and back of head.

Twin of SF 2690 and NM 5792

NLe space a, layer 62, Assemblage D

***SF 850** (FIG. 6.23, PLATE 40 *b*)

Bovine figure or rhyton, much of body, right horn and right front leg restored. Plastered before cataloguing.

H. (ex.) 18 (originally *ca.* 19); W. 7; L. 15

Buff clay probably originally pale with slightly lustrous red paint but burnt to much darker shade almost all over; surface rather rough; local.

Short fat cylindrical body; handmade (information of CMcF); tall thin legs; the front left has a central stick hole extending from the bottom up into the body; applied breast bone now seen as clay join; no evidence of tail; no spine except in paint; neck and head made like Stirrup Jar top with added short vertical horns, muzzle and ears (small horizontal curved flaps); small hole along muzzle.

Bands of paint, slightly wavy, along body, up legs; ring bands on curves; solid paint on top of head.

NLe space a, layer 62, Assemblage D

***SF 1032** (FIG. 6.24)

Bovine figure, hindquarters, much shattered.

H. (at rear) 11.5; W. 8; Th. 0.5; Di. (holé) 4,

Pale buff clay; well smoothed surface; faded brown paint; ?imported.

Wheelmade cylinder pulled in at end leaving large central hole; legs short and stumpy with flattened ends, applied at odd angle and making fairly unstable figure; back bone applied (perhaps with curves at rear) and extended as tail *over* hole (shown by clay join and lower end still preserved); matching leg has small central stick hole.

Ring on edge of hole and around edge of body at rear; two bands down each leg; tail solid painted (extending into leg band of left leg); 'clover' pattern on body.

NLe space a/b, layer 124, East Shrine (Phase 0/2a)

***SF 1561** (FIG. 6.23, PLATE 32 *b*)

Bovine rhyton, restored from fragments. Plastered before cataloguing.

H. 27 (to top of horns); L. 22.5; W. (body) 13

Dark buff clay; no visible surface treatment; worn black paint; local.

Cylindrical body flaring both to back and front; flat at back; no trace of tail preserved; curving at front with dewlap/breastbone; wheelmade spout applied at rear, with sharply flattened rim; head applied at front in similar shape and resembling Stirrup Jar top; muzzle as similar smaller piece again applied at side; short vertical horns with plastic ear below on left, applied eyes on either side of muzzle below top of head; top of head rather concave and rough (from various applications); two piercings, irregular, for nostrils. Each leg different:

right front: footed pierced

right back: footed flat beneath

left front: tapering cylinder, hollow

left back: straight with slight foot

Front: band on breast bone, band at edge of body, lines up legs, wavy cross lines angling slightly from centre.

Body: wavy lines along

Rear: vertical wavy lines including down back of legs; bands up sides of legs.

Spout: band at base and below rim; cross bars on rim.

Head: solid on top; bands on horns and down ear and neck; band on edge of muzzle and cross at its end; solid painted eyes.

NLe layer 221, Assemblage A.

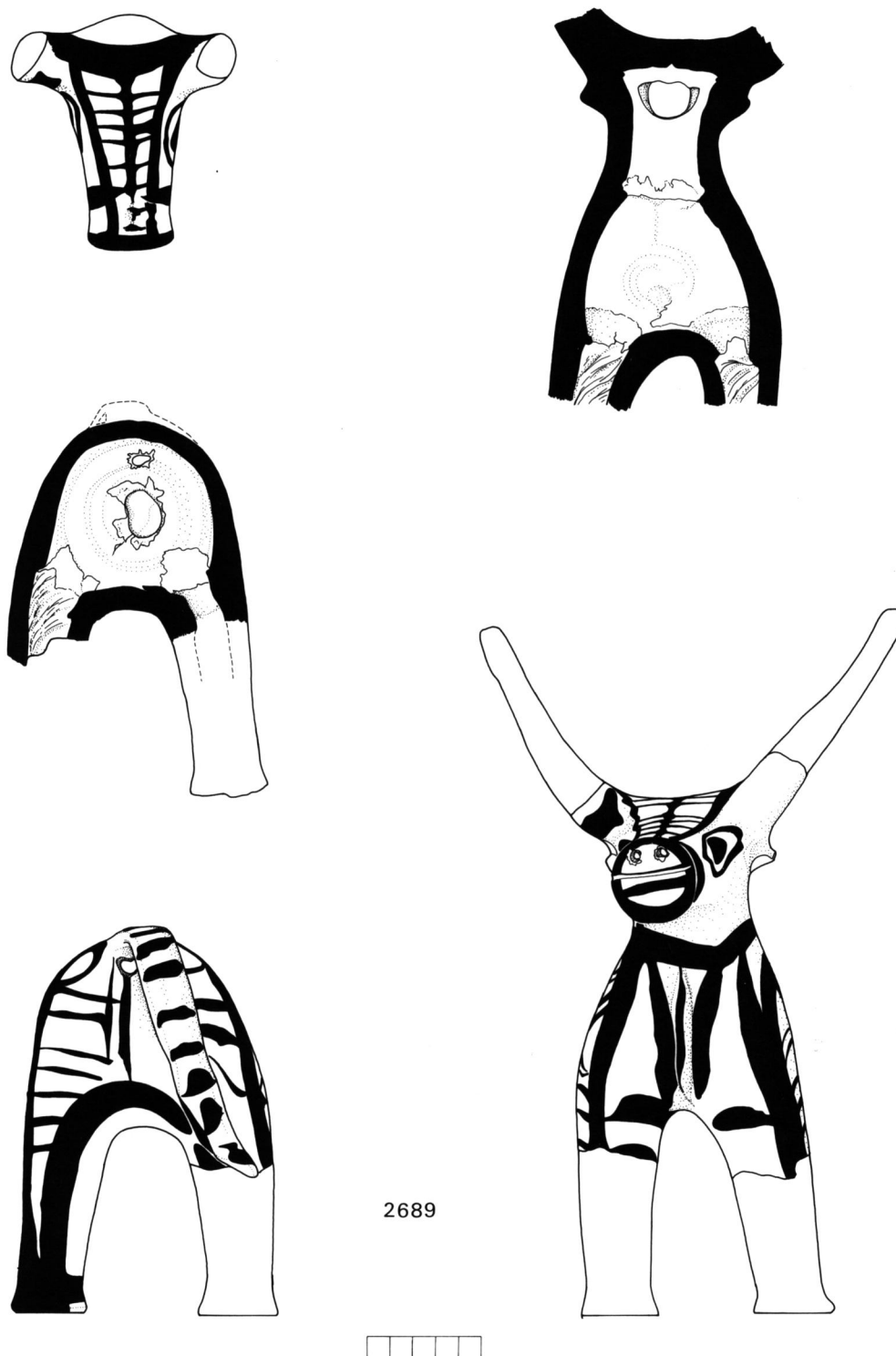
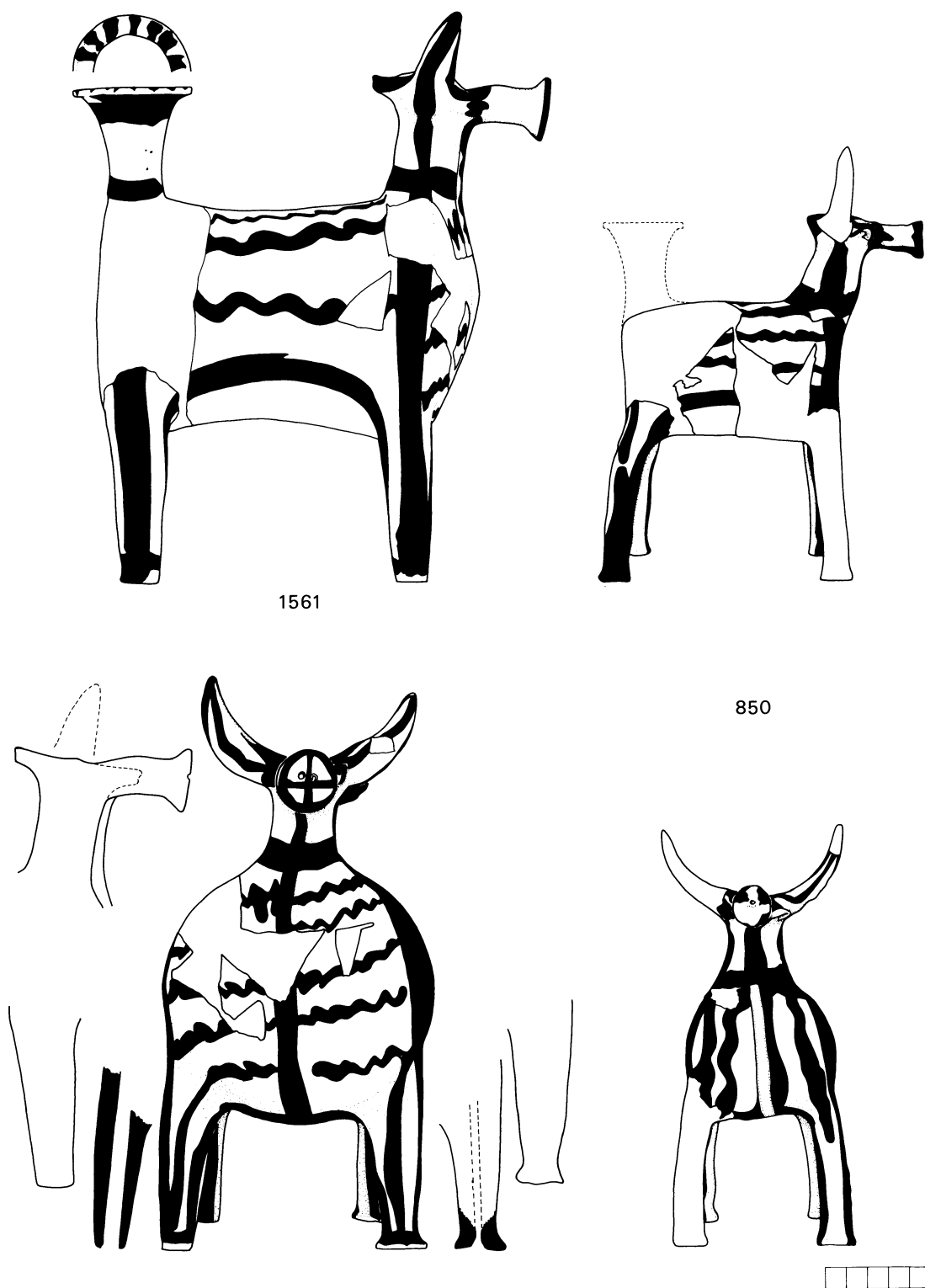


FIG. 6.22 Bovine figure. Scale 1:3



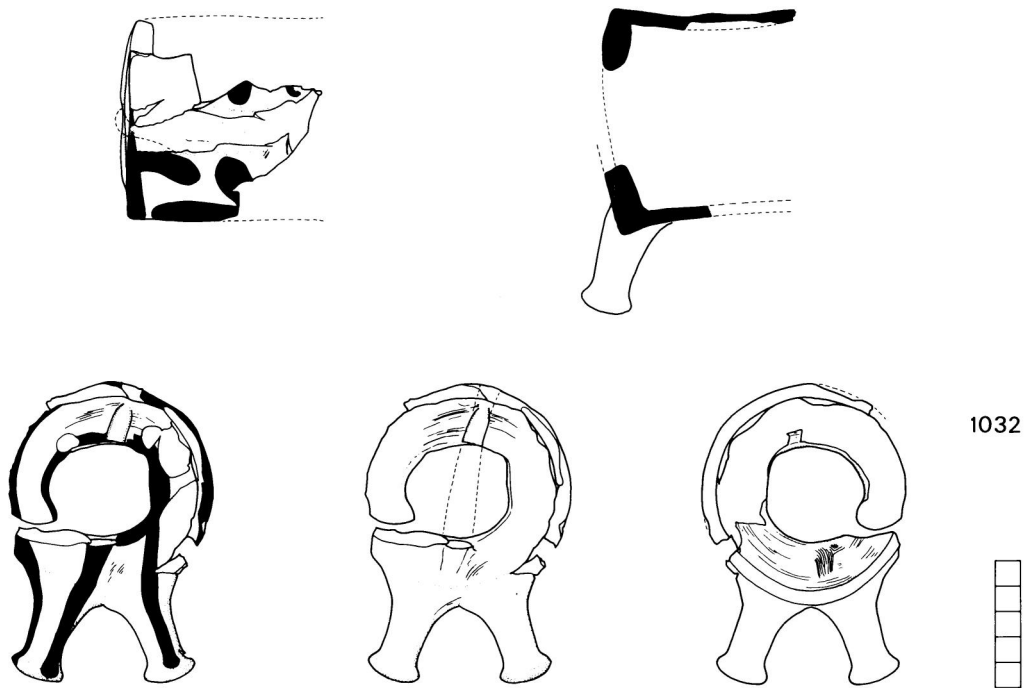


FIG. 6.24 Bovine figure. Scale 1:3

***SF 2670** (FIGS. 6.15—6.17, combined with **SF 836**; PLATE 41 *c—d*)

Bovine figure, right horn and tail restored; plastered before cataloguing.

H. 40.9; L. (to end of body, not tail) 31; W. 10.5

Pink clay, buff slip; well smoothed; red brown paint; now very worn except for one horn; local.

Wheelmade (presumably) body; slightly hollow disc at chest narrowing to shoulders, flaring gradually to angle at rear of body; rear end gentle curve with central spouted orifice; plastic spine; tail free; clay join of breast bone; tall hollow cylindrical legs with ridge on front legs; angular where they meet the body; flaring feet; tall thin neck, bulbous head with short sharply narrowing muzzle; pierced eyes and nostrils, incised mouth; orifice with slight knob on top of head; very tall vertical horns.

For decoration see 836

MLb layer 970, Assemblage C

SF 2685 (PLATE 40 *c*)

Bovine figure, small; head and right rear leg missing, badly damaged.

H. (ex.) 10.5; W. 6.3; L. 15

Fine buff clay, well smoothed surface; rich red brown paint; imported.

Cylindrical body flaring at each end; shaped haunches with knobs for bones; plastic breast bone, spine and tail; spine has three bumps at rear; two small holes on either side of applied band at front and back; legs conical but apparently somewhat naturalistically shaped. No evidence of manufacture.

Head attachment unusual: point of pulled clay at front with large hole pierced behind it; no stick marks visible.

Band solid painted; otherwise body totally covered in pattern of three-leafed 'clover' and crosses.

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C, Niche

SF 2687 (PLATE 39)

Bovine figure, horns and three legs missing. Plastered before cataloguing.

H. (ex.) 29; W. 7.5; L. 34.5

Darkish buff slip; burnished surface; brown paint fired reddish in patches particularly at rear end; probably local.

Cylindrical body; slightly shaped haunches with slight knob on either side; plastic spine extends into applied tail with slight curve (now restored from evidence of clay join); hollow conical leg with slight base.

Tall neck sloping forward, small head with large horns apparently sloping forwards; muzzle slants to right; rough central hole in muzzle; no other orifice; plastic eyes; heavy dewlap but not extended as breast bone.

Double Spine band; body left: band on lower body extending down side of legs; side zone of four-leafed 'clover' (with some stunted); right: vertical bars below body zone, down front leg, and on side of chest; three-leafed 'clover' and several irregular patterns in main zone.

Rings at base of horns; band across back of neck; circles with central dot for eyes and in centre of forehead and on sides of muzzle; band round edge of muzzle end; band under chin; barred chest and legs.

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C, niche.

***SF 2689** (FIGS. 6.21—6.22, PLATES 40 *a* and 42 *c—d*)

Bovine rhyton; horns, front legs and right back leg missing.

H. (ex.) 23; W. (body) 9; L. 32.7; Th. (body) 1

Buff clay with some grit, not well washed; surface well smoothed including with tool; worn shaded buff paint; probably imported.

Cylindrical wheelmade body with straight wheelmade legs; head of two wheelmade pieces with overlap towards nose; back of head shows edge of cylinder.

Nostrils incised with burnt stick, incised mouth, flap ears; chest bone, no spine, tail free and applied at end to right leg with small curl at end; slight flattened end for foot.

Vase applied to back through hole; rough inside with stick marks; two small vertical lug handles.

Plug at rear filling pierced hole; additional hole pierced above beside tail (i.e. after tail had been put on) with burnt stick (? is this a firing hole and the other needed for making the animal); overlapping joins at top of legs; front of chest has thick clay pad squeezed over it overlapping onto neck and top of legs.

Rings around base of right horn; Net on top of muzzle; two rings on muzzle; painted eyes; two lines across end of muzzle not coinciding with incision; band across back of head at level of ears; neck band; legs divided into vertical zones and crossed barred irregularly; tail cross barred; bands beside breast bone; barred zone along back; zones of double Isolated Semi-circles pendent from border bands on either side; vase has rim band, belly band and base line.

MLb layer 970, Assemblage C, niche

***SF 2690** (FIGS. 6.18—6.20, PLATES 41 *a—b* and 42 *a—b*)

Bovine figure, lower part of front left leg and horns missing.

H. (ex.) 32.5; L. 36; W. 8.1; Th. (body) 1.7

Pinkish buff clay with a little grit; slurry smoothed (no slip); local; red brown to black paint, lustrous where over good surface.

Wheelmade cylinder for body; tapering, (?) wheelmade legs with flattened feet; applied breast bone and spine; free tail; hole at front of body plugged; hole pierced at rear and left very rough inside; head complete (no technical internal details visible); good clay join at neck.

Applied conical eyes, small pinched ears, dewlap extending to breast bone; nostrils two punched holes not apparently penetrating to inside; incised line of mouth and 'beard' on chin.

Two wavy lines between horns and continuing up them; horns decorated partly with horizontal and partly lengthwise lines; spine on back of head and neck; dotted eyes; three lines from head band to end of nose each side; end of nose ringed; circle with central dot above nostrils; band across front of neck.

Dewlap/bone with ladder on left and bands on right; close very wavy lines either side to top of legs.

Leg decoration worn but apparently rough spine extending on sides of body; neck join used to form start of zone with spine line and edge lines and wavy lines between extending to back of figure; zone of diagonal lines with lower line on either side of body; back legs as front but two of the bars meeting across lower rump; two wavy lines up either side of rump; spine on tail.

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C, Niche

Fragmentary Examples, Heads**SF 68** (PLATE 43 *f*)

Bovine figure, neck fragment.

H. 4.75; W. 3.35

Pinkish clay, surface totally eroded.

Solid biconical section, broken or eroded at top; good clay join to body at bottom; ?feature lump on one side. No decoration preserved.

OLc layer 22, Assemblage L

SF 76 (PLATE 43 *f*)

Bovine figure, muzzle only.

L. 3.3; Di. 3

Warm buff clay; surface very worn; no paint preserved.

Muzzle as of SF 2690; solid piece made separately and attached to 'vessel' head; incised nostrils and mouth; ?'beard' now eroded; vertical pinching at the point of attachment to the head.

No decoration preserved.

OLc layer 30, Assemblage H

SF 1624 (PLATE 42 *e-f*)

Bovine figure, head only, battered, horns missing.

H. (ex.) 5.5; L. (ex.) 8.6; Di. (muzzle) 2.8

Dark clay, fired dark buff; smoothed surface; purple brown paint.

Solid, apparently very short neck; long muzzle; applied dewlap; plastic ears set low on neck; applied spine.

Net on top of muzzle; solid paint on features; irregular decoration on back as far as preserved.

NLa layer 335, West Shrine (Phase 2b/3a)

SF 1713

Bovine figure, horn

L. (ex.) 5.2; Di. (base) 1.2

Pink clay, darker at centre; pale buff slip; highly tooled and burnished.

Tall horn with no sign of angle. Undecorated. The fabric is similar to that of the dolphin figure from Kea (Caskey 1962a fig. 101e).

NLd/e layer 110, Street and Courtyard (Phase o/1c)

SF 1726 (PLATE 43 *f*)

Bovine figure, small, head only, left horn missing.

H. 3.8; L. (head) 3.1; Di. (nose) 1

Pink clay, slipped buff; shaded brown paint.

Head as of ordinary small animal but clay join to ?larger body below neck; bands and rings.

NLd/e space a/b layer 124, East Shrine (Phase o/2a)

SF 2254 (PLATE 43 *f*)

Bovine figure, neck fragment.

As SF 68 but less preserved.

NLe space c layer 34, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

Bodies:**SF 1079**

Bovine figure, clay join section from inner body where some limb attached; piercing clear.

NLe space c layer 71, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

SF 1732

Bovine figure, chip of outer body.

NLd/e layer 149, Assemblage L

SF 2166 (PLATE 43 *c*)

Bovine figure, body fragment.

Di. 10; Th. 1.15

Bright orange clay; pale buff slip; lightly smoothed surface; matt red paint.

Wheelmade cylinder, pulled in at end; decoration of blobs and crosses.

NLd/e space a/b layer 123, East Shrine (Phase o/2a)

SF 2173 (PLATE 43 *c*)

Bovine figure, body fragment.

Di. 4; Th. 0.65

Pinkish buff clay; pale buff slip; matt red paint much faded.

Narrow cylinder, probably wheelmade; scraped surface. No decoration. Possibly a feature and not the actual body.

NLc layer 213 pb 1314, Debris

SF 2174

Bovine figure?

Greenish buff clay.

End of very chipped body with fine wheel markings inside. This might be from a pot.

NLc layer 214, Assemblage G

SF 2235 (PLATE 43 *c*)

Bovine figure, body fragment.

Di. 8; Th. 1.5

Grey core, fired dull buff; surface roughly tooled or scraped; no paint.

Cylinder with heavy wheel marks.

OLd layer 61, Street and Courtyard ?(Phase 2b/3c)

SF 2277 (PLATE 43 *e*)

Bovine figure, body fragment.

H. (ex.) 6.3; L. 6; Th. 1

Darkish buff clay; pale slip; matt dark brown paint; local.

Handmade; flat clay join surface with decorated side rising diagonally from this.

Pendent wave with edge line, wiggly at top.

NLe space c layer 42, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

SF 2280

Bovine figure, body fragment.

L. (ex.) 8; Di. 8—10; Th. 0.85

Pink clay with grey core; pale buff slip; brown paint; local.

Segment of slightly shaped cylinder; wheelmade; start of back or front.

Lines along body; splash of paint in.

MLd layer 532, Surface

Legs:**SF 169** (PLATE 43 *a*)

W. 3.1

Buff clay; smoothed surface; crusty black paint.

Naturalistic type; cylinder with shaped end; split hoof.

Dots on leg; solid painted hoof; four blobs on base.

OLd layer 13, Surface

SF 502 (PLATE 43 *a*)

H. (ex.) 5.7; Di. (base) 3

Pink clay; surface very worn.

Short hollow cone with flaring base and attachment to body of figure.

No decoration preserved.

OLc layer 29, Assemblage H

SF 822 (PLATE 43 *a*)

H. (ex.) 3.5; Di. (base) 1.9

Dark buff clay; rough surface; black paint.

Similar in shape to the spout of a Stirrup Jar but with a sharp angle of attachment.

Bands out and solid paint at base extending inside.

NLe space a/b layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 2161 (PLATE 43 *a*)

H. (ex.) 3.5; Di. (base) 2.5

Grey clay, fired pink; surface very worn.

Short biconical leg firmly attached to main surface which was closed.

No decoration preserved.

Cf. SF 1032

NLe space c layer 34, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

SF 2234 (PLATE 43 *a*)

H. (of leg) 6.5; Di. (top) 2.7

Dark buff clay with grits; smoothed; matt red paint.

Conical, curved slightly to take weight; base chipped.

Three splodges of paint on outer surface.

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C, Niche

SF 2238 (PLATE 43 *a*)

H. (ex.) 4; Di. (leg) 1.9

Fabric as SF 2234 but paint rather less orange.

Conical with pinched end; flattened front.

Single blob of paint.

NLa layer 334, Debris

SF 2255

H. (ex.) 3.7; Di. (leg) 2.5; Di. (base) 3.5

Pinkish clay; smoothed surface; undecorated.

Cylinder; solid with splaying base slanted to stand.

NLe space c layer 34, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

SF 2336 (PLATE 43 *a*)

H. (ex.) 6; Di. (base) 3.2

Pink clay, fired buff; surface worn.

Hollow cone with flattened base and three slashings on one side; presumably rear leg because of angle. No decoration preserved.

NLc SW layer 236, Assemblage A

SF 2377 (PLATE 43 *a*)

H. (of leg) 7; Di. (top) 2.25

Pinkish buff clay with pale buff slip; smoothed surface; matt brown paint.

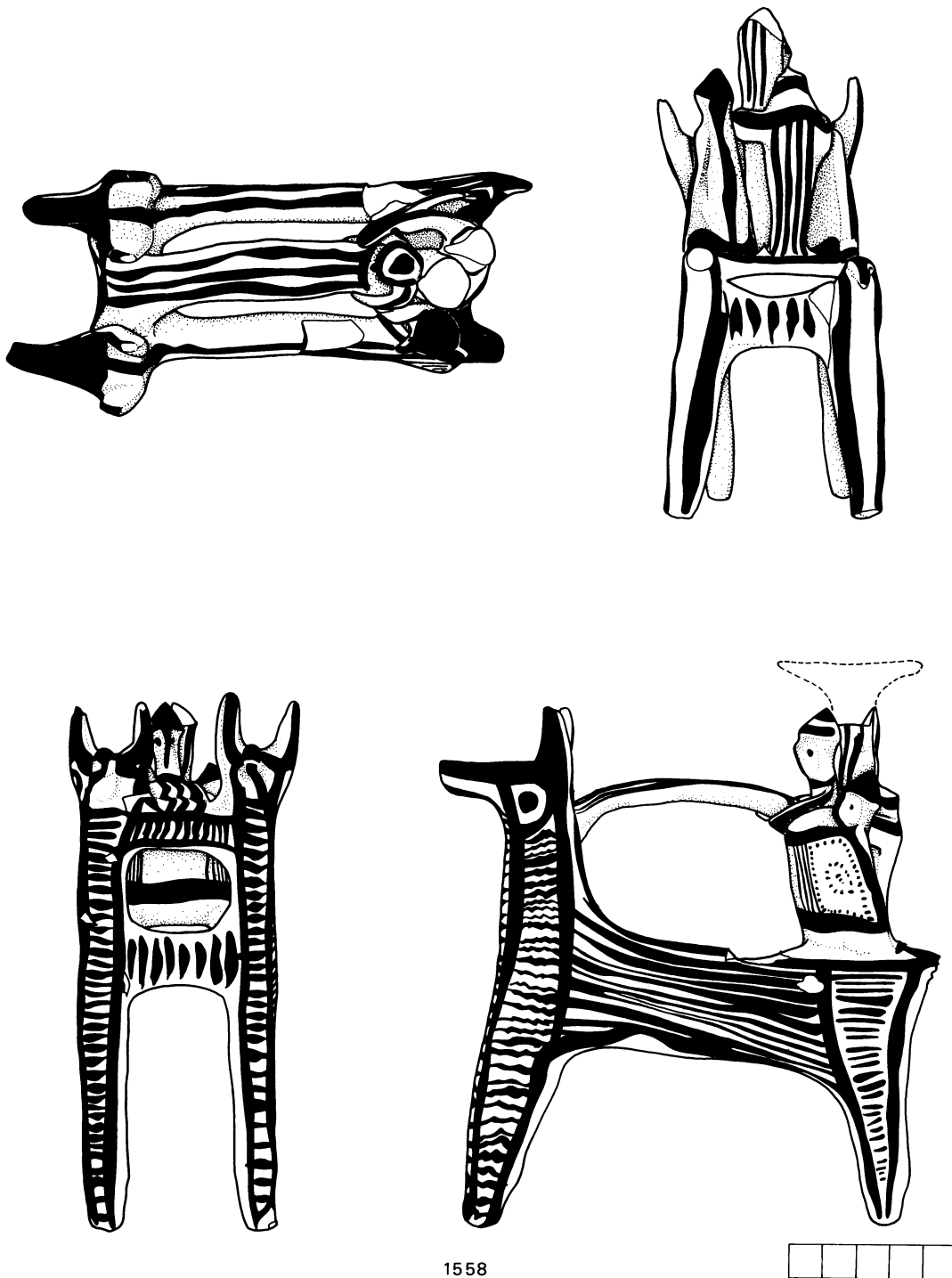
Conical with two flattened surfaces, presumably the external ones as they are also painted with two splodges.

NLc layer 252, Assemblage A

5. Group Figurines

Only two classes of group figurines were found in the shrines themselves: chariots and driven oxen. Of the three chariot groups and three fragments which have been clearly identified only one is imported. This example, SF 1558 (FIG. 6.25) came from the collapse deposit of the West Shrine (Assemblage A) and had been broken into many fragments. The elaborate construction of the piece with many plastic additions made this almost inevitable in such a destruction context. Almost all the fragments were found. It seems likely that the central pole held a parasol as in the Tiryns example (French 1973). From the same context came the head and yoke of SF 1563 (FIG. 6.26) of which the other section (much shattered) came from Assemblage G. It is just possible that this example was rescued and reused like the male figure SF 1550 from the same contexts. This is a locally made example with elaborate yoke. There are sockets for a reed support across the shoulder and rump; unfortunately the surface is too worn for us to tell whether these were an aid for firing only or formed the centre of a cross strut. The hole in the head of each horse may have been to aid firing or for some decorative feature, perhaps a plume. There is no evidence for the carriage or its occupants.

Two examples, locally made, came from the East Shrine, Floor 5 deposit (Assemblage D). SF 851 has elaborate detail and elongated horses. The two charioteers SF 839 and 862 and the parasol SF 843 from the same context are all a close match and have been incorporated in a restored sketch of the group (FIG. 6.28). The other, a fragment SF 846b, is of very small size and is only half preserved. Other pieces this small are known (e.g. French 1961, fig. 55:3 H. at rear *ca.* 4.5 cms).



1558

FIG. 6.25 Chariot group. Scale 1:2

Two well preserved driven oxen were identified, one from the lowest level in each shrine (Assemblages A and D) (SF 849 and 1562, PLATE 44 *b–c*). Both are stylistically datable to early LH IIIB and form part of the basic paired inventory of the two shrines (TABLE 6.2). A third rather odd piece (SF 779) from the Floor 1 deposit of the East Shrine (Assemblage L, FIG. 6.30) is probably a driven ox. There is also a head (SF 77) from the doorway of the East Shrine. All are imported.

Only one fragment of a throne SF 1019 (PLATE 47 *e*) comes from a good context, a phase 2a level of the street/courtyard. It does not have an immediate connection with the shrine complex and compares stylistically with the LH IIIA1 example from the Argive Heraion (Blegen 1937, 366). An example from Kea has similar decoration (Caskey pers. comm.). All the furniture fragments and applied figure fragments could antedate the shrines, and have parallels with material from elsewhere on the site (TABLE 6.1). The absence of thrones and seated figurines from the shrine repertoire should be noted.

1. Chariots:

*SF 846b (FIG. 6.26)

Chariot group, left forequarters only

H. (ex.) 4; L. (ex.) 5.2; W. (horse) 1.1; W. (group, ex.) 3.15

Pink clay, fine; well smoothed though irregular surface; orange red paint; local.

Small perky horse with cylindrical upturned muzzle; vertical ears; splaying legs; thick bar joining horses, both at front (preserved) and rear (clay join).

Irregular splashes of paint.

NLe space a, layer 62, Assemblage D.

*SF 851 (FIG. 6.27)

Chariot group, left horse and forequarter of right horse only.

H. 11; L. 18; W. (group) 6.5; Th. (horse) 1.6

Elongated flattened horses, tall necks, long muzzles, long ears extending back; Cross bars at neck and shoulder; flaring legs, short tail.

Clear clay join of large chariot box on rump and join of cross bar on inside.

Arching band along lower body and legs; other bands above (worn); ladder on neck.

NLe space a, layer 62; Assemblage D

Matching Pieces: Charioteers

SF 839 (FIG. 6.28)

H. 4.5; D. (face) 1.5; W. (at arms) 2.3

Warm buff clay, tooled surface; brown paint, mainly lustrous; local.

Strip figure, bent at base for attachment; right arm extended and bent slightly back as attached; left arm curving forward; head flattened as polos, pinched nose.

Band across base at back where attached; rough band up back; solid top to polos overlapping the edge; trace of paint on end of left arm.

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

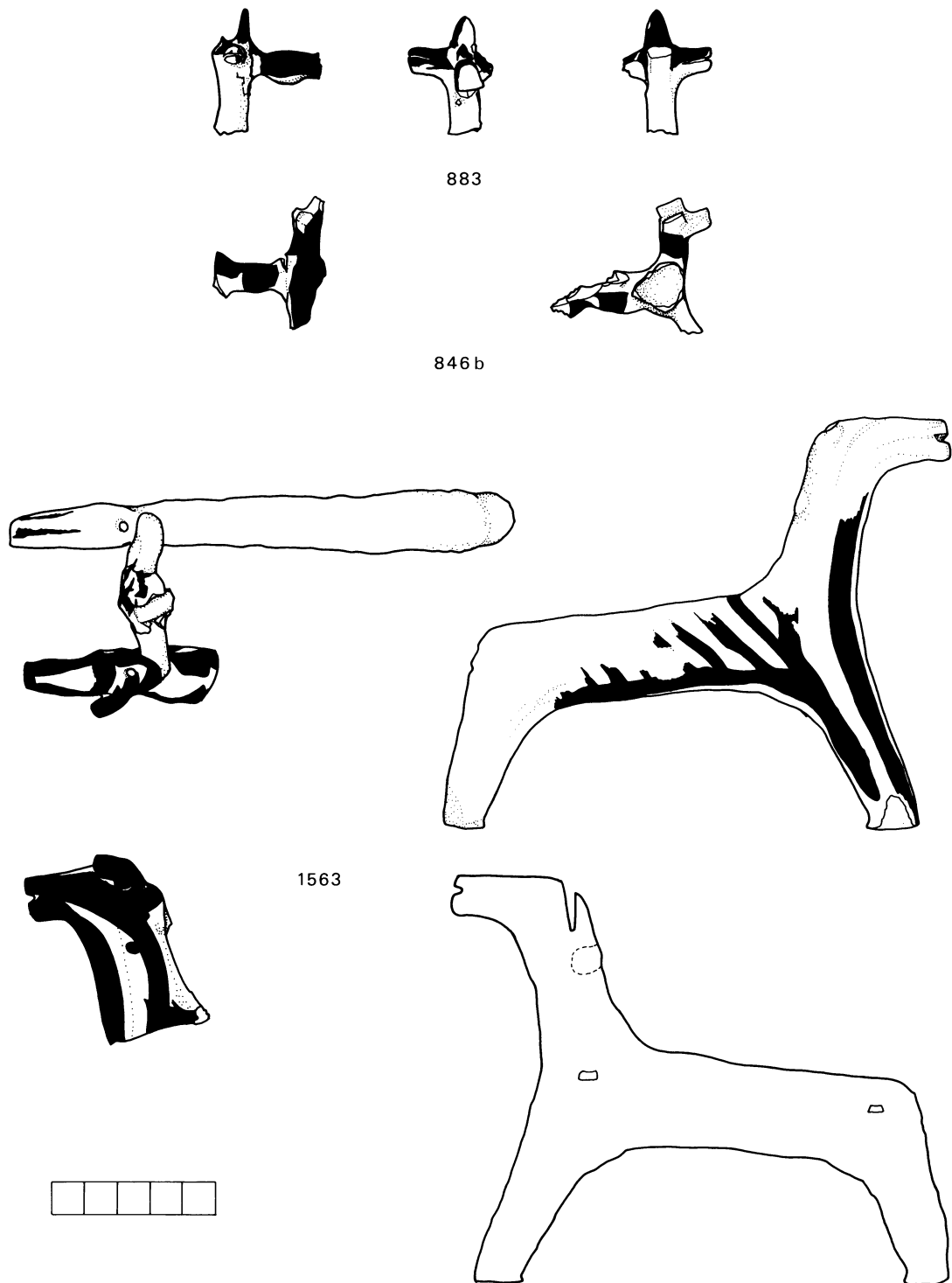


FIG. 6.26 Fragments of chariot groups. Scale 1:2

SF 862 (FIG. 6.28)

H. 4.8; D. (head) 1.3; W. (body at arms) 2.4

Warm buff clay, tooled surface; brown paint occasionally lustrous; local.

Columnar figure, base bent for attachment; right arm flat extended (as sort of Psi); unpainted; left arm curving forward, painted. Head with flattened top as polos, pinched nose.

Line of paint on edge of polos; band up back; paint on left arm.

Apart from base attachment, clay joins are not decisive, i.e. figure was loosely placed against other features in chariot.

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

*Umbrella***SF 843** (FIG. 6.28)

H. (ex.) 2.3; Di. (top) 4

Buff clay; polished on top only; brown shaded paint; local.

Disk with thin pinched stem; break and clay join at one point on edge.

Edge band and transverse lines on top; tiny trace of clay join on stem with trace of paint at right angles to other clay join.

This piece does not seem to be a large polos because of the poorly finished under surface and lack of paint here; it is suggested that it formed the umbrella/parasol of a chariot group.

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 883 (FIG. 6.26)

Chariot group, right horse head and cross bar only.

H. (ex.) 3.6; L. (ex.) 2.7; W. (group, ex.) 3.5; Di. (neck) 1.1

Pink clay, roughly smoothed surface with some tooling; red paint occasionally lustrous; local.

Tall straight neck, fairly long muzzle with incised mouth; tall vertical ears; start of yoke at back of head; short narrow cross bar.

Irregular splashes of paint; neck bare.

NLe space c, layer 76, Street and Courtyard (Phase 2a)

***SF 1558** (FIG. 6.25, PLATE 44 a)

Chariot group, restored from fragments; left horse tail, one head and ?parasol missing.

H. (max. at horses' heads) 15.4; L. (max. from horses' noses to tails) 16; W. (at horses' necks) 5.8; Th. (horses' body) 1.3

Grey core, fired pink; buff slip; surface smoothed; brown paint, lustrous; imported.

Pair of flattened horses; short bodies; tall necks; conical noses; fairly long pointed ears; horizontally tails/spurs.

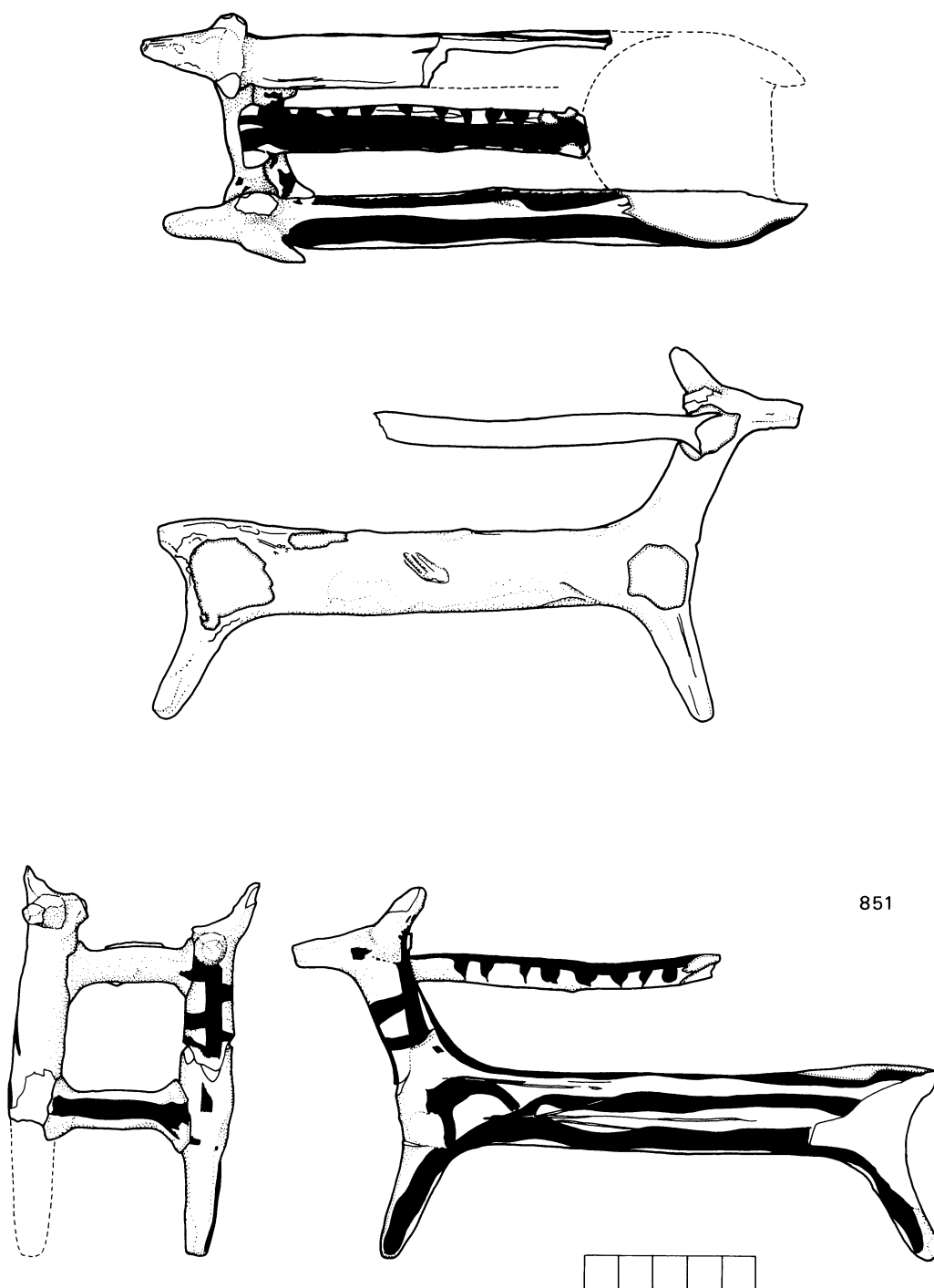
Cross bars at neck and at shoulder on front and at back at haunches below chariot which is separate. Chariot itself is flat bottomed basket resting on the haunches. Pole/reins as broad strip from top cross bar to top edge of chariot.

Chariot contains three people and a tall bar (probably parasol); the front man has hands over the edge of the chariot holding either side of the reins/pole; immediately behind him is the bar which is slightly bulbous (without obvious significance); the rear figure has long arms reaching around both bar and driver to clasp the edge of the chariot; this figure is almost free standing; the third figure is squashed into the left hand side of the chariot outside the arm of the rear figure; he has no arms and his head barely extends over the top of the chariot; the front two figures have conical hats preserved.

Ladder pattern up the fronts of both horses and on the top cross bar, vertical lines only on the lower one; side front of each horse has ladder of wavy cross lines (spaced on the right horse, continuous on the left); eye of ringed dot; nose and neck emphasised with lines; lines along bodies and pole/reins; triangular zone of ladder on the side back of each horse; lines on legs; vertical lines on cross bar; inside the bottom of the chariot is solid painted; the figures have vertical lines where possible, solid painted hats, and dot eyes.

Chariot box has three vertical lines and a zone internally edged with dots and with a dotted circle in the middle (with a further extra dotted filled on the left side).

NLc layer 221, Assemblage A



851

FIG. 6.27 Chariot group. Scale 1:2

***SF 1563** (FIG. 6.26)

Chariot group, right horse, head of left horse and yoke only; parts very eroded.

H. 12.2; L. 14; W. horse: 1.6; group: 6

Pink clay with grit, surface pared and lightly polished; red paint, lustrous in places; local.

Flattened bodies with holes of cross support at shoulder and rump; firing hole on each head. Squared muzzle with open mouth; well shaped curling ear. Yoke curving between heads with chariot pole attached in ball of clay at centre. Clay join of chariot shows as change of firing colour on rump. Flattened feet.

Arch bands along body and neck; diagonal lines on body; bands on neck and face.

NLc layer 221, Assemblage A

SF 2247 (PLATE 43 d)

Chariot group, fragment of left forequarters only.

H. (ex.) 2.65; L. (ex.) 1.1; Th. (leg) 0.8

Dark pink clay, slightly sandy; rough surface; matt red paint; local.

Apparently top of leg and start of cross bar.

Splash of paint on top of leg.

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 2341

?Chariot group, pole.

L. (ex.) 4.3; Di. 1.2

Greenish clay with grits; smoothed surface; no paint visible; origin uncertain.

Long cylinder curving toward one end which is flattened and seems to have been attached. NB might be handle.

NLe (SW) layer 237, Assemblage A

2. Driven Oxen:**SF 77**

Driven ox, fragment of head only.

H. (ex.) 2; W. (ex) 3.5; W. (end of horn to centre of head) 2

Pink clay, buff slip; well smoothed surface; brown paint; imported.

Short vertically curving horn; clay join of reins on top of head.

Line up either side of horn, short cross blobs between; lines along muzzle with ?Quirk in centre.

OLc layer 22 continued; From doorway of room, Assemblage L

SF 514

Driven ox, head only, horns broken.

H. (ex.) 2; W. (ex.) 3.5; L. (nose to back of head) 2.8

Buff clay; well smoothed surface; faded brown paint; imported.

Short conical muzzle; spreading vertical horns (not apparently very long); rather thick neck; break of reins on back of head.

Neck band; line along muzzle; three lines up each horn; cross bars on top of horns.

Old layer 59, Street and Courtyard? (Phase 2b/3c)

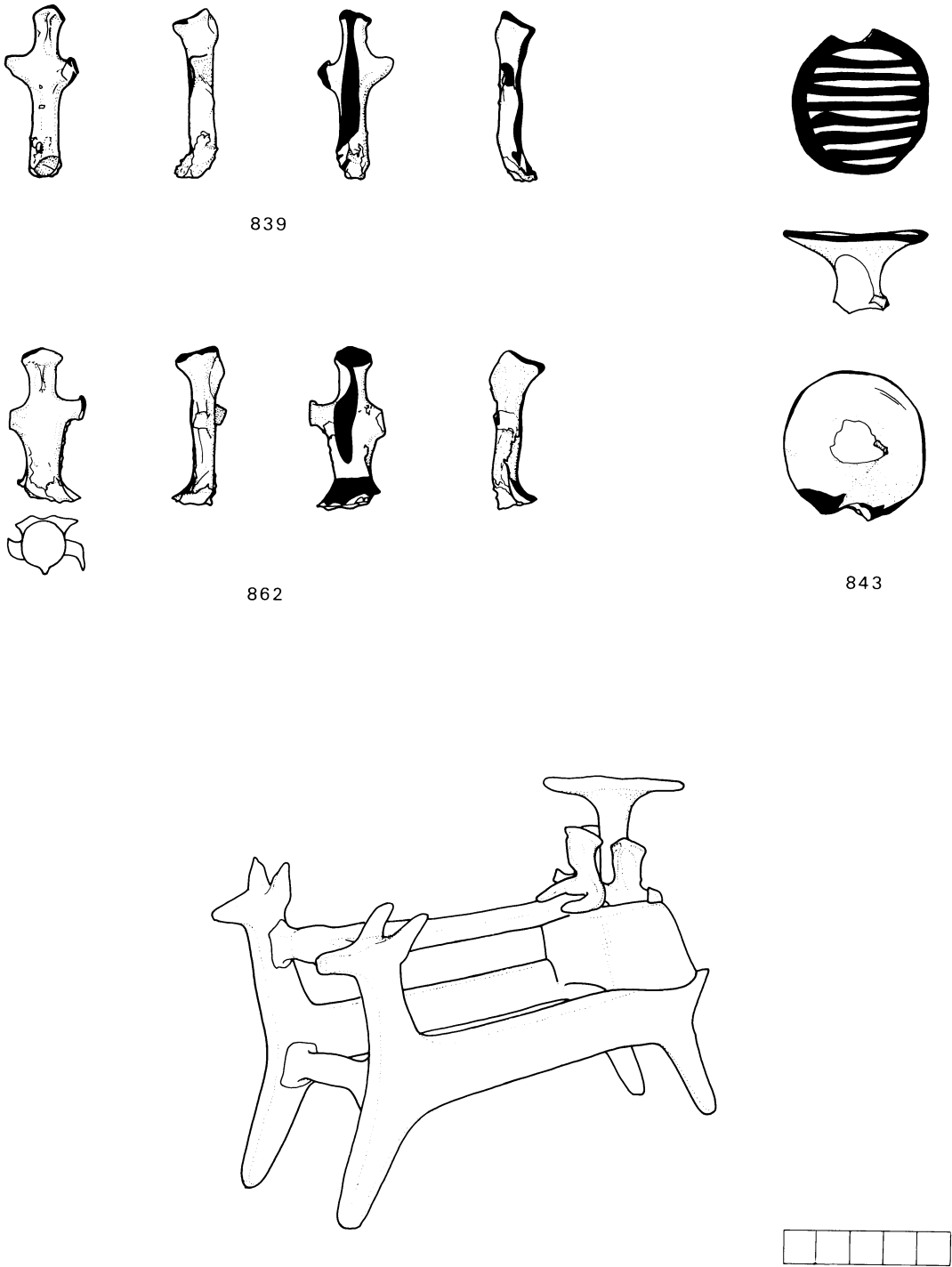


FIG. 6.28 Matching pieces of chariot group. Scale 1:2

***SF 779** (FIG. 6.30)

Animal figurine, horns and right rear leg broken.

H. (ex.) 6.5; L. 9; W. (front legs) 4; Di. (body) 1.3

Pinkish buff clay; polished surface; orange paint; imported.

Thin; long legs; something apparently applied on back, ?driven ox. Lines along body at back and across at front; decoration at rear not preserved.

NLe layer 53, Assemblage L

***SF 849** (PLATE 44 c)

Driven ox, right front leg missing, horns broken.

H. 7.5; L. 11; Di. (body) 1.4

Buff clay; well smoothed surface; shaded brown paint; imported.

Thin body with tall conical splaying legs; slight nose at end of short conical muzzle; flattened figure well blended into top of back legs; arms clasp reins which extend from back of horns; head with slight polos. Both the figure and the reins twist to the right and the nose is also irregular.

Ladder up front of legs; neck band, band on nose and across horns, dotted eyes; three lines along body; lines up back legs and extending onto figure; cross lines on reins and arms; cross lines on back of neck; line on nose and edge of polos, dotted eye.

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 1562 (PLATE 44 b)

Driven ox, right horn, figure and most of reins missing.

H. 6.9; L. 10.8; W. (front legs) 4; Di. (body) 1.7

Pale fine buff clay; surface presumably once polished; faded dark brown paint; imported.

Vertical horns with reins starting between them from top of head; vertical extension at rear with tail behind; normal spine decoration.

Spine 1 type.

NLc layer 221, Assemblage A

SF 2236

Reins from driven ox or similar

L. (ex.) 3.8; W. 1.4

Dark orange clay, buff slip, well smoothed surface; brown paint, mainly matt; ?local.

Strip oval in section; plain beneath; ladder on top.

NLa layer 332, Surface

3. Furniture and Seated Figurines:**SF 157** (PLATE 47 e)

Throne. open type, one leg and part of seat.

H. (ex.) 3.4; Di. (seat) 8; W. (leg) 1.8; Th. (leg) 0.75

Pink clay, buff slip, polished surface, lustrous red brown paint; imported.

Circular seat with slightly upturned edge; broad flattened leg with pinched base, start of vertical above leg; no sign whether occupied or not.

Lines across seat and up leg, also vertically on edge of seat; ring at start of vertical.

OLc layer 11, Surface

SF 1019 (PLATE 47 *e*)

Tall throne, half back only.

H. (ex.) 9 (this is the total height of the back); W. (ex.) 5; Th. 0.6

Grey core, fired dark buff; roughly smoothed surface; black paint; origin uncertain.

Hollow curve of basket type throne; start of arms and lower seat at bottom of preserved section.

Inside: band at edge and up centre, wavy band between; outside: band at edge and up centre ending in double(?) curve, spirals in side zone.

NLd/e space a, layer 102, Street and Courtyard (Phase 2a)

SF 2170 (PLATE 47 *e*)

Seated figurine, legs only.

H. (ex.) 2.3; W. (ex.) 2.7; Th. (leg) 0.7

Warm buff clay; well smoothed surface; red paint once lustrous; origin uncertain.

Two rolls of clay applied together and to seat of throne; knees bent; legs hang over edge (feet missing).

Stripes along legs and parallel to them on seat.

NLc layer 224, Prior to use of West Shrine, Phase o

SF 2239

Furniture, corner fragment only, probably from leg of throne.

H. (of leg) 3.5; W. (ex.) 1.8; Th. 0.6

Pink clay with grits; well smoothed outer surface, unfinished inside; matt red paint; origin uncertain.

Rectangular leg with rounded corner; side thickened by rolling; just turning for attachment at top.

Band at side and base and inside at base; pattern in centre.

MMb layer 1001, Surface

SF 2281

Throne, open type, arm only.

H. (ex.) 2.1; W. (ex.) 3.4; W. (of arm) 1.5; Th. (of arm) 0.7

Buff clay; well smoothed (on section preserved); lustrous red paint; imported.

Typical shape of junction of arm and upright making bulge; band along back and up the vertical, vertical cross bars on inside of arm.

NKc/d layer 816, West Shrine, construction and early use, Phase 1b

6. Animal Figurines

The most striking feature of the animal figurines, apart from the high proportion of them to other figurines, is the mixture of types found in each major context (PLATES 45, 47). Each main group contains types elsewhere associated with early and late contexts and they seem to have been in use together. The types of animal figurines which are based on decoration and not on shape are less easy to divide one from another than the types of females. The decoration develops continuously from a wavy style with many body lines to a simple linear style with few lines. The groups within this development often overlap. FIG. 6.29 shows this development; SF 789 belongs to the Wavy 2 type, SF 856 to the Linear 1, SF 887 to Linear 2, SF 166 and 168 to the Late Linear while SF 774 is of the Spine type. (For a full diagram with chronological suggestions see French 1971, 151.) What is clear at Phylakopi is that several stages of this decorative development which elsewhere are not found together occur in the same contexts. This indicates that the early figurines dating from the first use of the shrine survived the destructions and changes and were

re-used later. The figurines of Wavy 2 type which are stylistically the earliest could date from before the building of the shrine but could also belong to its earliest period, contemporary with the large female figure SF 2660. SF 175 of Spine 1 type from Floor 1 of the East Shrine is possibly re-used as a fragment of its horn was found beneath Wall 105. The small size and compact stature of the animal figurines may have helped to preserve them and slight breakages to horns and legs were obviously ignored. Only on Floor 2 of the East Shrine is there a group of extremely shattered animal figurines.

The most unusual of the animal figurines is SF 767 (PLATE 46 *f*) where the fabric, a red micaceous clay, covered with a rich cream slip and decorated in matt red paint, is that of earlier figurines from Kea. It must be an import.

There is little typological comment to make on these animals. The Wavy 2 group is small and has no local imitations. The Linear 1, 2 and Spine 1 groups are all copied locally with varying success and skill. There is only one example of the very abbreviated and stylized Spine 2 type. It is imported. In contrast the examples of the late linear type are all local. They are closely similar however to mainland examples from Mycenae, Tiryns and Lefkandi. SF 2348 though stocky is an extremely handsome piece. At Lefkandi examples of this type are found in phase 1a and in later phases. This confirms the evidence from other sites that it is the stylistic contemporary of the Late Psi type of female figure.

Animal figurines were found in both shrines, notably in Assemblages A/G and J of the West Shrine and in *all* the assemblages of the East Shrine. The significance of this is discussed below (Chapter IX) by Professor Renfrew. The pairing of the offerings already noted in the bovine figures, chariot groups and driven oxen (TABLE 6.2) is seen very strikingly in the animal figurines where there are three pairs of almost identical figurines (PLATE 46). This pairing enables us to link assemblages J and L closely as these two figurines (SF 2348 and 168) were probably not re-used but original dedications in phase 3c.

SF 166 (FIGS 6.29–6.30)

Animal figurine, forequarters and body, chipped.

H. 7.2; W.4; L.9 (very nearly original length); Di. (body) 1.55

Pink clay, well smoothed surface; red paint; very worn; ?local.

Typical shape; tail apparently applied to right leg; two bands along back; bands up legs and along side of body; band on horns; nose decoration uncertain.

'Late linear' type

OLc layer 21, Assemblage L

SF 168 (FIGS 6.29–6.30, PLATE 46 *c*)

Animal figurine, horns chipped.

H. 7.8; L. 9.5; W. 3.8; Th. (body) 1.9

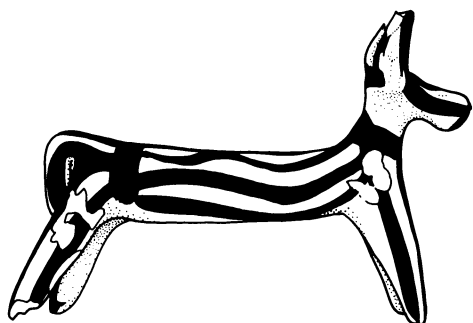
Grey core, dark buff clay; well smoothed, lustrous slightly shaded brown paint; local.

Short body, arched legs, long tail applied to right leg; well shaped head with forward sloping horns; slightly irregular version of 'late linear'; cross bars on horns; nose band; painted eyes and nostrils.

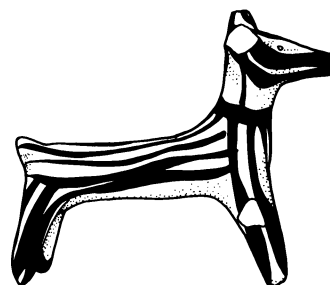
'Late linear' type; cf. SF 2348.

OLc layer 21, Assemblage L

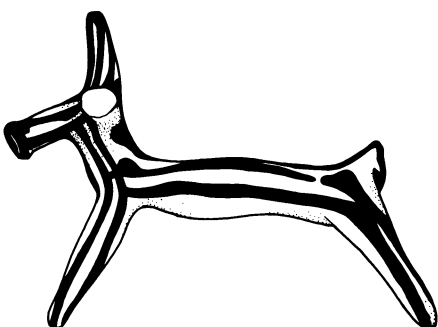
SF 175 See SF 1727



789



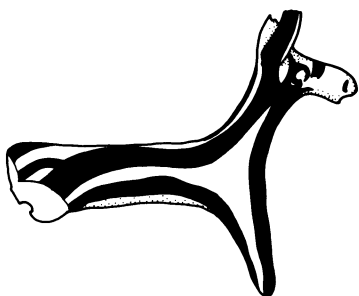
856



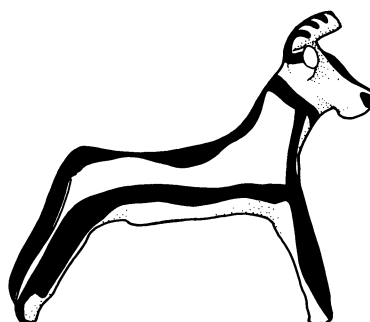
887



774



166



168

FIG. 6.29 Animal figurines. Scale 1:2

SF 185 (FIG. 6.30)

Animal figurine, tail, right hind leg and left horn missing.

H. 8; L. (ex.) 10.2; W. (front legs) 5; Di. (body) 2

Pinkish grey clay, hard fired; orange paint; worn surface; ?local.

Solid body and flaring legs; arched tail; spine decoration in thick bands; band on horns and down nose.

Heavy spine type

OLc layer 23, Assemblage L

SF 187 (FIG. 6.30)

Animal figurine, body only, very worn.

H. (ex.) 3.5; L. (ex.) 9; Di. (body) 1.5

Dark buff clay, surface totally eroded; local.

Elongated body; no details preserved; type uncertain.

OLc layer 23, Assemblage L

SF 189 (FIG. 6.30)

Animal figurine, complete, very worn.

H. 6; L. 10; Di. (body) 1.6

Pinkish clay with grit; tiny traces of buff surface and red paint; local.

Small head and short horns, free tail; stands irregularly.

'Late linear' type

OLc layer 26, Assemblage L

***SF 196** (PLATE 45 *b*)

Animal figurine, body and front legs only.

H. (ex.) 4.8; L. (ex.) 7.2; W. 3.3; Di. (body) 1.6

Dark warm buff clay; well smoothed surface; brown paint; rather worn; local.

Very short legs; tail shape uncertain; long arched neck.

Version of 'Late linear' decoration in which front leg bands go up neck and body band abuts.

'Late linear' type

OLc layer 29, Assemblage H

***SF 197** (PLATE 45 *b*)

Animal figurine, hindquarters and part of body.

H. (at rear) 6; L. (ex.) 9; Di. (body) 2.05

Grey core, fired pink, surface completely eroded; local.

Tall legs, short stumpy tail, arched neck; slight traces of paint but decoration not identifiable.

Type uncertain

OLc layer 29, Assemblage H

***SF 504** (PLATE 45 *b*, 48 *c* (from rear))

Animal figurine, body only, shattered.

H. (ex.) 2.9; L. (ex.) 8.5; Di. (body) 1.5

Pink clay, polished surface, red paint; imported.

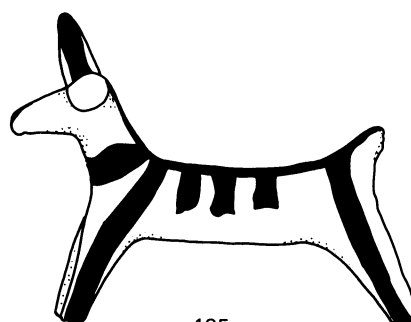
Elongated body, splaying legs, unusual clay join for hindquarters at rear.

Linear 1 type

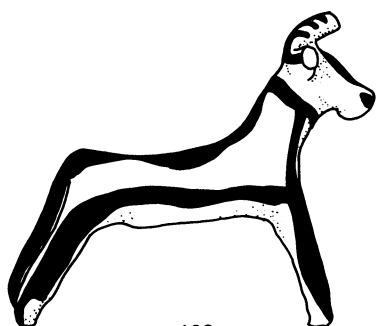
OLc layer 30, Assemblage H



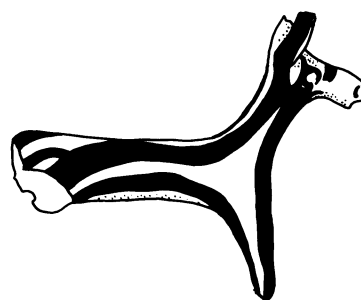
1727



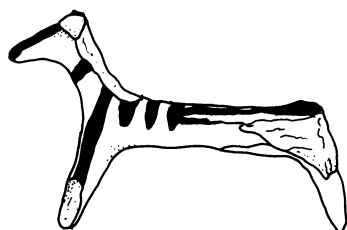
185



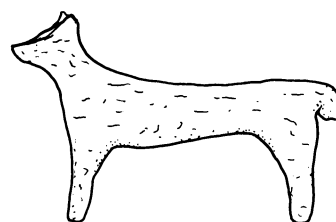
168



166



779



189



187

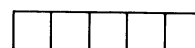


FIG. 6.30 Animal figurines from Assemblage L. Scale 1:2

SF 507

Animal figurine, forequarters only.

H. (ex.) 3.1; L. (ex.) 4.9; Di. (body) 1.8

Dark buff clay; smoothed surface; black paint; local.

Normal shape with tall neck; blobs of paint on sides and back.

Type uncertain

OLd layer 36, Surface

SF 517

Animal figurine, body only.

H. (ex.) 3; L. 6.7; Di. (body) 1.5

Pink sandy clay; ?pale buff slip; lightly smoothed; red paint; local.

Roughly shaped body, bulbous tail; roughly painted blobs or bars around body imitating banded or (more likely) spine type.

OLd layer 61, Street and Courtyard? (Phase 2b/3c)

SF 587

Animal figurine, forequarters.

H. (ex.) 3.6; L. (ex.) 3.9; Di. (body) 1.5

Grey clay (?colour from secondary burning); smoothed surface; black paint; ?local.

Splaying legs; lines up leg and along body; dots between in zone.

Type uncertain

NLd East Baulk layer 26, Surface/Debris

SF 759 (PLATE 46 *e*)

Animal figurine, horns and hindquarters broken.

H. 7.7 (tip of horn only broken); L. (ex.) 11.7; W. (legs) 3.7; Di. (body) 2.1

Dark buff clay, sandy with inclusions; smoothed surface; dark brown paint; much eroded; local.

As SF 1575 but muzzle heavier with traces of its formation on the right side; 'Late linear' banding.

'Late linear' type; pair with SF 1575.

NLe space c layer 42, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

SF 767 (PLATE 46 *f*)

Animal figurine, horns, nose, tail and left front leg broken.

H. (ex.) 6.5; L. (ex.) 9.3; Di. (body) 2.4

Red micaceous clay; white slip (lustrous); red paint.

Stocky body with both front and back legs curving forward; neck slopes forward; horns curl forward; well painted linear design of lines along body and cross lines on back of neck; triangle on top of head.

Imported possibly from Kea; fabric unique in the Shrine collection.

NLe space c layer 49, Street and Courtyard (Phase 3a/3c)

***SF 774** (FIG. 6.29, PLATE 45 *b*)

Animal figurine, nose and left front leg broken.

H. 7.8; L. (ex.) 9; W. (horns) 4.3; Di. (body) 1.55

Fine buff clay, polished surface; shaded brown paint; imported.

Well made; slightly pointed and applied tail; vertical horns.

Spine decoration with ribs extending well round the body; several lines on each leg; bands on horns; line on nose, dotted eyes.

Spine 1 type

NLd space 1 layer 52, Assemblage H

***SF 781** (PLATE 45 *b*)

Animal figurine, forequarters and body, left horn broken; shattered.

H. 8.2; L (ex.) 9; W. (legs) 4.3; Di. (body) 1.5

Fine buff clay, polished surface; faded dark brown paint; imported.

Elongated body; cylindrical muzzle; tall horn curving slightly forward; spine decoration with ribs curling round body; barred muzzle and horns.

Spine 1 type

NLe space a layer 55, Assemblage H

***SF 788** (PLATE 47 *d*)

Animal figurine, body only.

H. (ex.) 2.9; L. (ex.) 6.7; Di. (body) 1.2

Fine pink clay, buff slip; polished surface; red brown paint; imported.

Elongated body; high pointed and applied tail; spine decoration.

Spine 1 type

NLe space a/b layer 59, East Shrine, at or near the platform on Floor 4 (Phase 3a)

***SF 789** (FIG. 6.29, PLATE 46 *a* and 47 *d*)

Animal figurine, chipped but otherwise complete.

H. 8.9; Di. (body) 1.8; L. 11.7

Pink clay, buff slip; well smoothed surface; red paint, mainly lustrous; imported.

Cylindrical elongated body with splaying conical legs; central free tail; tall vertical horns, short muzzle.

Parallel wavy lines on body from neck band to band across haunches; two bands up right rear leg, three on left; two bands on tail; two bands up each of front legs; lines along back and front of horns and from horns to muzzle; two lines along top of muzzle.

Wavy 2 type; similar to but not identical with SF 1557

NLe space a/b layer 59, East Shrine, at or near the platform on Floor 4 (Phase 3a)

***SF 802** (PLATE 47 *c*)

Animal figurine, forequarters and head; right horn and leg broken.

H. 8; L. (ex.) 8; Di. (body) 1.4

Fine buff clay, polished surface; faded brown paint; imported.

Elongated body, tall arched and applied tail (now broken); horns slope slightly backwards; spine decoration with short painted ribs; cross bars on front of horns.

Very stylized spine type

NLe space a/b layer 60, East Shrine, at or near the platform on Floor 4 (Phase 3a)

***SF 805** (PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, forequarters, right leg broken.

H. 7.3; L. (ex.) 8.5; W. (horns) 5.4; Di. (body) 1.5

Fine pale buff clay, well polished outside; faded brown paint; imported.

Elongated body, long muzzle, spread vertical horns; spine decoration; bars on horns, painted muzzle, painted eyes.

Spine 1 type

NLe space a/b layer 61, Assemblage D

***SF 810** Forequarters of animal figurine. (PLATE 45 *a* both pieces linked with plasticene)

***SF 2260** Hindquarters of animal figurine, matching.

H. (rear) 4.7; Di. (body) 1.4

Fine pale buff clay; polished surface; faded brown paint; imported.

Elongated body, splaying legs; arched and doubled over tail extending to between legs; lines along body, of SF 858.

Probably Linear 2 type

NLe space a/b layer 61, Assemblage D

***SF 842** (PLATE 45 *a* and 48 *a*)

Animal figurine, forequarters and body only.

H. 7.5; L. (almost complete) 9; W. 3.8; Di. (body) 1.4

Fine buff clay, polished surface; shaded brown paint; secondary burning; imported.

Thin body, irregular front legs; tall horns and short muzzle; note unusual clay join at rear; a few lines along body; barred horns and muzzle.

Linear 2 type

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

***SF 852** (PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, right front and left rear leg broken.

H. 8; L. 11; Di. (body) 1.9

Dark buff clay, lightly polished; shaded brown paint; ?local.

Slightly elongated body, high arched and applied tail vering slightly to right; horns almost vertical; bands from horns to lower muzzle; band along muzzle; dotted eyes; irregular lines on body, normal shoulder transition.

Linear 1 type

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

***SF 854** (PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, broken but now complete.

H. 7.7; L. 11.2; W. (legs) 4.2; W. (horns) 5.2; Di. 1.55

Fine buff clay, polished surface; thin orange brown paint; imported.

Elongated body; long centrally applied tail; long muzzle, tall vertical horns; a few lines on body; barred horns and muzzle.

Linear 2 type

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 856 (FIG. 6.29, PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, horns broken.

H. (ex.) 7; L. 9; W. 4.2; Di. (body) 1.4

Fine buff clay, polished surface; shaded brown paint; imported.

Short body; front legs much longer than rear; broad pinched and applied tail almost worked in at rear; short pointed muzzle; vertical horns; many lines on body and head.

Linear 1 type

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 857 (PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, legs and horns broken.

H. (ex.) 5; L. 8; Di. (body) 1.45

Dark buff clay, tooled and smoothed surface; dark brown shaded paint, lustrous; local.

Small, rather ill shaped with very splaying legs; long neck sloping forward, long pointed muzzle with bump on top; irregular linear decoration.

'Late linear' type

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

***SF 858** (PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, hindquarters only.

H. (at rear) 5; L. (ex.) 6.3; Di. (body) 1.7

Fine buff clay, polished surface; faded dark brown paint; imported.

Elongated body with high pointed and applied tail which extends down centre of rear to between legs; lines along body.

Linear 2 type

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 867 (PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, horns broken, legs missing.

H. (ex.) 5; L. 10; Di. (body) 1.9

Fine buff clay, polished surface; shaded brown paint; imported.

Muzzle with bulbous end; thick rear with applied tail set very high; many fairly neat and slightly wavy lines along body; many lines on front legs; many lines on head.

Early linear 1 type

NLe space a layer 63, Assemblage D

***SF 882** (PLATE 48 *d*)

Animal figurine, hindquarters.

H. (at rear) 4.5; L. (ex.) 4.2; Di. (body) 2.2

Pink sandy clay; smoothed surface; matt red paint; local.

Stocky body, conical leg, arched tail applied to left leg; probably version of 'Late linear' decoration.

'Late linear' type

NLe space c layer 74, Assemblage E

SF 887 (FIG. 6.29, PLATE 45 *a*)

Animal figurine, left horn broken.

H. 8.2; L. 11.2; W. (legs) 4.6; Di. (body) 1.35

Fine buff clay, polished surface; shaded brown paint; imported.

Thin body, rather elongated; pointed and applied tail; squared muzzle, vertical horns; many lines along body and on head.

Linear 1 type

NLe space a/b layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 1526 (PLATE 47 *b*)

Animal figurine, head missing.

H. (ex.) 4.4; L. (ex.) 7.3; Di. (body) 1.9

Pinkish clay, smoothed surface; lustrous red brown paint; worn; local.

Short stocky body with splaying conical legs; central curly tail; rough spine; decoration with odd leg transitions.

Local copy of Spine 1 type

NLc layer 214, Assemblage G

SF 1557 (PLATES 46 *a*; 47 *a*)

Animal figurine, left horn and right rear leg missing.

H. 8.2; L. 13; Di. (body) 1.9

Pink clay, buff slip, well smoothed surface; red paint, mainly lustrous; imported.

Cylindrical elongated body with conical splaying legs, central applied tail; horns sloping forward; long muzzle with flattened end.

Parallel wavy lines along body from neck band to band across haunches; two bands up each leg, central band on tail; band across back of horns; two bands each side from horn to end of muzzle; end of muzzle solid painted.

Wavy 2 type; similar to but not identical with SF 789.

NLc layer 221, Assemblage A

SF 1575 (PLATES 46 *e*; 47 *a*)

Animal figurine, right horn broken.

H. 7.6; L. 12.35; W. (legs) 3.7; Di. (body) 2.25

Dark buff sandy clay with inclusions; smoothed surface (very worn); dark brown paint; local.

Stocky but quite elongated body; short sturdy legs; bulbous tail applied to left leg; simple 'Late linear' decoration.

'Late linear' type; pair with SF 759.

NLc layer 218, Assemblage A

SF 1586

Animal figurine, forequarters.

H. 6.5; L. (ex.) 7; Di. (body) 1.8

Grey core, fired pink with inclusions; smoothed surface; red paint; worn; local.

Thick body with small legs, small head with short vertical horns; 'Late linear' decoration.

'Late linear' type

NLc layer 213 pb 1335, Assemblage F

***SF 1606**

Animal figurine, body and right front leg.

H. (ex.) 4.9; L. (ex.) 8.2; Di. (body) 1.8

Pink sandy clay, buff slip, smoothed surface; local.

Elongated body, slightly stocky; central tail; band up legs and over back at each end; two body rings.

Local, perhaps imitating a mainland late type

NLa layer 305, Surface

***SF 1727** (FIG. 6.30, PLATE 46 *b*)

Animal figurine, left horn chipped.

H. 7.4; L. 8.3; W. 3.6; Di. 1.5

Buff clay, polished, brown paint; imported.

Missshapen; right rear leg does not stand and head turned to left. Small, stocky; central conical tail; well made head with vertical horns; spine decoration; nose band; barred horns including underneath; painted eyes.

Spine 1 type

NLd/e space a/b layer 123, 124 or 63, ?Assemblage D, re-used in Assemblage L (SF 175)

***SF 1736** (PLATE 45 *b*)

Animal figurine, forequarters, shattered.

H. (ex.) 5; D. (head) 3.65; Di. (body) 1.9

Pink clay, buff slip, polished surface; red brown paint; imported.

Fairly large example of linear 1 type; long muzzle with squared end; many lines on body, horns and nose; unusual triangular scheme on top of head.

Linear 1 type

NLd/e layer 150, Assemblage H

SF 2242 (PLATE 48 *b*)

?Horse head.

H. (ex.) 4.5; Di. (neck) 1.45

Grey clay with inclusions; fired pink; soft; encrusted dark red paint; origin uncertain.

Neck triangular in section arching upward; flat top to head; features broken; all over decoration of small squares with dot fill.

Unusual

OLd layer 50, Debris

SF 2270 (PLATE 45 *b*)

Animal figurine, head only.

H. (ex.) 5.7; W. (at horns) 6; Di. (neck) 1.85

Grey core, fired pink, surface completely eroded; local.

Small nose, horns curling forward slightly; decoration not identifiable.

Type uncertain

OLc layer 29, Assemblage H

SF 2301

Animal figurine, hindquarters only, legs broken.

L. (ex.) 6.7; W. (ex.) 3.8; Di. (body) 2.6

Buff clay with slight grit, well smoothed; red brown paint, faintly lustrous; imported.

Thick body flaring at each end; fat conical legs flaring sideways; tail probably applied to right leg.

Close wavy lines on body; leg decoration uncertain.

Wavy 2 type but early in series because of body shape.

NLc (E Baulk) layer 226, Surface

SF 2348 (PLATE 46 *c-d*)

Animal figurine, complete except for left horn.

H. 9.4; L. 10; W. (legs) 4.2; Di. (body) 2.2

Dark buff clay, lightly polished surface; brown paint; local.

Stocky body; arched front legs; long tail hanging down right leg; short fat muzzle; horns curved forward; 'Late linear' bands with dots in zone; painted eyes and nostrils; barred horns.

'Late linear' type; cf. SF 168.

NLc (SW) 241, Assemblage J

Fragmentary examples, Horns:

Fabric of all is buff, smoothed/polished; red brown paint; probably imported.

Large:

SF 864

L. 5.5; Di. 1.2

Broad band of paint on upper surface.

NLd layer 66, Below East Shrine, Phase o/2a

Small:

Cross bars at front:

SF 2249 NLe space a layer 62 Assemblage D

Line or band along horn:

SF 181	OLc layer 23	Assemblage L
SF 571	NLd space 1 layer 15	East Shrine Phase 3c
SF 801	NLe space a/b layer 60	East Shrine, Floor 4, Phase 3a
SF 1753	NLd/e layer 155	Below East Shrine, Phase o/2a
SF 2263	NLd space IV layer 23	Street and Courtyard, Phase 3a/c

Heads:**SF 96**

Head: Di. (neck) 1.35; D. (head) 2.7

Pinkish buff clay; polished surface preserved in one small section only; red brown paint; origin uncertain.

Small features; band up horn.

OLc layer 23, Assemblage L.

SF 1707

Head: W. (horns) 4.15; Th. (at neck) 1.15

Buff clay, slightly pink at core; smoothed surface; shaded brown paint; imported.

Manufacture unusual; neck band; band on back of neck; band across horns.

NLd/e space c layer 100, Street and Courtyard, Phase 2a

SF 1740

Horns and back of head (might be front legs and neck!)

H. 4; W. 3.1

Dark buff clay; surface completely eroded; local.

Application marks of (?) horns show inside.

NLd/e layer 151, East Shrine, Floor 4, Phase 3a

SF 2261

Nose only: Di. 1.15

Buff clay; smoothed; brown black paint; ?imported.

Conical; single band on top.

NLd/e layer 153, Below East Shrine, Phase o/2a

Bodies:**SF 78**

Forequarters: H. (to neck) 3.8

Buff clay, imported.

OLc layer 22, Assemblage L

SF 95

Shoulder: L. (ex.) 3

Dark clay; buff slip; probably local.

OLc layer 22, Assemblage L

SF 2159

Body fragment: Di. 1.7

Local fabric, very worn.

OLc layer 22, Assemblage L

SF 2276

Body fragment: Di. 2

Pinkish clay; buff slip; polished; ?imported.

Line along body at base with diagonals above.

NLe space c layer 34, Street and Courtyard, Phase 3a/c

Legs:

Unusual:

SF 1016

L. (ex.) 5.2; Di. 1.3

Fine buff clay, smoothed surface; red paint, matt; origin uncertain.

Cylinder applied diagonally at top with distinct 'hip' joint; red paint all over the outer visible surface.

NLd/e layer 95, Street and Courtyard, Phase 3a/c

Large:

SF 559

Back leg of pinkish buff local fabric, smoothed surface, red paint.

NLd layer 7, Debris

SF 888

Front leg (or horn) of similar fabric to SF 559.

NLe space c layer 82, Street and Courtyard, Phase 2a

SF 1524

H. 4.5; Di. (top) 1.5

Pink clay; red paint; worn.

Conical, slightly flattened in section; vertical lines.

NLc layer 214, Assemblage G

SF 1552

Typical leg; Buff clay, pink at core; buff slip; brown paint.
Vertical lines.

NLc layer 218, Assemblage A

SF 2257

H. (ex.) 3; Di. 1.4

Buff clay; polished; lines of paint very worn.

Cylinder, cf. SF 1016 but not quite as unusual; bottom not preserved.

NLe space c layer 34, Street and Courtyard, Phase 3a/c

Small, all typical conical in shape unless stated.

SF 94

H. 3.6

Dark clay, surface eroded; local.

OLc layer 29, Assemblage H

SF 860

H. 2.3

Buff clay. Thin.

NLe space a/b layer 63. Below East Shrine, Phase o/2a

SF 2191

H. 2.6

Dark pink clay; ?local. Rough with slight foot.

NLe space c layer 84, Street and Courtyard, Phase 2a.

SF 2245

H. 2.1

Buff clay. Slight foot.

NLe space c layer 76, Street and Courtyard, Phase 2a

SF 2248

H. 2.6

Buff clay.

NLe space a layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 2379

H. 2.2

Pink clay. Slight foot.

NLc (SE) layer 252, Assemblage A

Animal Figures or Figurines**Pieces not immediately comprehensible****SF 1091**

?Leg fragment; fine buff clay.

NLd/e layer 137, below shrine, Phase o/a

SF 1130

Body; buff clay with grits.

NLe layer 61, Assemblage D

SF 2171

?Leg fragment; soft pink clay.
NLe layer 216, Assemblage G

SF 2258

?Body/leg fragment; buff clay; red paint.
NLe layer 62, Assemblage D

SF 2265

Applied band; dark clay.
NLd space IV layer 23, Street and Courtyard, Phase 3a/c

Surface and internal pieces (probably from figures already known)

SF 1089

Two pieces which may be pot and one ?horn of local fabric.
NLd/e layer 125, Below East Shrine, Phase 0/2a

SF 1132

Worn pieces of local fabric, perhaps from SF 836
NLe layer 59, East Shrine, Floor 4, Phase 3a

SF 1584

Body fragment in very poor condition.
NLc layer 218, Assemblage A

SF 2262

Scraps of surface and inside, with some decoration (not necessary all animal).
NLc layer 214, Assemblage G

7. Miscellaneous

The sherds of a possible fish rhyton are particularly interesting. The best example of this type of object and that on which the tentative identification has been made is the example from the West Wall Deposit at Tiryns (Verdelis 1956, fig. 13). This has the scales naturalistically rendered as on these sherds.

Also included here are three sherds from typical bird askoi (*FS* 194) because they have been catalogued as figurines rather than pots.

Note: SF 1084 (PLATE 44 *c*) is part of a box.

SF 1087 (PLATE 48 *e*)

?Fish Rhyton

Th. 0.4; H. (ex.) 3.8; W. (ex.) 3.1

Orange buff clay; buff slip; polished surface; dark brown paint; probably imported.

Wheelmade but main piece has irregular shaping before firing; fine but not identical scale pattern with central dot on all four pieces. The shape of SF 1087 seems to indicate that it comes from a rhyton like the Tiryns one; the other sherds have no obvious indications that they do not come from a pot but are considered here because of the similarity of decoration which is not in fact common on pots in this form.

NLe space c layer 89, Street and Courtyard, Phase 2a

SF 1131

Askos, fragment

L. (ex.) 2.35; Th. (max.) 0.6

Pink clay, slipped buff; polished; red paint; origin uncertain.

Handmade; typical fragment of bird/boat askos; wavy line decoration.

NLe space a/b layer 60, East Shrine, Floor 4, Phase 3a

SF 2162

Askos, fragment.

W. (ex.) 4.4; Th. 0.3

Grey core, fired buff; polished out; red paint; origin uncertain.

Handmade; base of askos type closed vessel; horizontal bands of paint with thin irregular cross lines.

MLd layer 509, West Shrine, Room B, Phase 2b/3a

SF 2282

Askos, tail fragment only.

L. (ex.) 2.5; W. (ex.) 1.5; Th. 0.15

Pink clay, soft; buff slip; red paint much worn; origin uncertain.

Handmade body (no sign of base), pinched into tail; decoration not identifiable.

NLc layers 229 and 238 (contaminated by error in field laboratory)

Figures from previous excavations at Phylakopi**Figures, ?Female**

1. Head, Melos Museum 263, (PLATE 48 *h*) excavation number 19, context mixed (information from Dr R. Barber). Rounded head with flattened face, pinched nose and chin, applied eyes. Solid painted eyes, chin and ring to face; necklace and rayed hair.
2. Large Psi type body, National Museum 5850 (Phylakopi 1904, 202, pl. 39:16). ?local; note the applied and ringed breasts and elaborate decoration; paint very worn and decoration behind uncertain.
3. Large Psi type body, Melos Museum number uncertain. Local; smaller version of no. 2.
4. Arm, National Museum 5850, (Phylakopi 1904, 202, pl. 39:11). Right arm with thumb and hand clenched around ?object; distinct elbow; arm seems to have been horizontal.
5. Hand, Melos Museum 262 (PLATE 48 *f–g*). All over red paint except at clay join on outside of thumb and along arm; cylindrical arm with central hole spreading into flat disk hand with four fingers (incised) and large thumb; gap between thumb and fingers to hold something?
6. Head ?from anthropomorphic vase, National Museum 5850, (Phylakopi 1904, 203, pl. 40:30). Local; hollow; pierced eyes, incised ears and nostrils.

Animal Figure

7. Head and front of body, National Museum 5792, (Phylakopi 1904, 205, fig. 177). This figure compares very closely with SF 2690 except for the angle of the muzzle. Note the open muzzle is an erroneous restoration.

8. Discussion

The series of figures and figurines from the sanctuary at Phylakopi is interesting both for what it includes and what it does not. Most of these peculiarities seem to derive from the function of the shrines; a few might have chronological significance. As can be seen from the diagram TABLE 6.1, the full range of female figurines is known from the rest of the site and a few examples of furniture as well. The presence in the shrines of almost the full range of animal figurines makes it likely that the absence of the contemporary female types is the result of a functional difference. The small

females seem to have a place only in the later deposits and I suggest that they were not introduced until the large female figures were broken and packed away.

It may be noted too that there are no odd animal figures, such as sphinxes or horses, no snakes, no animal head rhyta. Nor are there any boats, though they are known in earlier levels. Chariots and driven oxen were, however, found.

A very striking feature of the evidence from Phylakopi is the pairing or parallel appearance of types in the two shrines. This is most clearly seen diagrammatically, TABLE 6.2. Several of the pairs are almost identical and this includes individual small animal figurines as well as the bigger bovids. This means that identity of offerings or ritual must be postulated even if a diversity of deity or function is supposed. I know of no similar pairing of figurines though the tombs at Argos have a rather different scheme of paired female figurines (French 1971, 132).

It is the bovine figures and the males that are the most important new evidence for the study of terracotta figurines. The large bovine figures are better preserved than any other group from the Mycenaean area though the group from the Amyklaion now published together by Mrs Demakoupoulou (1982) must have been similar in range. Nicholls (1970) has made a detailed study of this type of figure and was led to suggest that large animals were to be associated with an outdoor altar where burnt offerings were made. This is certainly not the scene at Phylakopi. This series also allows the new speculation as to date and origin which has been put forward above.

The presence of several large human figures with the large animals is also important. At Mycenae there were in the temple deposits large human figures, a few female figurines and snakes but not a single animal, though fragments of large bovids and small animals were found elsewhere on the site. At the Amyklaion, however, there are the fragments of large human figures (Demakopoulou 1982, pls 25, 26), many bovine figures as well as small female and animal figurines. The Tiryns shrine (Kilian 1978), though of the simple one room type, perhaps offers another parallel to the Phylakopi usage. Near the bench were female figures of LH IIIC type and a fragmentary large animal decorated with daemons and fish.

The males are so far unique. At first sight they resemble charioteers but this is probably no more than the mark of the conventions by which they were produced. Large females such as the Tiryns ones resemble small females such as the ones found by Tsountas at Mycenae (French 1971, fig. 10). On analysis the males seem to have varied arm positions and SF 1551 and 1553 were definitely carrying something, probably offerings, as was the male figure from the Shrine of the Double Axes (Evans 1928, fig. 192) or the later Cypriot figures such as those from Larnaka Kamelarga now in the Ashmolean (Myres 1897), a group in which both the overall effect and many details are very comparable with the Melos material. It is in fact with the series of Cypriot dedications which begin in the Late Bronze Age that I would link the Phylakopi shrines at least in regard to the terracottas. Other interpretations are discussed below (Chapter X).

Though several of the earlier terracottas seem to be imported, many are locally made. In manufacture the local examples are with one exception very competent and sophisticated. The large bovids SF 2670 and 2690 are built up of elaborate wheelmade units well joined and in the case of SF 2670 forming a beautifully proportioned figure. They have been well and carefully fired. The same is true of the male figures though the experimental nature of the pose, particularly the need to make them stand, on occasion makes the figures awkward but they are not incompetent and the mend on SF 1550 is well carried out. This competence makes the female figure SF 2658 all the more puzzling. The clay was poorly prepared, poorly finished and only partially fired. I know of no other artifact of this period of such poor quality. There seems no reason why it should have been made in this way and no reason at all to import such a figure even if it would have stood the journey. This leads to the query whether possibly the figure is much older.

Table 6.1
Distribution of Figures and Figurines

	Askos	Box	Boat	Furniture	Female Figurine: Naturalistic	Proto-Phi	Phi	Psi	Late Psi/Phi	Frag	Female Figure	Frag	Male	Frag	Chariot	Frag	Driven Ox	Frag	Bovid Figure	Frag	Animal Figurine: Wavy 2	Linear 1	Linear 2	Spine 1	Spine 2	Late Linear	Ladder	Unusual	Very worn	Frag	Fish	TOTAL
Previous Excavations		1	1		1	2	13	5	12	6		6		1		3		1	5	2		1	1	2		1	1	1	2	21		81
New Excavations: Rest of Site		2	2	1	1				3	3		1		1					4	5		1	1	1		1				3		25
Below Shrines and early use				2	1					2		2			1				4		1									10	1	24
West Shrine Ass.A NW Platform													3	1	2	?1	1	1	2	1										3		16
West Shrine Ass.B SW Platform									2										1	2	1											2
West Shrine Other Finds										1									1													2
West Shrine Ass.C Room A											4								1													5
West Shrine Ass.C Niche											1	1							4	1												7
West Shrine Room B	1								1					?1	1	2	1															2
East Shrine: Ass.D Platform																		3	1		4	4	2			1				4		24
Street and Courtyard: Ass.E										1																1						2
North of West Shrine: Ass.F		1																								1						2
East Shrine Floor 4	1																			1			1	1						3		7
West Shrine Ass.G NW Platform									1			2+	2						1											3		10
East Shrine Ass.H Platform																			2		2		2				1		1	2		10
West Shrine Ass.J NW Platform																																1
West Shrine Ass.K NE Platform									1	1		1							2				2						1			3
East Shrine Ass.L Floor 1									2			2					?1	1		5								1		5		14
Street and Court																																5
Old												1						1	1											2		5
Phases D and/or S	1			2	1		1		2	3		2						1	4	1								2	2	1		23
TOTAL for Sanctuary	3	1	4	4	2	1	1		9	8	5	10	5	4	3	4	3	3	9	24	3	7	4	8	1	10		3	4	38	1	177
OVERALL TOTAL	3	4	3	5	4	2	14	5	24	17	5	17	5	4	3	7	3	3	10	29	5	7	6	11	1	12	1	5	4	62	1	283

Details of the retrieval methods and standards used are given above. The gross dry-sieving used for Room A is quite adequate for certainty that the missing sections of the figures found there were not stored in the Room. Probably these figures were stored away after being broken in use rather than in the collapse itself. Though it may be that the collapse was such to allow access to Room A afterwards so that the broken figures could be stored away before the Room was taken out of use. In this case it would closely parallel Mycenae. It may be noted that there were only two fragments in Room A and the niche, either of which could easily have been knocked off during usage. There were, however, throughout the site fragments of other female and bovine figures. This again is paralleled at Mycenae. The shattered fragments of many of the large bovids and group figurines from the lowest levels of the East and West Shrines which have been restored were scattered widely into the street and other neighbouring areas. It is possible that other fragments are still to be found in areas not excavated. The small animal figurines were in a relatively good condition but the four from Floor 2 of the East Shrine were particularly badly shattered. Two other examples are excessively worn (as is one from Floor 1 and one male from the West Shrine). Reasons for this irregularity in preservation are not immediately apparent but could be important in the history of the shrines. Several examples of males, female figurines and animal figurines seem to have been re-used in later levels even after being broken; others, particularly the female and bovine figures, definitely were not.

The evidence from the shrines at Phylakopi throws no light on the chronological problems of mainland figurines, in fact the reverse: the figurines aid in dating of the shrine complex. The presence of types known from Lefkandi and elsewhere in LH IIIC in phase 2b of the shrine complex shows this phase must be dated to this period or later.

The history of figurines in the Cyclades and how they relate to the centres of Crete and the mainland is only gradually becoming clearer. The crucial period for the development of figurines on the mainland is LH IIB but the impulse seems to arise from the links with Crete that precede this period. In the Cyclades links with Crete are very strong from late in MM through LM IA and B. This can be seen in the pottery and, I suggest, in the figurines. From Ay. Irini on Kea, from Phylakopi and from Thera we know imported and local animal figurines from MM and LM I. Locally made human figures are also known, both the large females from Kea and a range of small examples of both sexes. For the succeeding period unfortunately evidence is at present very slight. There is no distinct stratified group. By the next phase which can be isolated, LH IIIA₁, and for which much new evidence has accumulated in the islands, Mycenaean influence in most fields including figurines seems to be paramount. But, it must be remembered, this period is also marked by a cultural *koine* between Crete and the mainland.

Two areas are possible sources of information. Aegina was most likely one of the emporia through which island influence interrelated with the mainland. Little is known of its detailed history but there are preserved many Mycenaean figurines of a vast range of types including at least one large female and several other unusual pieces. The material from the old excavations at both the main sites is being restudied at the moment.

Cretan connections from MM—LM IB have also been identified on Kythera and in Laconia. It can be noted that by far the greatest number of early female figurines so far known on the mainland come from Laconia. Many are of Cretan types. Kythera, however, where the evidence becomes much more scanty after LM IB, produced no figurines.

It is unfortunately not possible to date the manufacture of the Phylakopi bovids but some at least could well be contemporary with the Lady SF 2660. The clover leaf pieces have close stylistic links with earlier examples showing clear Cretan connections. I am convinced that this is the source of the inspiration for this series of large animal figures.

Nicholls (1970, 9) realised that examples such as the bovid from Delphi must be earlier than LH IIIC. It is interesting to note the typological relationship of this example (the feet are restored) to two of the Phylakopi examples from below the shrines. Scale pattern occurs on naturalistic animals from Pseira and Akrotiri. The fact that so many of the preserved bovids are from late contexts has obscured discussion of the origin of the type. A very good example of the wheelmade type has recently been discovered in an LM IIIB shrine context at Knossos (M. Popham, pers. comm.). The need remains for good evidence both in the islands, in Crete and on the mainland of the whole period from LH IIB to LH IIIB.

Table 6.2

The Pairing of Figures and Figurines within the Sanctuary

WEST SHRINE	EAST SHRINE
<i>Phase 2b South</i> * ¹ Female Figurine (SF 2007) Bovine Figures * ² SF 2690 * ³ SF 2670 Rhyton SF 1561	— Bovine Figures * ² SF 847 * ³ SF 836 Rhyton SF 850
<i>Phase 2b North</i> Male Figures Chariot Driven Ox Small Animals inc.: * ⁴ Wavy 2 (SF 1557) * ⁵ Late Linear (SF 1575)	?Male Chariot Driven Ox Small Animals
	<i>Phase 3a/c Street/Courtyard</i> Small Animal * ⁵ Late Linear (SF 759)
<i>Phase 3b/c</i> Male Figures * ¹ Female figurine (SF 1521) Small Animals inc.: * ⁶ Late Linear (SF 2348)	— Female Figurine Small Animals inc.: * ⁴ Wavy 2 (SF 789) * ⁶ Late Linear (SF 168)

Exact pairs are designated by an asterisk: matching is shown by the superscript numbers.

Chapter VII

The sealstones

by John G. Younger

(All measurements are given in centimetres. All descriptions of sealstones refer to the way they appear in impression. The abbreviation HM indicates the catalogue number of the Herakleion Museum. Dates in parenthesis after a sealstone reference refer to context.)

1. Catalogue of Sealstones

- A. From the West Shrine, Room B, phase 1b/2a (LH IIIA/B).*
- 1 (PLATE 49) Melos Museum 568
Excavation SF 2036 from Trench MLd Room B, layer 518, Younger 1981a: 38 fig. 23.
Lentoid of transparent grey rock crystal.
D. 2.35 × 2.4, Th. 1.05, St.h. (string hole) 0.2
Agrimi runs left; three-leafed frond above.
- B. From the East Shrine, on or above the earliest floor near the altar, phase 2b (LH IIIC, ca. 1120 B.C.).*
- 2 (PLATE 50 *a–d*) Melos Museum 571
Excavation SF 844, trench NLe space a/b, layer 62.
Lentoid of white, slightly translucent limestone with horizontal veins.
D. 1.9 × 2.0, Th. 0.7, St.h. 0.4 to 0.2
Damage: a small chip at the upper right rim and slight wear on the obverse; reverse left has a yellow rough accretion.
Obverse: hornless bovine stands right, head down under its belly; above, a three-leafed frond.
Reverse: with the stringhole horizontal, two faintly engraved designs can be distinguished among apparently random scratches; a double axe above centre and a one-handled cup at the left (FIG. 7.1).
- 3 (PLATE 50 *e–h*) Melos Museum 576
Excavation SF 1748, NLe layer 152.
Half a lentoid of fluorite.
D. restored 2.2, Th. 0.9, St.h. 0.2
Damage: the seal is broken across, not along, its stringhole; the surface is badly pitted.
Stag, or more probably a bull, runs left with head probably contorted.
- 4 (PLATE 51 *a–d*) Melos Museum 572
Excavation SF 837, NLe space a/b layer 62.
Worn lentoid of black steatite with yellow-brown mottling.
D. 1.2, Th. 0.375, St.h. 0.15
Damage: a hard inclusion at the hip of the goat has resisted wear; the rest of the stone is very worn. The back may have been conical in shape but later cut flat.
Goat runs left; tree behind.

- 5 (PLATE 51 *e-j*) Melos Museum 577
Excavation SF 808, NLe space a/b, layer 61.
Elongated cushion-seal of light, translucent green serpentine or chrysoprase.
L. 2.2, W. 1.3, Th. 0.57, St.h. 0.2
Damage: obverse worn, one-third of the reverse is broken away.
Agrimi stands left, a *pica* or branch above the back.

- 6 (PLATE 52 *a-g*) Melos Museum 578
Excavation SF 821, NLe space a/b, layer 62.
Rectangular plate seal of black steatite with a few green inclusions.
L. 1.7, W. 1.3, Th. 0.7, St.h. 0.2 × 0.25
Obverse: agrimi walks right.
Reverse: eagle displayed with head left.
The eagle is positioned upside-down to the agrimi so that the seal must be rolled over its long side to give two upright impressions.

- 7 (PLATE 52 *h-k*) Melos Museum 573
Excavation SF 834, NLe space a/b, layer 62.
Lentoid of black steatite with an olive green mottling to the reverse.
D. 1.7 × 1.85, Th. 0.75, St.h. 0.2 to 0.25
Damage: lower obverse rim is cut flat; reverse chipped at the upper right rim; back is conoid.
Horse or bovine stands right; branch in front, and traces of another above.

- 8 (PLATE 53 *a-d*) Melos Museum 570
Excavation SF 840, NLe space a/b, layer 62.
Lentoid of dark green (mainly on the reverse) to black steatite.
D. 1.8, Th. 0.7, St.h. 0.2 × 0.3
Damage: bottom stringhole is chipped on the reverse.
Agrimi stands right; a line in front and a line above.
The linear style is distinctive; compare the similar style of CMS V 324 from Krissa T. 1 (LH IIIB context).

- 9 (PLATE 53 *e-h*) Melos Museum 575
Excavation SF 833, NLe space a/b, layer 62.
Lentoid of purple brown steatite with café au lait mottling on the reverse.
D. 1.6, Th. 0.6, St.h. 0.2
Damage: chip on obverse left in front of the animal's back.
Bull or lion stands right, regardant.
Compare the similar animal on CMS V 323 from Krissa T. 2 (LH IIIC context).

- 10 (PLATE 54 *a-d*) Melos Museum 569
Excavation SF 841, NLe space a/b, layer 62.
Lentoid of black steatite.
D. 1.2 × 1.3, Th. 0.5, St.h. 0.275
Damage: bottom rim at stringhole appears cut to form a notch.
Bull?, horse, or goat stands right; a branch in front and traces of another above.

- 11** (PLATE 54 *e–g*) Melos Museum 574
 Excavation SF 824, NLe space a/b, layer 62.
 Lentoid of black steatite with an undertone of pale green.
 D. 1.9×2.0 , Th. 0.7, St.h. 0.2×0.25
 Damage: at lower obverse, a smoothed chip.
 Horse? stands right; traces of a branch in front, one stroke of another branch? above the rump.
 The modeling of this animal is neither grooved nor smoothed, but scratched.

2. Discussion of the Sealstones

1. (PLATE 49) The motif is Cretan in origin, stemming from the larger group of standing and running agrimia, almost always to the left, usually with fronds or *picas* (darts) above. Examples of this motif from dated contexts include: Levi 1926a, no. 71 fig. 92, and no. 72 fig. 93 from Ayia Triada (LM IB context); HM 2507 from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos (Popham and Sackett 1973, fig. 39 middle; LM II context); CMS I 158 from Mycenae Chamber Tomb 529 (LH IIIA context); I 143 from Mycenae Chamber Tomb 515 (LH IIB context); and I 212 from Prosymna T. 13 (LH IIIA:2 context). No example of this motif comes from contexts dated any later than LH IIIA. Most examples of the motif, however, come from undated contexts in Crete: CMS IV 261, 263, etc., HM 914, 1138, 1195, etc., Kenna 1960, no. 364, and there are many others.

The style corresponds to Boardman's Cut Style (1970, 48 and 394; Betts and Younger 1982), which results from engraving the stone with saw and drill with little, if any, further modeling and smoothing: "Everything is rendered in straight cuts or grooves which only acquire rounded edges or curved lines from the convex surface of the stone." Boardman derives this style from that of the so-called Talismanic seals (MM III – LM I), which are also cut without much secondary modeling, but he would date his Cut Style proper to the period of the Mycenaean occupation at Knossos on the basis of a cylinder (HM 1659) from Ayios Ioannes T. 3 near Knossos, dated to LM IIB (Hood and de Jong 1952, fig. 16 no. III.23). He also mentions that there are sealings from the Palace at Knossos impressed by seals in this style, though there are indeed not many (e.g. Gill 1965, no. R15).

The implication that the developed Cut Style is a LM II – IIIA:1 adaptation, under Mycenaean influence, of the similar cut style found among the earlier Talismanic seals seems correct and inescapable, though Boardman appears to avoid this conclusion by stating that the later style "seems also to have been current in Mainland Greece". Several seals from Mainland contexts are indeed in the developed Cut Style (e.g. CMS V 437 and 438 from the Nichoria Tholos, LH IIIA:2 – B context), but only one in this style, CMS I 406 of glass, not ivory (Pini 1981, no. 16), from Thebes, comes from a context (LH I – II) dated earlier than LB IIIA; the latter, however, carries a Minoan Talismanic alerion. It is probable then that this seal and the others from contexts dated later than the IIIA destruction of Knossos and made in this late Cut Style were actually made in Crete sometime prior to that destruction.

It seems to the present writer that the descriptive term 'Cut Style' ought not to be limited to seals rendered only late in this technique, but should be used instead to describe the similar technical approach applied to seals carrying both Talismanic as well as the more representational motifs, both early and late. If the term 'Cut Style' is used solely as a technical description then its application should be observed in two distinct phases. To the late phase, which produced by far the most impressive of the Cut Style Gems, belongs our lentoid, the Cut Style's most magnificent example to date.

Its style is easy to appreciate. The body and neck of the agrimi are both formed by two straight cuts set perpendicular and broadly modelled; the rump is canted and the neck is accented by a profile line. The head is formed by a dot made by a snub nose drill for eye and muzzle connected by short strokes, the linear horns sweep back in a series of slight arcs formed by angled cuts, the legs are plain strokes, and similar strokes spike the back and the back of the head to convey the characteristically bristly hair of goats. A similarly linear trefoil frond appears above. The sharp cuts are beautifully enhanced by the transparency of the crystal, so that in daylight the seal sparkles with a diamond-like brilliance.

The present author here presents similar lions, bulls, griffins, and birds, which may be divided conveniently into two large groups; both are distinguished by the amount of drill, though they are undoubtedly the products of one school, probably even of one workshop.

The subgroup to which our lentoid belongs is distinguished by the drill limited to eye and nose. A three-sided prism, HM 3324 (Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958, no. 185), presents three animals in this style, a lion, an agrimi, and a griffin (snub or hollow drill marks decorate the wings of similar griffins), and may give the group its name:

The HM 3324 Group (close and related pieces omitted; Thomas 1981 fns. 8, 9, 20, 21)

HM 3324

- a. Lions — Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958 nos. 262 and 263 from Crete; *CMS* V 193 from Thebes? and 236 from Chania, and XIII 23 and 24, HM 1659 (the Ayios Ioannes cylinder cited above, LM IIB), and 1713 (Hood 1956, no. 5.3, LM Ib—II), and Florence Museum no. 82690 (Laviosa 1969, no. 7) from Crete.
- b. Agrimia — Phylakopi 1, Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958 nos. 255 and 257, HM 54 (Xanthoudides 1907, no. 69) and 914 (Chatzidakis 1912, pl. 15e), all four from Crete; *CMS* I 212 from Prosymna T. 13 (LH IIIA:2), and 482, IV 261, all three from Crete; VII 139 and 153; X 1 and 251; and XIII 76.
- c. Bulls — Kenna 1960, no. 11p; *CMS* I 55 from Mycenae T. 12; and HM 1421g from Knossos, the Royal Tomb (from cast 123 in the British School of Archaeology at Athens).
- d. Birds — Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958, no. 223 from Knossos.
- e. Alerions — *CMS* IV 260 from Crete, and XII 219.
- f. Waterbirds — *CMS* V 439 from the Nichoria Thoros (LH IIIA:2—B).
- g. Grasshopper — *CMS* IV 33D.
- h. Griffins — *CMS* VIII 88, and IX 104; and Brandt 1968, no. 47.

The second subgroup is stylistically close to the first, but the snub nose drill is here used also for joints, hooves, paws, and the lion's tailtip, the hollow drill is occasionally used, and the two together produce marks that resemble automobile hubcaps. Another prism, *CMS* V 191 in the Benaki Museum, gives its name to this stylistically developed group:

The Benaki Group (close and related pieces omitted; Thomas 1981 fns. 8, 9, 20, 21)

CMS V 191 from Thebes?

- a. Lion — perhaps *CMS* VII 121.
- b. Agrimia — Kenna 1960, no. 364 from the Diktaian Cave; *CMS* IV 262 and 263 both from Crete, V 730 from Mega Monasteri (LH IIIA and B), and XII 261; and Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, no. 56 from Abrosine near Akrata in Achaia, now in Berlin.
- c. Bulls — *CMS* IX 110; and Brandt 1968 no. 48 from Crete, now in Munich.
- d. Dogs — *CMS* IV 185 from Crete.
- e. Griffins — Kenna 1960, no. 327; and *CMS* V 437 from Nichoria (LH IIIA:2—B:1 context).

These two groups, similar in style, include many examples found both in Crete where the style originated and on the mainland. The two Ayios Ioannes seals come from the earliest dated contexts, LM II, and give a *terminus post quem non* for the beginning of this late phase of the Cut Style, as Boardman saw. The style of both subgroups is certainly Cretan and most likely originated at Knossos. We may postulate then that the examples in this style, including our

Phylakopi lentoid, were made after 1450 B.C. by one workshop or by a close group of artists who used Knossos at least as a base, and whose works were greatly prized by those who were buried on the Mainland after the IIIA destruction of the Palace.

The material, rock crystal, has often been confused with fluorite (see the commentary to No. 3 below). Almost all sealstones from Crete in rock crystal come from contexts dating no later than LM IIIA:1 (*pace* Popham *et al.* 1974, 220 no. 3); only one, HM 1233 from Gournes T. 1 (Chatzidakis 1918, pl. 5.2), comes from a later context, LM IIIB:1. From dated contexts outside Crete come, besides our own, only two: CMS I 208 from Prosymna T. 3 (LH IIIA:1) and I 264 from Tragana T. 2 (LH IIIA); the motifs of all three sealstones can, like that on ours, be related iconographically and stylistically to Minoan motifs and renderings common before the close of LM IIIA. The implication is clear: rock crystal, procured for Bronze Age artists from Cretan sources (Marinatos 1931) or from abroad, was a Cretan medium used mainly, if not exclusively, by Minoan artists up to LM IIIA, after which the stone was probably no longer available.

Our lentoid is important also for the information it yields about the cutting of the stringhole (PLATE 49 *e* and *f*). It is generally agreed that the usual order in making a sealstone called for cutting the shape, engraving the face, boring the stringhole from either end to meet in the centre, and finally polishing the surface (Younger 1981a).

Four seals (Kenna 1960, no. 201 a cushion, PLATE 55 *h–j*, perhaps a spacer-bead as Kenna says, though the low position of the two stringholes would considerably elevate the seal on a necklace; CMS I 107 and XII 97 both cylinders; and Athens National Museum 6237 (Sakellarakis 1972, 240–241 pl. 90 eta-iota)) preserve in section drill borings, like that for the stringhole, across the rim or the face; CMS V 190 and IX 185, both cylinders, present similar marks though made by a gouging instrument. These cylinders of course may be assumed to have been created from cores produced by a large tubular drill, in which case the marks across their faces may probably have been intended from the start to have formed part of the completed design (Sakellarakis 1972, 241 about CMS I 246, and Porada in Xenaki-Sakellariou 1966, 39–40 n. 194). The tubular drill, however, may always have been used to create the preliminary shape of all seals; the borings on the rim of Kenna 1960, no. 201 (PLATE 55 *j*) and across the face of Athens National Museum 6237 suggest that these seals too were drilled away from their die—the marks on Kenna 1960, no. 201 could be made unobtrusive along the rim, but those on the face of Athens National Museum 6237 preclude the seal being finished.

After the seal was removed from its die, its shape was first blocked out roughly by the saw and then smoothed to approximately its final form (Younger 1979a, 262).

Engraving the face may have been based on a cartoon like that on the reverse of CMS I 220 from Vapheio (Sakellarakis 1972), on a preliminary sketch like that on a lentoid from Isopata T. 3 (Younger 1974), or on a separate study like HM 985 (Sakellarakis 1972, pl. 90 delta-zeta) where the carving of the shape had gone somehow awry. The engraving of the face occasionally was left incomplete (e.g. HM 607 (PLATE 55 *f–g*) and CMS I 44 and V 599 both from Mycenae) or the design was altered (cf. CMS I 192 with a boar made from an intended bull attacked by a lion (Younger 1974, 3 n. 11); and V 665 from Thebes intended to have had two bulls like those on I 240 from Vapheio); or abandoned and given to a different artist to rework (cf. CMS XIII 40, probably meant originally to have had three couchant bulls around the periphery, but given to an artist belonging to the Cretan Popular Group to add the two lions).

The boring of the stringhole was left to the penultimate stage, simply because if it were bored before the face was engraved the pressure of engraving might split the sealstone down the stringhole. Generally, however, the position of the stringhole was planned early; most lentoids have the stringhole vertical to the design when it is viewed upright, and most, if not all, lentoids have the stringhole passing through the shorter diameter (Younger 1977, 153–157).

In addition to these indications several seals exhibit the marks of a securing hole on the bottom rim (Younger 1979a, 262: Ashmolean Museum 1938.1089, HM 607 (PLATE 55 *g*), *CMS* I 386 and V 413, and Kenna 1960, no. 246; add *CMS* IX 135, broken probably when the stringhole was finally being bored through the securing hole, and XIII 5D, motif left unfinished). Presumably this shallow hole, usually no more than 0.2 cm deep, but occasionally fairly broad, allowed the seal to rest stationary on a stand while the artist carved the face. The stand may have been of a trapezoidal piece of soft wood (resembling in shape the “steatite core” Ashmolean Museum 1938.1087, Younger 1979a, pls. 33f and g and 34a and b) with the seal fitting into a cup equipped with a small peg into the seal’s securing hole to fix it in place (see FIG. 7.2)

Not all seals had securing holes, even considering that the finished stringhole usually obliterated their traces. The mammoth size of Kenna 1960, no. 351 (diam. 3.3–3.4) and its sacred motif may have precluded the eventuality of its being worn—it has no stringhole and shows no sign of a securing hole. *CMS* XIII 59 has its unfinished stringhole begun, apparently only from the top; the bottom shows no trace of a securing hole.

Sealstones now broken along the stringhole might be expected to yield information about boring practices were it not suspected that a stringhole may have been bored through a trial piece (cf. Tamvaki 1974, no. 6) or that faulty stringhole boring was the factor responsible for the break. Our lentoid, however, demonstrates unequivocally through its extraordinary transparency (PLATE 49 *e*) that from either end the drill was inserted usually three main times, each at a slightly more acute angle (PLATE 49 *f*) with a fourth boring from one end only, to complete the stringhole (also see Gorelick and Gwinnett 1978). This same successive method of drilling the stringhole can also be observed on broken sealstones like *CMS* V 489 from Ayia Irini, Keos (LM Ib/LH II context); most display three attempts from either side and a fourth from one side only.

This method had two general results: the whole stringhole is rarely perfectly straight and the mouth of the stringhole is wider, through the successive insertions of the drill, than the centre where the borings meet. Misjudgments occasionally caused the drill to break through the face of the sealstone (Younger and Betts 1979, nos. 2 and 6, and *CMS* VII 55), or in stringholes whose borings from either end form a considerable angle (e.g. *CMS* I 143 from Mycenae T. 515, LH IIb context). The stringhole measurement that is usually given in *CMS* and elsewhere is that of the mouth of the stringhole at the rim. The diameter of the drill, however, can be determined, where possible, from the diameter of the stringhole near the centre of the seal where the two series of borings meet: for instance, *ca.* 0.175 cm for the diameter of the drill used on our Phylakopi gem.

2. This sealstone (PLATE 50 *a–d*) bears several similarities to *CMS* V 500 from Ayia Irini, Keos (PLATE 56 *a–b*; LH IIIA–B context). Both depict elongated bovines in the same pose, their gracile legs rendered by thin, long strokes with small dots for joints and hooves; the muzzles too are fragile in appearance, with dots for noses and eyes; the graceful curves to the tails of both are rendered by many short strokes. In composition, the Ayia Irini seal is more successful, since its bovine appears to graze on the three-leafed frond springing from the ground, while our seal puts a similar frond above the animal to fill space. A deer appears in a more energetic pose on the Ayia Irini seal’s companion piece *CMS* V 499 (PLATE 56 *c–d*) from the same context. All three are by one Master (see below).

The same type of stone served for all three seals, a white, somewhat translucent, lightly veined limestone (see below). All three sealstones also have the stringhole pierced perpendicularly to the veins, probably to minimize the chance of the stone’s breaking. *CMS* V 499 positions its deer, however, so that when it is viewed upright the stringhole is horizontal; *CMS* V 500 and our lentoid both have vertical stringholes.

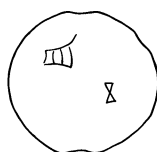


FIG. 7.1 Reverse of sealstone, Cat. No. 2. Scale 1:1

About the reverse of lentoid 2 (FIG. 7.1). Several ideograms are known to be incised or engraved on the obverse of sealstones; the most common is the impaled triangle (Gill 1966, nos. 1–24 and Kenna 1964, pp. 55–57), but there are others, e.g. a Linear B ideogram (like no. 125 on Kenna 1960, no. 342), and perhaps Linear B *to* or *na* with a superscribed circle on *CMS* I 217 (Blegen 1937, 274; Kenna 1962, 5–6; Gill 1966, 11–16; and Olivier and Vandenabeele 1970, 301–309). Similar marks lightly incised on the reverse are seldom noted; only two other seals have marked reverses that have been published: *CMS* I 220 (Sakellarakis 1972) carries an unfinished cartoon of the composition engraved on the obverse, and Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, no. 21 now in Berlin carries what looks like a simplified version of Linear B *o* topped with a truncated ideogram no. 125 CYPERUS. The reverse of our seal carries a lightly incised haftless double ax (= Linear B ideogram 232?), which appears also on a mould from Mycenae (Vermeule 1966) and a rather detailed cup resembling Linear A sign no. 103 (= Linear B *ki*?). Similar ideograms, Vermeule suggests, may be marks of identification for or by the artist; such marks could also have a bureaucratic, commercial, or technical meaning or they also could connote ownership. Whatever the interpretation, more careful examination of the reverses of sealstones is needed before there can be any certainty as to the function of such signs.

3. (PLATE 50. *e–h*) The pose of the animal is difficult to reconstruct since the break has removed the head, but there remains at the upper left of the neck a drill mark that must be considered. Several sealstones depict bulls whose heads are carried straight up (e.g. *CMS* I 8 from Mycenae), or whose heads are thrust so far back that they seem contorted (cf. Levi 1926b, no. 120 from Kato Zakro and *CMS* XII 236 (PLATE 56 *e*)). A better parallel for the pose, however, occurs on the agate lentoid *CMS* I Supp. 55 from Perati T. 128 (LH IIIC:1 context): a stag runs right, its head cocked so violently that the drilled muzzle appears jutting beyond the front of the neck, exactly where the similar drill mark occurs on our seal, cf. *CMS* IX 20D (PLATE 58 *b*). If, as seems likely, the pose of our animal calls for its head to be similarly cocked, there would then be ample room above the back for a filling motif, perhaps something rare (the Perati lentoid places a calf or deer protome above) which may account for the odd lump above the back of the Phylakopi animal.

The style of our animal is distinctive: smooth modeling with little internal articulation except for the peaked chest (produced in the stone by a cut, v-shaped in section) and the thin legs (two of which are rendered in softly curving lines) ending in two dots (the first smaller than the second) and a sharp, pointed stroke. There are only a few seals which approach ours in style: the closest is again the lentoid from Perati T. 128 mentioned above. Though the hooves differ (probably because our animal may be a bull) and though there is no profile line on the neck of our animal, the Perati stag has the same peaked chest and delicately curved legs; the Perati seal, therefore, and ours from Phylakopi must be by the same Master (see below).

A word about the material. Fluorite (CaF_2) is a common mineral for sealstones, often mistaken for rock crystal and glass because of its vitreous lustre. It is, however, much softer (hardness 4 on the Mohs scale) than rock crystal (hardness 7), dingy yellow and brittle; compare *CMS* I 300 of fluorite whose break followed the veins to which the stringhole is perpendicular. Fluorite may be found about volcanoes in various forms, e.g. zamboninite at Mt. Etna, and both moysite and chloromanganokalite at Mt. Vesuvius (perhaps as such the mineral may have come from Melos itself), but could also come from most anywhere in the Aegean where calcium is plentiful.

The pitting in the stone is caused by the combination of ground moisture with the stone's fluorine to create hydrofluoric acid (HF). This pitting is easily visible in photographs both of the seals and of the impressions (I am grateful to Dr I. Pini for having brought this fact to my attention); thus, many sealstones are of fluorite and not, as published, of rock crystal (Pini 1981, 63 n. 23 gives a list of corrections amplifying Betts's list in *CMS* X 19 n. 16). A stylistically coherent group of fluorite seals comes from the late Olous cemetery housed formerly in the Neapolis Museum, but now in Heraklion.

Those sealstones of fluorite in *CMS* I and V come from datable contexts, most being dated to LH IIIB, a few from LH IIIC contexts. Four, however, come from earlier contexts in the Late Bronze Age: HM 2505 from the Unexplored Mansion (Popham and Sackett 1973, fig. 39 right; LM II context), and *CMS* V 277, 278 and 737 from LH IIIA:2–B:1 contexts. The stone, then, does not seem to have been in common use before LH IIIA:2/B:1. If a IIIA destruction at Knossos resulted in halting the export of Cretan rock crystal (see the discussion to No. 1 above) then it is quite plausible that fluorite was then used more frequently than before because of its resemblance to rock crystal.

On these fluorite sealstones figured representations are rare: *CMS* I 300 and V 630 carry schematic bulls, HM 2505 a lion, *CMS* V 591 and 592 a bucranium each in a simple but not schematic style, and V 620 schematic fish. The rest carry linear motifs often looking like schematic fronds; such designs are all much the same. It seems right then to place *CMS* VII 256, XII 147?, and probably Kenna 1960, no. 361 into this fluorite group of linear motifs (Betts and Younger 1982, dating them late in LH/LM IIIA); Kenna dates them to MM III, probably because their motifs appear to be simple versions of the so-called architectonic sealstones of rock crystal which do date to MM III. Our sealstone seems to be the only example of this stone carrying an animal wrought in a masterly style.

4. (PLATE 51 a–d) The petite size and the dainty style of the seal has few parallels: *CMS* V 441 (PLATE 56 f) from Nichoria (LH IIIA:2–B:1 context), 600 (PLATE 56 g) from Mycenae, House with the Idols (LH IIIB:2 context), and I 386 from the Menidi Tholos (LH IIIB context). Because of the worn surface the style of No. 4 cannot be completely appreciated, but it certainly was once fine; note the perky horns and tail, the thin legs, and the neat dots for joints and other articulations; by these aspects it is possible to attribute the Mycenae seal and ours to the same Master (see below).

The back may once have been conical; see the discussion to Nos. 7–11 below.

5. (PLATE 51 e–j) The shape, elongated with a faceted back like an amygdaloid, is rare (see Pini 1981 no. 14); the motif is extremely common, especially in the LM I–II period (see the discussion to No. 1 above). Stylistically, the overall appearance of the agrimi seems early, but the centered circle for the 'bespectacled' eye is probably a Minoan trait of the LM IIIA:1 period (e.g. among the Kalyvia seals). This seal then could be archaizing (see the discussion to No. 6 below).

6. (PLATE 52 *a–g*) The displayed eagle (alerion?) is an early motif and apparently talismanic. The engraving is very shallow and faint; the style seems late—a hasty and perfunctory rendition of the early talismanic cut style. Artemis Onassoglou, who has undertaken a special study of talismanic sealstones, writes (pers. comm.), “The bird with outstretched wings is certainly a talismanic theme. As a motif, however, our eagle differs essentially from talismanic seals in the form of its wings: here they spread up and resemble an insect’s wings. Other talismanic eagles have their wings at the sides and stretched back.” (author’s translation) As a possible parallel to ours, Ms Onassoglou cites the unique amygdaloid from Knossos HM 623 (Kenna 1969, 14, pl. 4.3). We may compare *CMS* X 192b.

Rectangular plate seals are not common; only two others come from dated contexts, *CMS* I 269 from Rutsi (LH IIa) and HM 169 from Kalyvia T. 7 (LM IIIA:2; Savignoni 1904, fig. 97). The Kalyvia seal, of cornelian, resembles ours both in size (L. 1.8, W. 1.35, Th. 0.6) and in the combination of more or less secular and religious motifs: its obverse shows a man grappling a bull, the reverse carries the religious motif of a genius holding a deer. There too, the style seems anachronistic and M. A. V. Gill (1964, 3) considers the Kalyvia seal to have been carved by a later (LM IIIA?) artist copying, at least for the reverse, a proto-palatial (MM IIIA?) design. But Yule (1980, 138 motif 17C:10) dates the seal, mistakenly, I believe, to MM III.

Two seals from the Apollo Maleatas Shrine at Epidauros (Catling 1978, 28, fig. 49) carry the same motifs and in similarly crude styles as those on our No. 6. The lentoid (Catling 1978, fig. 49 left) carries an agrimi like that on the obverse of No. 6 and the plate seal (Catling, fig. 49 right) carries a displayed eagle that is a virtual twin to that on No. 6’s reverse. These similarities in motif and style, as well as the fact that all these seals were found in sanctuaries, lead us to believe that they form a close group, one verging on the Mainland Popular Group (see the discussion to Nos. 7–11 below) but also linked to the Island Sanctuaries Group (see below). The motif of the displayed eagle, common on the much earlier Talismanic seals, may therefore have been a conscious archaism, like that postulated by Gill (1964, 3) for the Kalyvia rectangular plate seal HM 169.

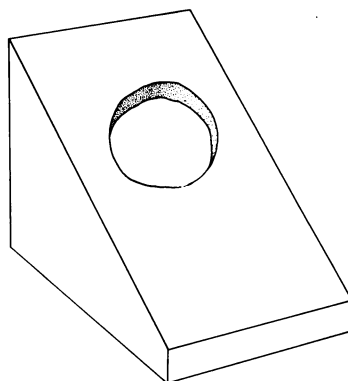


FIG. 7.2 Hypothetical wood block to secure lentoid sealstone during engraving

7-11. (PLATE 52-54) The remaining five lentoids belong to a large group of seals which the present author has termed the Mainland Popular Group (Younger 1973, 439-441). The chief characteristics of this Group are that almost all the seals are lentoids, carved in dark (brown to black) steatite, and carry mainly bulls and goats, occasionally horses, all rendered schematically, usually in simple scratched lines with little or no modeling; the field is filled with branches or trees. Of the approximately 150 seals in this style, less than ten come from Crete; this Group therefore was probably manufactured on the Mainland, whence its members migrated to the islands with their possessors.

The stone is distinctive, the soft (easily gouged by the fingernail) and dark soapstone found mainly in Crete, and should be distinguished from the slightly harder serpentines and schists which are common throughout the Aegean; these latter stones were used especially for the similarly simple but earlier (LM I) Cretan Popular Group (Betts and Younger 1982).

Many of the lentoids which belong to the Mainland Popular Group have conoid reverses, as does our No. 7 (PLATE 52 k), which are also common for lentoids in glass (Pini 1981). Conoid reverses are found on stone lentoids from contexts dated as early as LM IIIA:1 (HM 2271 from Archanes Tholos A; Sakellarakis 1966, fig. 7), but they also are found on stylistically earlier seals, like *CMS* V 220 and 601. Glass seals commonly have conical reverses which may have been cast that way in two part moulds (Pini 1981, 74, pl. 13.4) or if cast in a one part mould, as the extant glass mould *CMS* XII 262 implies (it has none of the mortices usually found on two part moulds), then the reverse would have had to have been shaped by hand as the glass hardened.

The purpose of the conical or conoid reverse seems clear, especially to anyone handling the seal: the straight or slightly curved sides make for steady and firm impressing, while the greater thickness insures a sturdier sealstone, especially for those in soft steatites and in glass. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that the conical back would make wearing uncomfortable, especially if the seal was strung on a necklace, or inconvenient for it could easily be chipped if the back was very pointed. A few seals (Phylakopi 4?, *CMS* IV 264 and VII 106, and Kenna 1960, no. 246) appear to have once had conical backs that were later cut down, possibly because they had been damaged or were thought too sharp for comfort.

The earliest date by context for sealstones in the Mainland Popular Group is LB IIIA:2: *CMS* 138 from Mycenae T. 505; three lentoids from the Prosymna cemetery (Blegen 1937, figs. 586, 589, and 590) and possibly one from Zafer Papoura T.6 (Evans 1905b, 24-25). The remaining seals come from contexts dated to LH IIIB and C:1. Within the Group no internal development can be readily detected, yet the renderings are so varied that it is very difficult to determine hands or workshops; it thus might be argued that the Group was produced in many workshops and in a relatively short period of time, say LH IIIA:2-B:1. This accords well with the fact that most of these sealstones, especially those from late IIIB to C contexts like ours, are exceedingly worn.

The extreme ease with which these seals were engraved, the often ambiguously schematic and hasty style, and the fact that tombs which yield these seals are usually simply furnished, all point to the conclusion that their owners were, for the most part, of humble means.

3. The Island Sanctuaries Group

Three of the Phylakopi lentoids, Nos. 2-4, are linked stylistically and may be said to belong to a large group of similar seals many of which come from Mycenaean sanctuaries: Mycenae's House with the Idols, the Apollo Meleatas Sanctuary at Epidauros, the Temple at Ayia Irini in Keos, the Artemisium deposit in Delos, and the Sanctuary at Phylakopi. Since three of these sanctuaries lie in the Islands, the group may be termed that from the Island Sanctuaries.

As mentioned above, No. 2's closest relatives are *CMS* V 499 (PLATE 56 *c-d*) and 500 (PLATE 56 *a-b*) from the Temple at Ayia Irini, Keos: all three depict lithe animals with gracile legs, dots for the hooves, joints, eye, and muzzle. Also, the same type of stone, a white, somewhat translucent, lightly veined limestone, served for all three lentoids. In addition, the rim dimensions for all three seals are similar, though not exactly the same: 500 is the smallest with a diameter of 1.7×1.8 , 499 has a diameter of 1.8×1.9 , and our lentoid is the largest with a diameter of 1.9×2.0 cm. Add to all this the strong probability that our lentoid and 500 were cut from the same stone; both have two strongly demarcated veins although 499 lacks these.

The present author hypothesized as early as 1973 that the two Ayia Irini lentoids, *CMS* V 500 and 499, are by one hand, and had aligned them with several others to form a group then called that of the Elegant Twins from Kea (Younger 1973, 442); John Betts (1976) added more seals to the group, which was later reorganized under the new name of the Island Sanctuaries Group (Younger 1979b and 1981b).

The Island Sanctuaries Master (Younger 1981b)

A. Average Size Sealstones

CMS I 26 (PLATE 57 *a*) and 175, both from Mycenae, and 411 from Amorgos; I Supp. 58 from Perati T. 118? (LH IIIB:2 – C:1); V 221 (PLATE 57 *e*) from the Apollo Maleatas Sanctuary at Epidauros (LH I – II plus III), 499 (PLATE 56 *c-d*) and 500 (PLATE 56 *a-b*), both from the Temple at Ayia Irini, Keos (LH IIIA – B); VII 250 and 251; IX 191 (PLATE 57 *c*), and 14D; X 136, 158, and 299; XIII 12 from Boeotia, 59 (PLATE 57 *d*) from Mycenae? (Younger 1976b, 255), 126 (PLATE 56 *h*), and 3D; and Phylakopi 2 (PLATE 50 *a-d*) and 3 (PLATE 50 *e-h*), both from LH IIIC:1 contexts.

Associated sealings: *CMS* I 317, 323, 355 (PLATE 57 *b*), and 366, all from Pylos (LH IIIB:2 – C).

B. Small seals (*CMS* I 139, 0.8×1.2 cm; the rest $1.2 - 1.5$ cm)

CMS I 139 from Mycenae T. 513 (LH IIIB:1), and 489 from Crete; V 258 from Midea (LH IIIB), and 600 (PLATE 56 *g*) from Mycenae, House with the Idols (LH IIIB:2); and Phylakopi 4 (PLATE 51 *a-d*; LH IIIC:1).

The Rhodian Hunt Master (Younger 1979b)

Another master also shares the elegant and mannered style of the Island Sanctuaries Master, but the compositions are even bolder and often more narrative, and the proportions, especially that of the neck to the body, more attenuated. This master is named after his finest piece, *CMS* V 656. His early work follows the general style of the Workshop closely, but his later products are nervous and eclectic as if a rough technique and disjointed compositions were meant to be more eye-catching.

A. Early work

CMS I 171 (PLATE 57 *f*) from Mycenae, and 199 from Asine; I Supp. 55 from Perati T. 128 (LH IIIC:1); V 313 from Delos, the Artemisium Deposit, 656 from Rhodes, Ialysos T. 21 (LH IIIC:1), and 664 (PLATE 58 *a*) from Thebes, Megalo Kastelli T. 4; VIII 150; and IX 20D (PLATE 58 *b*); Zwierlein-Diehl 1969 no. 25 said to come from Athens, now in Berlin.

Associated sealings: *CMS* I 324 and 379, both from Pylos (LH IIIB:2 – C:1), and 165 from Mycenae, House of the Shields (LH IIIB:1); and HMs 255 joining another sealing, both fragments from Knossos (Pini 1973 and private communication).

Possible candidates from Knossos: HM 259 (Gill 1965, no. C15) and 353/660.

B. Later work

CMS VII 160 said to some from Calabria, and 175–177 from Rhodes?

Island Sanctuaries Group, Close

The Papoulia Master: *CMS* I Supp. 29 from Prosymna T. 33 (LH IIIA:2–B); V 311 from Papoulia; and Kenna 1960, no 24P.

Miscellaneous seals: *CMS* I 23 and 30, both from Mycenae, 386 from Menidi, and 484 from Crete; I Supp. 21 (PLATE 58 *b*) from Midea T. 2 (LH IIIA:2 (Popham *et al.* 1974, 254) or IIIB:1 (Furumark 1972, 64–65); IV 264 from Crete; V 659 from Ialysos; and VII 184 (PLATE 56 *i*), and 252.

Island Sanctuaries Group, Related

CMS VII, 111 from Amorgos PLATE 58 *c*).

Commentary

Date. Apart from the Knossos sealing(s?), the seals that derive from the earliest contexts are *CMS* I 139 (LH IIIB:1) and V 499 and 500 (LH IIIA–B) by the Island Sanctuaries Master, I 165 (LH IIIB:1) a sealing associated with the Rhodian Hunt Master, and I Supp. 29 (LH IIIA:2–B) by the Papoulia Master and 21 (LH IIIA:2 or B:1) by an artist in the Island Sanctuaries Group.

These context dates imply that the Island Sanctuaries artists had already developed a well established style by IIIA:2–B:1, but their *floruit* can be raised still further. The thin legs and the simple and dry modelling are imitated in a schematic and cruder rendering by the Mainland Popular seals, which come from contexts dated no earlier than LH IIIA:2.

Several seals in soft stones form a group named the Wicked Eye Group (Betts and Younger 1982) after the use of a large and narrow almond eye. The animals in this group are placed in elegant and contorted poses, and are rendered with thin and often curved legs; the presence of these stylistic traits probably implies that the Wicked Eye Group and the Island Sanctuaries Group were both participating in a contemporary stylistic phenomenon. Amongst the seals in this Wicked Eye Group are *CMS* V 243 from Armenoi T. 13 (LM IIIA:2 context) and XII 205 from Crete that depicts an octopus which, if found on pottery, would be classed as Furumark Motif 21.14 (LH IIIA:1). The large almond eyes of this group can also be seen on a krater from Enkomi (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, no. III.23) dated *ca.* 1375–1360 B.C.

Two of the Knossos sealings (Gill 1965, no. C15 and Pini 1973/HMs 255) associated with the Rhodian Hunt Master depict thin, slender griffins accompanied by what seem to be their offspring. On HM 255/Pini 1973 a family of two adult and two baby griffins attacks a stag that runs right, head contorted as on *CMS* I Supp. 55 and as restored on Phylakopi 3. The lanky proportions of the Knossos griffins and the linear treatment of their wings find parallels on the Rhodian Hunt Master's other griffin seals: *CMS* I 171 from Mycenae and 324 a Pylos sealing impressed by a ring, and IX 200; and the exaggerated curve of one of the Knossos griffins is duplicated on the Pylos sealing. In addition, the peaked chest of the Knossos stag produced by a cut V-shaped in section is also found on Phylakopi 3 and *CMS* I Supp. 55.

While the Island Sanctuaries Master and the Rhodian Hunt Master can be generally described as preferring elegantly thin and smooth bodies articulated by dots for muzzle tips, eyes and feet, the Knossos sealing also reveals a slightly erased large dot for the stag's shoulder. This use of a dotted shoulder appears also on only two other seals by the Rhodian Hunt Master (*CMS* V 313 from Delos and more pronouncedly on V 656 from Ialysos) but occurs commonly on seals in the Spectacle Eye Group. Another trait common in the Spectacle Eye Group is the large outlined ear (e.g. V 246, IX 130, XIII 61); a few seals in the Island Sanctuaries Group adopt this

trait (e.g. I 411, V 313, X 136), but most either replace it with a single long stroke (e.g. I Supp. 58, V 221, IX 191) or else omit the ear entirely (e.g. V 499 and 500, and Phylakopi 2).

The Spectacle Eye Group takes its name from the dotted eye encircled by a ring made by the hollow drill (Younger 1973, 422–424, there called the Group of the Ring-Eyed Animals). The earliest contexts for the group are LM IIIA:1 and since many of the group's seals and the sealings they impressed have been excavated from Knossos and the palace's surrounding well-dated cemeteries, it is reasonable to date the group to *ca.* 1410–1385 B.C. and to place its workshop there. The two traits common to the Spectacle Eye Group but occasionally used by the Island Sanctuaries artists, the dotted shoulder and the large outlined ear, indicate a relationship somewhat closer than previously supposed (Younger 1979b and 1981b); if the Spectacle Eye Group can be securely dated to 1410–1385 B.C. then the Island Sanctuaries artists probably worked closer to *ca.* 1350 B.C.

The presence at Knossos of certainly one sealing, and perhaps two others, impressed by a seal by the Rhodian Hunt Master, a member of the Island Sanctuaries Group which produced stylistically the last major seals in hard stones *ca.* 1350 B.C., raises once again the problem of dating the destruction of Knossos that fired both sealings and tablets. Apart from the sealings just cited from Knossos, the latest sealings there seem to belong to the Spectacle Eye Group, *ca.* 1410–1385 B.C., and would have, again not including HM 255/Pini 1973 and possible companion pieces, supported Popham's date of LM IIIA:1 end for the final destruction of Knossos (Popham 1970a).

Recently Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (1982 a and b) re-opened the question emphasizing, among other matters, the similarities between the Pylos and Knossos tablets, the presence of LM IIIB pottery, much of which was burnt, and the likely possibility that since the palace at Chania was probably functioning in late LM IIIA and B, Knossos probably was also. The presence of at least one Rhodian Hunt sealtype and possibly others at Knossos supports a date later than LM IIIA:1 end for bureaucratic activity and a fire destruction at Knossos and also offers a parallel phenomenon to the situation at Pylos whose sealings were impressed by seals made much earlier than the destruction and in no case belonged to a stylistic group later than the Island Sanctuaries Group (Betts and Younger 1982, 116 n. 30).

Stones. The repertory of stones used by the Sanctuaries Workshop at first glance seems unremarkable; most are the usual banded agates or pale chalcedonies, with a few cornelians and amethysts. There are also singletons of rock crystal, fluorite, and pink quartz, and one or possibly two of lapis lazuli.

Several agates, however, are unusual. *CMS* VII 111 from Amorgos (PLATE 58 *c*), 175 and 251, and two seals not in the Island Sanctuaries Group *CMS* I 394 from Perati and VII 95, are of densely banded agate with thin grey and black veins usually forming parallel chevrons along whose apices the stringhole is commonly aligned. This peculiar colouring may be the trait of the agate or perhaps the result of heating the stone. By the Rhodian Hunt Master, *CMS* VII 177 and IX 20D, are of another gaudy agate with blueish inclusions; they too may have been carved from one die.

Steatite is the usual material for the Mainland Popular Group, but our Workshop also used it to engrave finer gems: *CMS* V 528, Phylakopi 4, and Zwierlein-Diehl 1969, no. 25.

Four lentoids, *CMS* V 499 and 500 (PLATE 56 *a–d*), Phylakopi 2 (PLATE 50 *a–d*) and *CMS* XIII 126 (PLATE 56 *h*; published as marble), are of limestone, a material not often identified for sealstones. Its use, as well as that of fluorite and rock crystal, however, seems particularly suited to the Workshop's style; the diffusion of light within the stone adds greater softness to the already mannered modelling of the animals engraved.

Place of Manufacture. The sealstones of the Island Sanctuaries Group were deposited mainly in the Islands, the Argolid, and the east coast of Attica; two or three come from Thebes and several seem attested at Pylos; a significant number come from Crete. The style of the Kadmeion seals (*CMS* V 672–675) is uniform, however, and far removed from the Island Sanctuaries style; much of the Rhodian Hunt Master's seals come from Rhodes, but all the artists of the Island Sanctuaries Group owed much to the Spectacle Eye Group created at Knossos. It seems impossible, therefore, to assign the artists of the Island Sanctuaries Group to any one location.

We must consider therefore the likelihood that our artists travelled about on set circuits—they would need only a small kit of tools, and many of their materials, especially the limestones, would be ready at hand wherever they set up their instant ateliers. These mid-fourteenth century artists may not have enjoyed as much support in the palaces as once they had, though apparently a few of their seals came to be used for sealing documents, even at Knossos. The artists might therefore have been forced to look farther afield for their markets, perhaps travelling to the sanctuaries for festal days, for example, where the faithful could buy sealstones and other beads, perhaps on such necklaces as the ladies in fresco often swing, for dedicating, and where the adventurous who were now moving with greater frequency across the Aegean, often to Rhodes, could acquire seals to wear to their new homes; if the artists were thus forced to be itinerant and to substitute vending for patronage, they easily could have lost contact with the long tradition of their art. Such an explanation would go far to account for the wide dispersal of the Island Sanctuaries seals with their occasionally gaudy stones and neurotic compositions and for the fact that these artists were the last creators of seals in hard stone.

4. Sealstones from Mycenaean Sanctuaries

FIG. 4.11 shows the distribution of the ten sealstones, Nos. 2–11, which were found about the altar in the north-east corner of the East Shrine at Phylakopi. All lay on or just above its earliest floor. As can be seen, there is little discernible pattern to the findspots; Nos. 7 and 9 may have been strung together, perhaps Nos. 8 and 10 also. Otherwise, all seem haphazardly strewn.

Two other LH IIIB excavated shrines, however, have yielded sealstones from late LH III levels (Younger 1977, 142): the Temple at Ayia Irini in Keos (Caskey 1971, 384–386) and the House with the Idols at Mycenae (Tamvaki 1974). The Temple at Ayia Irini shares some interesting features with Phylakopi's Sanctuary. Combining a personal communication with Professor Caskey (10 February 1978) and his 1971 article produces the following information.

In its first LH III phase the Temple's Room 6 received a thick flooring of white lime plaster, two Pi-shaped constructions against its NW wall that resemble the Phylakopi West Shrines's two niches and altar-benches in front, and a bench along the Temple's SW wall that resembles the West Shrine's southern bench. Above or on the floor below the Temple's SW bench was found seal *CMS* V 500 (context dated LH IIIA–B in *CMS* V). At some time in LH IIIC a collapse necessitated repairs to the Temple, including a new bench against the SW wall and another against the NE wall; these new benches overlay portions of the Pi-shaped features (Caskey 1962a, fig. 8). Below the new NE bench was found seal *CMS* V 497 (context dated LH IIIA–B in *CMS* V) and in the niche of the NE Pi-shaped structure was found 498 with fragments of a terracotta drain, similar to that found in the East Shrine, and pottery of "IIIC probably early, deep bowls".

The Temple's seal *CMS* V 499 from Room 3 (context LH IIIC with some IIIA–B in *CMS*) and 500 from above the floor and below the SW bench of Room 6 must be fairly contemporary since both were made by our Sanctuaries Master. *CMS* V 497 from under the later NE bench

and 498 from the niche in the NE Pi-shaped structure are stylistically even earlier than our Master's work, 498 being the name-piece of a master (the Keos Lion Master) who was a follower of the Mycenaean-Vapheio Lion School (Betts and Younger 1982).

It is obvious then that: 1) at least one seal from the Temple, 498, was created considerably earlier than the date of its context; 2) none of these seals seems to have been found exactly where it must have been originally dedicated, with the possible exception of seal 500; and therefore 3) the retention of dedicated sealstones somewhere within the Temple complex over a long period of time is likely to have been religious policy.

The Phylakopi sealstones may also have been kept safe in the Sanctuary a long time after they were dedicated. As shown above, Phylakopi sealstones Nos. 7–11 belong to the Mainland Popular Group (LH IIIA:2–B) and are therefore contemporary with our Nos. 2–4 belonging to the Island Sanctuaries Group, and it is probable that seals Nos. 5 and 6 are too. The whole deposit as excavated in the East Shrine, then, is fairly chronologically homogeneous in style, *ca.* 1350 B.C. Since no seal was found in the West Shrine in a context contemporary with that which held the seals in the East Shrine, we may imagine either that sealstones were always dedicated in the East Shrine, or, more likely, since they were found as one deposit, that they had been dedicated originally in the West Shrine but were removed for storage to the East.

From the LH IIIB:2 House with the Idols at Mycenae come other lentoids, *CMS* V 595–600, all of which are remarkable: 597 with a bull-leaping scene (Younger 1976a, 130, no. II.10 and 135–6), for the beauty of its stone and graceful mannered style; 598 for its material of blue glass (Pini 1981, no. 51); 599 for its unfinished state; and 600 (PLATE 56 g) for both its small size (cf. our No. 4 by the same hand) and its material, lapis lazuli. All seem worthy votives for a shrine, if we imagine the unfinished seal to have been dedicated by its maker.

Other sealstones were probably also dedicated in sanctuaries. Several have been found in the MM–LM early shrine to Zeus on Mt. Iouktas, his birthplace (Karetsou 1974), in the Diktaian cave, the home of his early childhood (Kenna 1960, nos. 351, 356, etc.), and under the Artemisium (as a treasury deposit?) in Delos (*CMS* V 312–314, including one, 313, that belongs to our Rhodian Hunt Group).

It is obvious, therefore, that sealstones were considered fit *ex votos* for Late Minoan and Mycenaean sanctuaries, especially during the LH IIIB period when presumably no artists were creating hardstone seals and the earlier and finer products had therefore become valued more as articles of worth and of curious beauty than as bureaucratic tools (Younger 1977, 142). If this is the case, then it is not surprising to see them dedicated in contemporary shrines as objects of sacrifice, in much the same way as Mycenaean heirlooms were dedicated in much later sanctuaries, like the Perachora Heraeum, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia, or that at Sounion (Sakellarakis 1976).

5. The Ivory Ring *CMS* I 410

Among the Late Bronze Age seals previously reported from Melos only one, the ivory ring *CMS* I 410 (PLATE 55 a–d) has a secure provenience. It was excavated in 1899 from the floor deposit in Phylakopi's room H2:14. In the original publication (Phylakopi 1904, 21, 193, and 263f.) this ring is dated to City III early (LM II), but through the recent work on the site it now can be established that its stratigraphic position, under early Megaron levels, might result in the earlier date of LM Ia/LH I.

Though the ring is adequately published in *CMS*, further remarks of a technical nature should be added: the bezel is broken across the middle and the hoop in four places; and the incisions on both bezel and hoop are stained with a red pigment, an uncommon but not unknown feature in ivory carving (Poursat 1977, 48). It also bears repeating that bezel and hoop are of one piece.

The ring is unique in its combination of material, shape and decoration. Rings made from materials other than gold (or lead rings and rings with bezels set in bronze—Hall 1912, figs. 43b and 44 = HM 1789 and 143, respectively) are rare but generally come from early contexts.

Ivory for seals is also rare especially in the Late Bronze Age: e.g. stylistically from the fifteenth century come *CMS* V 220 from Brauron T. 19 and 308 from the Pylos Palace area; and possibly from the fourteenth century come *CMS* V 275 and 276 from Armenoi T. 56. *CMS* V 415 from Medeon T. 239 carries an inscription that could be considered a crude form of Linear B reading *ja-ko-e* in impression or more probably *e-ko-ja* on the seal, either word otherwise unattested as far as the present author knows. *CMS* VIII 157 is an Island Gem (Boardman 1963, 146); and *CMS* I 406 is not of ivory but of glass (Pini 1981, no. 16).

Only three other rings have circular bezels with figured scenes: Hall 1912, fig. 44 (HM 143) from Sphoungaras, MM end—LMI; Sakellarakis 1967, pl. 137a (HM 1017) from Archanes Tholos B, LM IIIA:1; and *CMS* VII 68. All probably date to the sixteenth or early fifteenth centuries B.C.

The motif on the Phylakopi ring is also unique, but in its arrangement of cult objects it resembles closely *CMS* V 608 (PLATE 55 *e*), a cushion seal from a LB IIIC burial in Naxos, Kenna 1960 no. 380 from Knossos, and HM 1049 from Mallia (Long 1974 fig. 11). The linear style of the ivory ring also resembles one face of an early cut style three-sided amygdaloid prism (Zwierlein-Diehl 1969 no. 12a) from Crete, now in Berlin.

6. Other Late Bronze Age Sealstones from Melos

Boardman (1963, 97–99) publishes a list of seals from Melos which he identifies as Bronze Age in date; the present author has not been able to consult those in Breslau (*ibid.* 97 no. 6 and 98 nos. 2, 11, 16, 17) or the one found with ‘Dipylon’ fragments (*ibid.* 99 no. 25).

Most of the Late Bronze Age sealstones found in Melos probably come from the Geometric tombs near Trypiti (Betts 1971, 50). These would include the seals in Dresden and Leningrad (Boardman 1963, 99, nos. 9 and 10), Brandt 1968 no. 91, Zazoff 1970, 187–188, nos. 1–3 (4 is stated to have come from the prehistoric cemetery near Phylakopi) from the Dümmler collection (Dümmler travelled extensively in the island), *CMS* VII 60, 77, and 78, probably V 205–7, and Boardman 1963, 98 no. 9, all talismanic seals and therefore datable to the close of MM or to the beginning of LM.

Stylistically later are *CMS* I Supp. 71, and VII 107, 110 and 155; Brandt 1968, nos. 39, 63, 66 and 70; Kenna 1960, nos. 305 and 45P; and two seals in London (Boardman 1963, 98 nos. 23 and 24).

Several other seals have been published as Mycenaean products from Melos, but surely are Archaic (Pini 1975): Brandt 1968 no. 26, Zwierlein-Diehl 1969 no. 59, and Zazoff 1970 nos. 7 and 8.

Phylakopi’s most famous export was the island’s fine black obsidian. Though this volcanic glass makes sharp cutting tools, it is not entirely suitable for sealstones because it tends to flake when worked.

This flaking can be easily appreciated in the six experimental discoids *CMS* I Supp. 120, IV 166 from the Messara, VII 37 and 38, and VIII 39 (now in the Gans collection in Los Angeles) and 40 (now Ashmolean Museum 1968.927). *CMS* VII 37 and VIII 39 and 40 have both faces flaked, while in addition to flaking the other seals also carry motives: VII 38 has a cut cross on the reverse; and IV 166 has been reworked—the obverse to receive a contorted agrimi, the reverse to have one of its three flaked gouges transformed into a dolphin, as did the obverse of I Supp. 120. These six discoids are unique as a group; their rims are smooth, and the sizes of five are uniformly

small (D. 1.3–1.5 cm)—only one, *CMS* VIII 40, is larger (D. 2.1 cm). Thus it seems fairly certain that they were all fashioned by one hand, *CMS* IV 166 and I Supp. 120 being later outfitted by a Minoan with more conventional and popular motifs (cf. Schiering 1968, 775).

Discoids tend to occur late in the Middle Minoan period (thus Kenna 1960, no. 160), and as the flaked patterns on the beads, though unique, might be compared to some of the more bizarre talismanic forms (e.g. *CMS* IV 189, 203, 217, etc.), a date of MM III can be assigned for the six obsidian beads. The reworked *CMS* I Supp. 120 and IV 166 thus were probably fashioned at Phylakopi in MM III and reworked slightly later in Crete.

If the obsidian is Melian and not Cappadocian as Renfrew, Dixon and Cann (1966) suggest in the case of certain stone vases (Warren 1969, 135–136), then it is conceivable that these beads may have been made at Phylakopi. Two of the flaked discoids, *CMS* VIII 39 and 40, were collected by R. M. Dawkins, who excavated at Phylakopi in 1911, and they could have been acquired while he was on the island; more importantly, however, the technique for the shaping and the primary decoration of these six beads is appropriate only to this material, as if they were made by such an obsidian knapper as might have worked at Phylakopi and not by a master sealstone engraver otherwise unpracticed in working the material.

There are also several obsidian talismanic (MM III–LM I) sealstones, *CMS* IV 195 and 207, both from East Crete, VIII 136, X 70, XII 197, and the reshaped lentoid XII 119, as well as the architectural obsidian discoids *CMS* IV 157 from the Messara and Kenna 1960 no. 160; these were all probably engraved by Minoan artists in Crete working with imported obsidian, either Melian or Cappadocian.

A white flint has also been found on Melos; perhaps *CMS* VIII 143 was carved from such material. Another seal, a cushion of 'liparite' found on Mochlos (Hughes and Warren 1963), was fashioned from obsidian from Giali as were several stone vases (Warren 1969, 135).

If this analysis is correct it implies that Melian obsidian, not entirely suitable for sealstones, was only occasionally used, even by those Minoans in Crete expert in the art. Further, if the obsidian beads were shaped at Phylakopi, as seems plausible, then their crude shape and finish also imply that there was no real sealstone workshop at Phylakopi at the end of the Middle Minoan or the beginning of the Late Minoan periods.

Acknowledgments

I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Colin Renfrew for allowing me the opportunity to study these sealstones not only in print but also in the field. Mr Antonis Zidhionakis of Knossos took great pleasure in bringing them to light, especially the rock crystal lentoid, our No. 1, which he tendered with the respect it rightly deserves. I am equally grateful to Dr Lyvia Morgan for many of the photographs of our sealstones; to Drs Ingo Pini and Carl Albiker for their excellent photographs of the comparative material; and to Miss Jennifer Moody for her sensitive drawings. Mr John Betts of Bristol University impresses his expert mark on many aspects of this study—the compiled workshops published here are the fruits of our collaboration. I am also indebted to the late Professor J. L. Caskey who kindly permitted me to cite a letter from him about the findspots of the Ayia Irini Temple seals.

Chapter VIII

The Finds

by Colin Renfrew and John F. Cherry

The pottery, terracotta figurines and sealstones recovered from the Sanctuary area have been described in the preceding chapter. The remaining material recovered will be described here. The methods of recovery were summarised in Chapter II: pottery, bone (unworked) and obsidian from each excavated layer were collected in separate bags, appropriately labelled.

The obsidian is described by Dr Torrence in Appendix C, and the unworked bone by Dr Gamble in Appendix D. All other categories of find were classed under the category 'Special Find' (SF) and each assigned a number unique to the site. Each was recorded in the trench supervisor's notebook with details of stratigraphic context and three dimensional co-ordinates. Although this system applies the same procedures to a glass bead or a scrap of plaster on the one hand, and an object as large as a stone mortar on the other, it was found to work well.

In the present account (as for the figurines described in Chapter VI), the original Special Find number has been retained: it is used in the drawings illustrating this chapter and in the distribution plots accompanying Chapter X. The original objects themselves are of course also marked with these SF numbers. As mentioned in Chapter II, dry sieving was employed routinely in the Sanctuary area, and many of the smaller objects came from the sieve: for these pieces the stratigraphic context remains clear, but in general the precise three-dimensional position is not recorded.

The objects found are here classified in the first instance not by stratigraphic context but by material. The contexts of the finds were set out in Chapter IV: in each case the stratigraphic phase, following the divisions set up in Chapter III, is assigned. It should be noted that objects of Phase o antedate the establishment of the Sanctuary and are in general residual materials, usually of Late bronze I date: they do not relate to the use of the Sanctuary. Objects of Phase D were found in the débris of stones which formed from the ruination of the area after the Sanctuary went into disuse at the end of Phase 3c. (They do not relate to the 'collapse phase', Phase 2b.) These, and materials of Phase S (unstratified or surface materials) are not to be regarded as in a primary context, although in some cases they may have been found close to their original position of use or loss. For some categories of object, such as the large saddle querns of ground stone, these pieces may well not have moved far from their original context. But for others, such as painted plaster, there are complicating factors. The soil tip from the 1896–9 excavation was located in, and to the south-west, of our excavation area, and it is very clear that many of the painted plaster fragments from the unstratified, superficial levels of the sanctuary derived from those rooms, described by Mackenzie, elsewhere on the site, where frescoes were found.

It has, nonetheless, been our policy here to list, without exception, *all* the artefacts recovered. Although this may at times lead to the superfluous listing of some trivial items, it does mean that future workers will have a very clear picture of precisely what was found.

In the main, the order of listing here follows the sequence of materials used in Chapter IV. The order is, of course, a somewhat arbitrary one. Material relating to the structure of the buildings will be found under terracotta (drain channels), plaster, and coarse stone (door sockets; possible

decorative stone). The activities within the shrine, in addition to the use of obsidian (Appendix C) and the bone debris (Appendix D) are indicated by possible smelting slag (under metal), by bone tools and by the querns, grinders and other tools listed under coarse stone. Many of the objects no doubt served a votive or symbolic function, and this point is further discussed at the end of the chapter.

In many cases the classification by material of manufacture has been subdivided into categories. Within these categories finds are normally listed for convenience in the order of their SF numbers. Except for the category 'coarse stone', objects of phase D ('débris') and phase S ('unstratified') are listed at the end of the section in question since their stratigraphic position within the Sanctuary is not assured.

1. The Scarab (FIG. 8.1; PLATE 58 *e*)

SF 766 NLe space c layer 46 Phase 3a/c

Scarab, complete, of faience (or glazed composition) and blue-green in colour.


Measurements: L. 1.4; W. 0.9; Th. 0.5


Dr T. G. H. James, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian Antiquities at the British Museum has kindly written the following note, based upon his examination of the drawings and photographs of the scarab:


Note on the Phylakopi Scarab (SF 766)

by T. G. H. James


The legend on the base of this scarab may be transcribed in conventional Egyptian hieroglyphs

as ; it is made up of three signs, two of which are repeated. The arrangement is symmetrical around a central sign which should probably be taken as 𓏲, an arm holding a conical loaf of bread which in the regular hieroglyphic script has the phonetic value *di* or *rdi*. The possibility that it is an elongated form of the sign 𓏲 has not seriously been considered. It is flanked by the signs 𓏲 and 𓏲, the former being a ripple of water with the phonetic value *n*, the latter a basket which is phonetically *nb*. The inscription has no translatable meaning. The 𓏲, which can have a number of different meanings in Egyptian, including 'all' and 'lord', is also commonly used as a filler-sign in the semi-circular ends of scarab legends. It is also sometimes confused with the 𓏲 sign, the mouth, phonetically *r*, by scarab carvers who clearly do not understand what they are cutting. It may also be suggested that the 𓏲 here represents a misinterpretation of 𓏲, the simple arm sign which has a semi-vocalic value sometimes reproduced as the vowel *a*. The suggestion, therefore, is that the legend on this scarab

incorporates a garbled form of the group , which occurs frequently on scarabs of the Hyksos Period (*ca.* 1700–1567 BC), particularly on those found outside Egypt. (For some examples see Rowe 1936, pl. VI.) This group, often called *anra* from the phonetic values of the three signs 𓏲 (*a*), 𓏲 (*n*), and 𓏲 (*r*), has in the past been subject to fanciful interpretation, although it is now generally taken to be a meaningless collocation of signs used without understanding, for simple decorative purposes, to produce the appearance of an authentic Egyptian inscription, or because the signs were to copy and carve. (For a sensible statement on the *anra*-group, see Hornung and Stachelin, 1976, 51.) Lying dimly behind the legend on this scarab, may therefore

be the group  —a misinterpretation of what in itself was without meaning in strictly hieroglyphic terms. It should be said, however, that where there seems to be little understanding of what is written, it is probably pointless to infer any sensible intention.

On the scarabs with the *anra* legend from the Hyksos Period, the signs are usually arranged within some decorative border. On scarabs of later periods carrying similar legends a decorative border may not occur (e.g. Rowe 1936, pl. XVI, no. 613, a scarab from Tell el-Ajjul dated in the publication to the Eighteenth Dynasty). From this point of view the Phylakopi scarab should be later than the Hyksos Period. Consideration of further details confirms a later date. The profile is summary and unspecific, and offers no particular clue. The details of the markings on the back, however, are more helpful, at least in one particular, the two notches to be found on the wing

cases . These notches are not found on Egyptian scarabs before the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty (*ca.* 1475 BC), and offer a useful *terminus post quem*. It is not easy to be precise about a lower limit, although the size and proportional neatness of the scarab suggest nothing much later than the mid-Nineteenth Dynasty (*ca.* 1225 BC). This lower limit might perhaps be further reduced in consideration of the probability that the piece was made outside Egypt. The garbled nature of the legend, carefully done, but subtly wrong and utterly meaningless, is characteristic of foreign-made scarabs. The material (faience, or more precisely glazed composition) is also typical of most scarabs made in Syria and Palestine, and indeed in the Eastern Mediterranean generally, in post-Hyksos times. A certain conventionality and conservatism in design characterise foreign scarabs, rendering them unreliable objects for dating except in very broad terms. A date later than that suggested above cannot therefore be ruled out. With many reservations, the Phylakopi scarab may be placed within the limits 1475 – 1150 BC, probably to the last hundred years of that period.

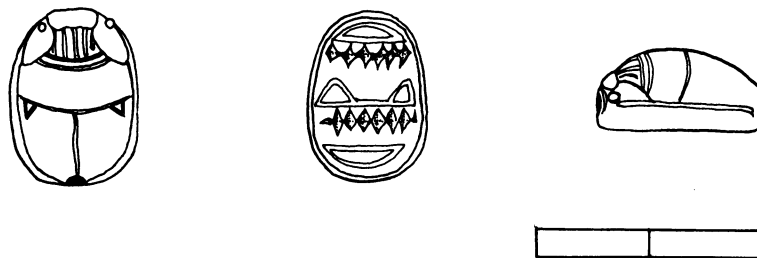


FIG. 8.1 The scarab (SF 766). Scale 3:2

2. The Metal Objects

THE HEAD IN SHEET GOLD (FIG. 8.2, PLATE 59)

SF 192 Layer OLc 26 Phase 3c

Human face or face-mask in sheet gold, worked in repoussé. The eyes are indicated by open apertures, the nose in relief and the mouth shown by indentation. The area of the face is indicated by hammering, the sheet being bent back to indicate the sides and the top of the head, with less prominent indications of the ears. The work is very fine at the face and the forehead and at the ears (which are not, however, shown in detail), but beyond this the surface is less finely finished and less smooth. On the right side of the face the sheet fold continues as if to be wrapped round some support: on the left side the same is apparently the case, but the metal is here flattened by folding back. The edges of the metal are jagged, as though this sheet is incomplete, or has never been carefully trimmed.

Measurements: Height 2.8; width 3.0; approximate width if bent and flattened piece on left is unfolded; 4.3.

Context: This head was one of the objects from Assemblage L, representing the last use of the East Shrine, during phase 3c. It was not found with any support of wood or terracotta, or other material, or with any sign of a body.

Direct comparisons for this piece are few. The most obvious use in the Aegean of sheet gold to depict the human face, albeit on a very much larger scale, is offered by the five famous masks from Grave Circle A at Mycenae and by the example in electrum from Circle B. The five from Shaft Graves IV and V (Karo 1933, 328, nos. 253, 254, 259, 623 and 624) are of gold and at natural size (i.e. ca. 20 to 30 cm in height), and the electrum mask from Grave Gamma resembles them in most respects (Mylonas 1973, 76 and pl. 61a; see Blegen 1962 and Biesantz 1958). In general the impression of the small Phylakopi piece is remarkably similar, although with two points of distinction. In the first place the eyes are indicated by apertures cut in the gold sheet: the eyes are clearly shown in all the Mycenae pieces, in most of them with the lids clearly closed and meeting across the middle of the eye and the eyelashes shown. Only in Mycenae nos. 259 and 623 is there an 'eyes open' impression, lacking the indication of eyelids and eyelashes. Secondly the Mycenae masks are trimmed round the edge to give a regular shape, and most have pierced holes at the edge, presumably to allow the passage of a string to facilitate their positioning, perhaps as some authors have suggested on the face of the deceased. The small Phylakopi mask has much more sheet metal at the sides and is less regularly trimmed. The obvious explanation is that this metal was folded back behind some solid upright used to display the mask: the most plausible suggestion is a small statuette, perhaps of wood or terracotta, but conceivably of bronze.

It is certainly relevant to note that precious sheet metal was sometimes used in much this way in the Near East to adorn bronze figurines, including those of 'Smiting God' form, two of them found in the Phylakopi sanctuary. One of these, SF 1802, may well have had a sheet metal embellishment of this kind on the helmet, perhaps of silver (see below). One very handsome example, the head and helmet covered in sheet gold, was found at Minet el-Beida, the port of Ras Shamra (Schaeffer 1939, pl. 25; Negbi 1976, pl. 22) and the treatment of the face there much resembles that of the Phylakopi gold head. Sheet decoration of this kind was already employed in the Anatolian early bronze age (Akurgal and Hirmer 1962, pl. VIII). The distance from top of brow to the chin of 1.6 cm on the Phylakopi mask seems rather larger than the corresponding measurement of the two smiting figures found on the site, perhaps about 16 cm high.

While it seems likely that the mask was attached to a standing human figure, of height around 16 cm, it should not be assumed that this was of bronze. The possibility of a wooden effigy with the face sheathed in gold, should not be excluded. Although no Mycenaean figures of sheet gold have yet been recorded, the existence of such figures in bronze is well attested from the geometric period, notably by the Dreros finds in Crete (Marinatos 1936, pl. 31; Boardman 1961, 137) when sheet gold was so employed (Lebessi 1975, pl 25b) and there is nothing inherently unlikely in wooden figures, embellished with gold, in the Mycenaean period also.

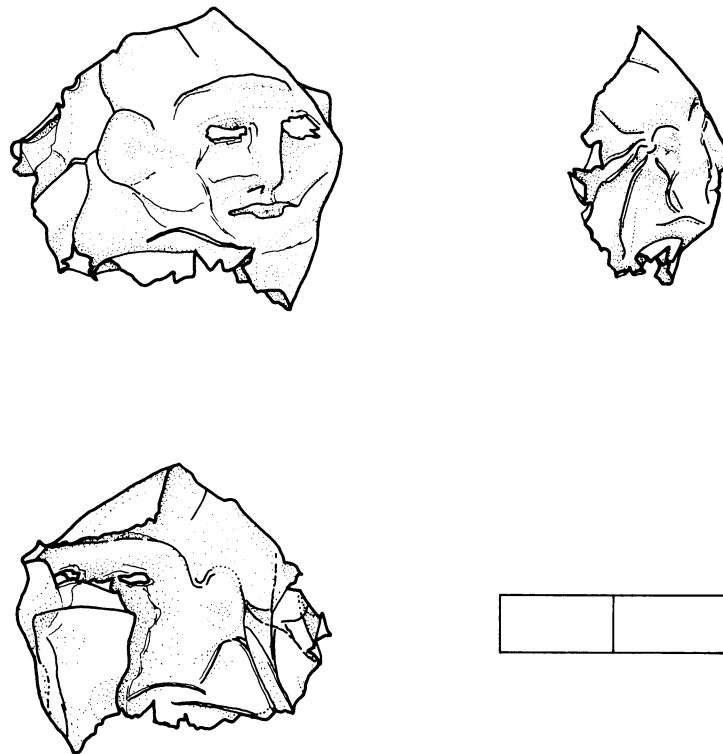


FIG. 8.2 Gold head (SF 192). Scale 3:2

The Aegean bronze age furnishes few comparable cases of the use of sheet gold in this manner, and none so far in human form, although small flat appliqué sheets are much more common, for instance the small ducks from the Artemision deposit at Delos. A less fine but nonetheless rather similar piece, and of comparable size to the Phylakopi head (but of much earlier date), comes from Tomb VI at Mochlos (Seager 1912, 55 and fig. 25: VI.28). It represents an animal, and the author suggests that it was 'probably meant to cover a lion's head of wood or porcelain'. Repoussé gold lions of about the same date as the Phylakopi head come from the tombs at Aplomata on Naxos (Kardara 1977, pl. 5) and a child in sheet gold from Kamini (Zapheiropoulos 1960, pl. 273, b).

THE MALE FIGURINES IN SMITING POSE

The two bronze figurines from the Sanctuary are of exceptional interest. They are at once recognisable as belonging to the class of representations recognised, since the finds by Schliemann at Tiryns and by Tsountas at Mycenae, as of Near Eastern inspiration and frequently identified as the Syrian deity Reshef. Although the form is well attested by several finds in the Aegean, at least two from undoubtedly prehistoric levels, no precise contexts have hitherto been available, so that the two Phylakopi examples are of great importance in this respect.

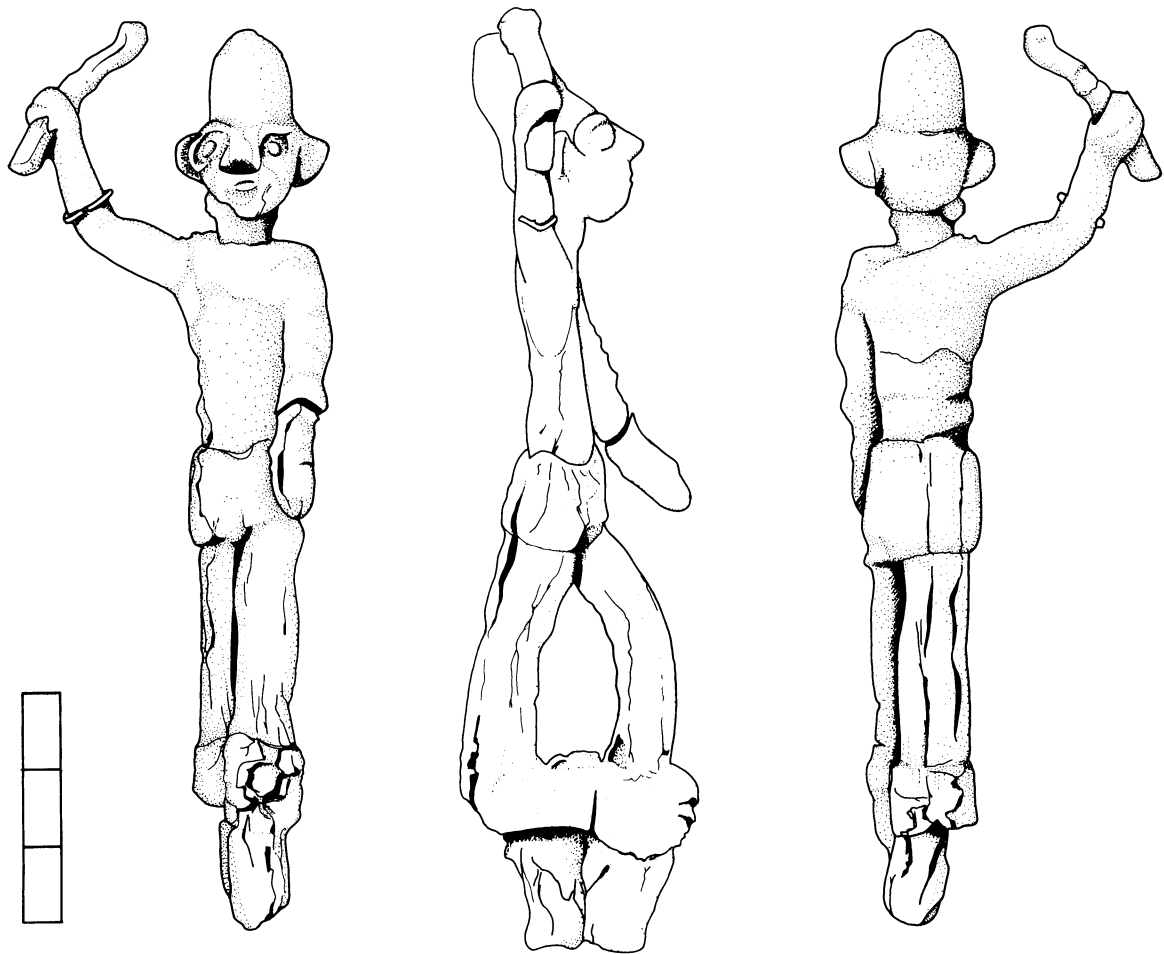


FIG. 8.3 Male figure of bronze (SF 518). Scale 1:1

SF 518 Old layer 63 Phase 2b (FIG. 8.3, PLATE 67 and 68)

Standing figure, left foot advanced, right arm and hand raised and carrying a club, the left arm near the body to the elbow, the forearm and hand extended forward. Much corroded.

On the head is a tall cap or helmet of roughly conical form but rounded not pointed at the top, contrasting both with the Near Eastern 'white crown of Upper Egypt' form (e.g. Negbi 1976, pl. 22) and with the narrowing conical form (e.g. Negbi 1976, pl. 15, 478). The face is rounded, the nose large and prominent, and the eyes are shown in somewhat bulging relief. The eyebrows are shown by modelling, and the mouth is lightly indicated. There is no beard. The ears are large and stand out prominently. The torso is not strongly modelled: there is no indication of breasts. The figure wears a kind of loin cloth, shown in relief, whose details are not clear: it resembles modern briefs or swimming trunks in form. The corroded legs are thick, the feet both joined to a horizontal surface (the left foot is broken), from which a double casting tang protrudes downwards.

The left hand is not now clear in its details; it may not have held anything. There is a separately-made bangle round the right forearm: the arm is modelled to show the biceps. It brandishes a club.

The overall impression is of rather heavy, indeed clumsy, modelling, seen in the general lumpish effect, and in the rather crudely indicated nose, eyes and ears.

Measurements: Height (including tang) 12.5; height from helmet to feet 10.2; preserved length of club 2.7.

Context: The figurine was found to the east of the East Shrine, in well-stratified levels assigned to phase 2b.

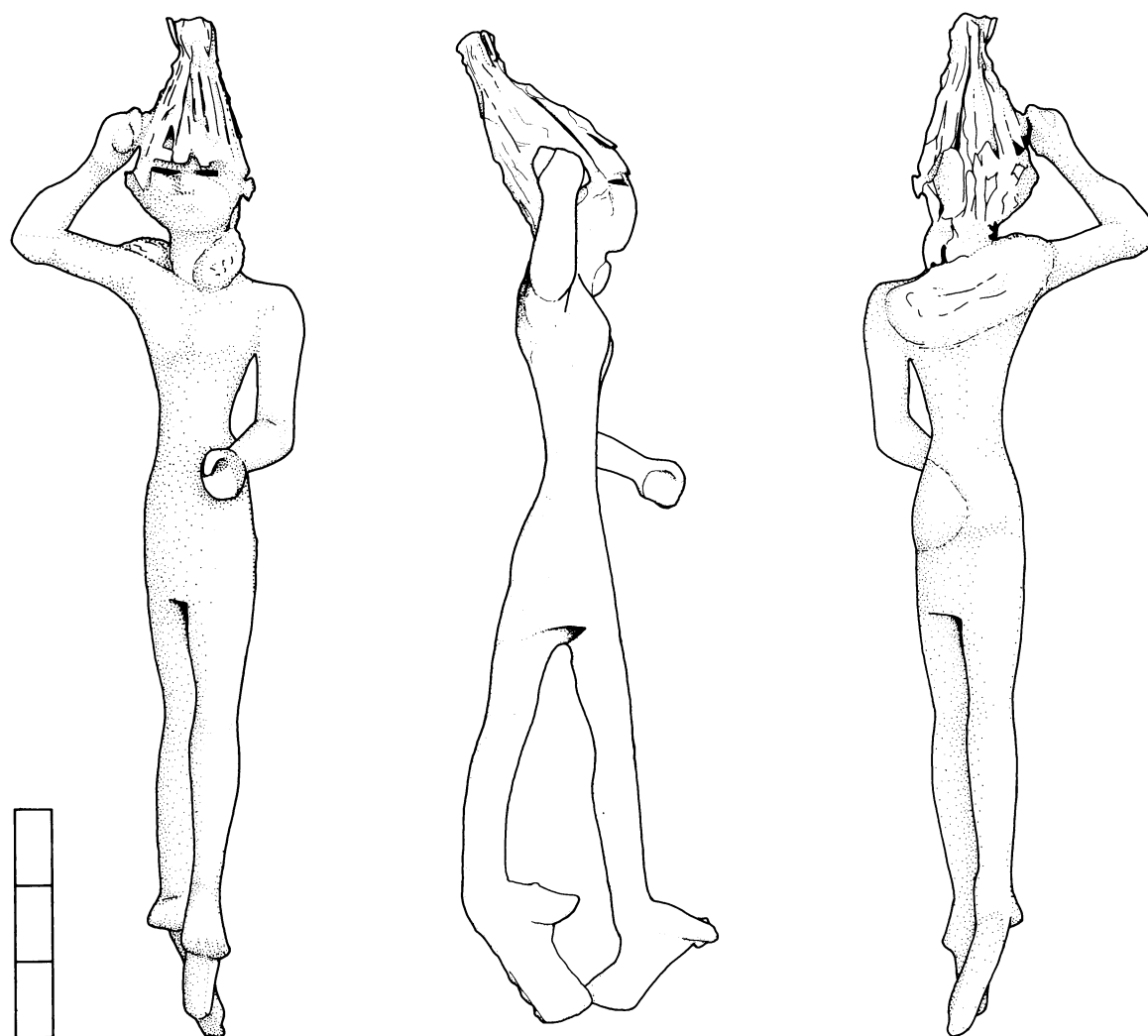


FIG. 8.4 Male figure of bronze (SF 1802). Scale 1:1

SF 1802 NLb layer 409 Phase D (FIG. 8.4, PLATE 69 and 70)

Standing figure, left foot advanced, right arm is raised, bending at elbow as if throwing a spear. The left arm is vertical down to the elbow with the forearm held forward.

On the head is the much corroded helmet, conical and then widening, like so many such figures, in the form of the 'white crown of Upper Egypt' (Collon 1972, 111). This crown is extremely corroded in comparison to the rest of the figure, and we are indebted to Mr P. Kalligas for the suggestion that this differential corrosion may give an indication that the helmet was originally in sheet metal, like several Near Eastern pieces, in this case perhaps silver. The eyes are indicated by small sockets, which give the face a slightly cat-like appearance. They were inlaid: only a trace of gold can be seen under the corrosion on the left eye, but the right eye contains a piece of gold wire, about 1.3 mm long and 0.5 mm thick. The upper and lower lips are well delineated, and there is a neat, beardless chin. The torso is slender and well-modelled, showing the pectoral muscles, the right higher than the left in a careful representation of the 'smiting' pose. The tight kilt is not clearly differentiated, but seems to have extended from the waist to just above the knees. The legs are slender, the feet well modelled, with the toes clearly shown. Below each is a casting tang: the two tangs join lower down. The right arm is held up, bent at the elbow, in the gesture of throwing a spear, which is not preserved. The left arm is bent forward at the elbow with no indication of anything held in the hand.

The overall impression is of a slim figure, stylishly portrayed, with little relief modelling but some fine details.

Measurements: height (including casting tang) 13.4; height from helmet to foot 12.1.

Context: The figure was found in the stone debris immediately overlying Wall 661. There were no associated finds, and the context is simply the general one of the abandonment and decay of the sanctuary area. There was no evidence here of later disturbance, and although the stratigraphic context is not strictly a closed one, the find can be assigned with some confidence to the abandonment of the area after the end of phase 3c.

These finds must be considered within the context of the bronzes of similar form found in the Aegean and the Near East. The Aegean examples have been considered recently by Canby (1969; see also Müller 1929; Bouzek 1972), and those from the Near East by Collon (1972) and Negbi (1976). The Aegean finds are from contexts which may be divided into four classes:

- A. From definite prehistoric contexts: Mycenae (no. 1 below); Tiryns (no. 2); Phylakopi (nos. 3 and 4).
- B. From contexts where both prehistoric and geometric finds occur: Patsos (no. 5); Delos (no. 6); Thermon (no. 7); Lindos (no. 8).
- C. From unrecorded contexts: Nezero (no. 9); 'Attica' (no. 10).
- D. From contexts where a geometric or archaic date may be inferred (usually in the absence of accompanying prehistoric material): Samos (nos. 11 and 12); Sounion (no. 13); Delphi; Olympia and other sites.

It is appropriate now to list all the known or presumed prehistoric occurrences in the Aegean, with brief comments relevant to the assessment of the Phylakopi pieces. The following list includes all those known in classes A and B above, but does not set out to be comprehensive for classes C and D.

1. Mycenae. Height 18.3. (Tountas 1891, pl. 2.4; Müller 1928, 3, fig. 2, left; Bouzek 1972, no. 1; Negbi 1976, no. 1408; Collon 1972, 124, no. 11.)
2. Tiryns. Height 7.0 (Schliemann 1886, 166 fig. 97; Canby 1969, pl. 38; Bouzek 1972, no. 2; Negbi 1976, no. 1407; Collon 1972, no. 12). A stocky figure, with 'Egyptian' helmet. Kilt indicated by incisions, one running diagonally at the front to show the fold of the cloth. Very large ears. Considered by Canby (1969, 143) to be a Hittite import.
3. Phylakopi SF 518. Height 10.2. (Renfrew 1978a, fig. 2 and pl. 4a). See above. Rather thick and heavy style, club in right hand, with bangle on right forearm. Rounded-conical helmet. Facial features in relief, large ears. Loin cloth indicated in relief, resembling bathing briefs.
4. Phylakopi SF 1802. Height 13.4. (Renfrew 1978a, fig. 3 and pl. 4b). See above. Slender style, upraised right arm bent at elbow as though throwing spear. 'Egyptian' helmet. Eyes with gold inlay. Kilt not clearly indicated.
5. Patsos. Height 15.3. (Boardman 1961, pl. 25; Bouzek 1972, no. 8; Negbi 1976, no. 1406; Collon 1972, 124, no. 3). Right hand and left arm missing, devolved 'Egyptian' crown. The right arm is held out, almost horizontal, away from the body. The modelling is rather spindly. Considered by Boardman (1961, 76) to be 'from the Syro-Palestinian area.'
6. Delos, Artemision. Height 11. (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1948, pl. 39; Bouzek 1972, no. 6; Negbi 1976, no. 1411; Collon 1972, 124, no. 4). Right leg missing. Devolved 'Egyptian' helmet. Very thin and spindly. Large ears. Facial features emphasised by incision. A curved club resembling a boomerang in the right hand, and exceedingly small round shield in the left. The round shield is seen in geometric period examples from Delphi (e.g. Rolley 1969, pl. 7, 20). No indication of skirt.
7. Thermon, Aitolia. Height 22. (Romaïos 1915, 271, fig. 19; Bouzek 1972, no. 7; Collon 1972, 124, no. 10). Rather crude figure with conical helmet rounded at the top. Prominent eyes in relief, the nose in striking relief, big ears. A ring is held in the upraised right hand. The left arm is horizontal from the shoulder, held forward at the elbow. There is a torque at the neck. He wears a kilt with a waistband. Romaïos (1915, 272) classes the figure as female, but the breasts are not strongly indicated and the representation is to be considered male, like the others in this list.
8. Lindos. Height 21. (Blinkenberg 1931, 395–8 and pl. 64, 1572; Bouzek 1972, no. 5; Collon 1972, 124, no. 1). 'Egyptian' crown. Very well modelled, with incised eyes and prominent ears. Skirt with diagonal fold at front, surmounted by waist band. considered by Canby (1969, 147) to be a 'good Hittite piece'.

9. Said to be from Nezero, Thessaly. Silver. Height 7.8. (Boardman 1961, pl. 25; Canby 1969, pl. 39; Bouzek 1972, no. 4; Collon 1972, 124, no. 9). Crown damaged. Extremely well modelled, with clear facial features and large ears. Right arm and left forearm missing. Well modelled skirt with diagonal fold. Boardman (1961, 77) says: 'There can be no doubt of its Near Eastern provenience'; it is viewed by Canby (1969, 143) as Hittite.
10. Said to be from Attica, reputedly associated with finds from a possible Mycenaean sanctuary. Height 10.7. (Müller 1928, 311, fig. 3; Bouzek 1972, no. 3). Much corroded. Crown seems of rounded conical form. Skirt not clear but there are indications of a belt. Müller (1928, 311) considered it an imported piece.
11. Samos, Heraion, no. B 1212. Height 28.1. (Jantzen 1972, 12 and pl. 11). Large figure, wearing 'Egyptian' crown with prominent flanges. Skirt shown partly by incision, with diagonal fold and narrow waistband. The very accomplished modelling of this piece confirms Jantzen's attribution as Egyptian. The context is classed by him as seventh century BC.
12. Samos, Heraion, no. B 1285. Height 30 cm. (Jantzen 1972, 66 and pl. 64). Devolved 'Egyptian' crown (with indications of horns), extending at the back below the neck. Beard indicated in relief. Well-modelled skirt with vertical fold and raised waistband. Clearly modelled features, with prominent eyes, the ears not exaggerated. Jantzen classes this as Syrian, and dates its context to the seventh century BC.
13. Sounion. Height 6.5. (Hanfman 1962, pl. 85). Very thick, stocky and crude figurine with heavy limbs. The helmet is of rounded conical form, the ears very thick. No other facial features are visible. The two legs are vertical: this is not a striding figure. The kilt is shown in low relief with no separate fold or waistband. A loop protrudes from the back. Hanfman (1962, 237) concludes 'probably made in Syria'. The context is of the seventh century BC.
14. Delphi. Several examples. (Rolley 1969, nos. 2, 3, 10, 11, 14, 17, 18, 20, 28, 28 etc.). This splendid series of bronzes, published by Rolley, mainly attributed to the eighth century, illustrates the development of the art of bronze casting on the mainland during the early iron age. Many of the smiting figures are stationary, with feet together: others (e.g. no. 22) are striding in the traditional pose. Many wear a rounded-conical cap. Most are naked, with the genitals clearly shown, sometimes (e.g. no. 19) emphasised. Often there is a belt at the waist shown with several separate, horizontal strands.
15. Olympia. Several examples (e.g. Willemsen 1955, pl. 7). Various figures have been found, assigned to the eighth and seventh centuries. Prominent among them is the figurine (with feet together) with crested helmet (Demargne 1964, pl. 407), dated to the first half of the seventh century. The workmanship is in the style of the archaic period, and owes little to the direct inspiration of the Near Eastern forerunners. In many cases at Olympia, as at Delphi, the feet are together. Helmets are still worn, but often the figure is naked, with a wide belt at the waist indicated by parallel horizontal lines.

While our interest in this series is concentrated upon the prehistoric period, consideration of the later pieces of the geometric and archaic periods permits clarification of a number of issues. In the seventh and eighth centuries BC, there is no difficulty in distinguishing between local and imported pieces, and Jantzen is clearly right in regarding the two finds from the Heraion (nos. 11 and 12) as Egyptian and Syrian respectively. If the Lindos piece (no. 8) is of about the same date, it too is certainly imported. Here, indeed, chronology is more difficult than ultimate provenience, and Canby (1969, 147) would set this piece in the second millennium BC. But the very detailed surface treatment and the full, rounded modelling are more accomplished than even the most sophisticated Near Eastern pieces of the second millennium (e.g. Negbi 1976, pl. 18 and 22).

The developments in the eighth and seventh centuries BC are relevant too for our understanding of their predecessors, especially for those pieces in Crete (Naumann 1976) which are often classed as 'intermediate' or 'subminoan', although there are grounds for suspecting that some of them may go back to the late bronze age. Certainly the finds in 'archaic' style from sites such as Delphi or Olympia cannot be confused with pieces from the earlier 'dark ages'. Smith (1962) has shown how the figure of the Striding Zeus in Greek art derives from these prototypes and ultimately from the early Near Eastern forerunners. However, the simpler and so perhaps earlier finds from Delphi (Rolley 1969) are not readily distinguished from those of Aghia Triadha or the Dictaeon Cave in Crete. The possible interpretation of some of the latter pieces, it will be argued in Chapter X, has been changed significantly by the discovery in the Phylakopi

sanctuary of male terracotta figurines in a Late Helladic IIIC context. These nude male terracottas offer a number of similarities with some of the 'intermediate' Cretan bronzes, and some elements in the modelling of the nude male figures can in consequence now be traced back to the late bronze age.

As far as the striding figures are concerned, it is generally the case (on the basis of the Delphi and Olympia finds) that those of eighth century date have a very spindly appearance. They have very long legs, are usually naked (except for the composite waistband), and often wear a rounded-conical cap (not the 'Egyptian' crown). The chest is flat. In some cases the work is extremely crude, and the genitals are not infrequently accentuated. The striding movement is ungainly.

In the light of these features, there are three more pieces in our list for which a geometric date might at least be considered. The first of these is no. 7, from Thermon, and it should be noted that there are two other bronzes from the same site (but not the identical context) which are probably of geometric date. But while this piece is certainly ungainly, so undoubtedly are many pieces of the second millennium from the Near East, and its date could be a matter for controversy. The Delos bronze (no. 6) comes from a deposit which contains geometric as well as bronze age material. Its spindly appearance might suggest a late date, and the round shield is not a usual feature of the second millennium, but the careful treatment of the face perhaps supports the attribution by Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux to the Mycenaean period. The third disputable piece, no. 5 from the Patsos cave, has a slender, rather spindly form which at first sight sets it close to some of its Cretan counterparts. But the well-indicated kilt and the clearly defined (but not exaggerated) features perhaps argue against a later dating, and this is probably, as Boardman suggests, a Levantine piece.

This rather lengthy discussion of the possibly later pieces from the Aegean clears the decks, as it were, for an appraisal of the prehistoric bronzes themselves. In the first place we can assert that they have little in common with the bronzework of the Minoan palace periods. The Minoan bronzes (including the figure in lead from Kampos in the Peloponnese (Bossert 1923, fig. 250)) fall into a well-defined class with their strongly modelled limbs and energetic musculature (e.g. Zervos 1956, nos. 458, 455, 496, 752 etc.). They contrast markedly with pieces made in Crete after the demise of the palaces (e.g. Boardman 1961, pl. 1, 3; Naumann 1976, pl. 1), even though these continue to employ some of the old and characteristic Minoan poses.

Our four Aegean examples of the smiting male whose prehistoric date is not in question (nos. 1 to 4) have nothing in common with the bronzes of the Late Minoan I period. They have likewise very few features to relate them to the metalwork of Late Minoan III Crete and the succeeding period there. It is a remarkable circumstance, moreover, that despite the sophistication of Mycenaean bronzework in other fields, notably in the production of weapons, there are no human figures from the mainland with which these could be compared. (As indicated above, the lead figure from Kampos clearly belongs with the metalwork of the second Minoan palace period.)

The piece from Mycenae is of slender, rather simple and schematic form (although with good treatment of the facial features) and readily finds parallels with finds from a number of Near Eastern sites, notably Byblos and Ras Shamra. The close correspondence, together with the lack of anything comparable in the Aegean, makes clear that it is an important piece. Similar observations apply to the Tiryns bronze. It is interesting to note that Canby (1969, 143) considers the latter to be of Hittite rather than Levantine manufacture, on account mainly of its stocky form, and applies the same argument to the one piece from Lindos (no. 8) as well as the example in silver from Nezero in Thessaly (no. 9). Her arguments are not sufficiently specific to

be persuasive, nor were enough Anatolian pieces in this form listed by her or by Negbi (1976, 35) to make the distinction between 'Anatolian' and 'Syrian' or 'Phoenician' styles a convincing one. But there can be no doubt that the Tiryns piece is an import to the Aegean.

In the case of the slender figure from Phylakopi, SF 1802, there are several good parallels. In the first place the very graceful, slender style is not at home in the Aegean and its imported status is clear—emphasised by the detail of the gold inlay of the eyes and the likelihood that the crown was sheathed in precious metal. It can be related to a whole series of figures from the Syro-Palestine area, of which one of the finest comes from Minet el-Beida, the port of Ras Shamra (Schaeffer 1929, pl. 53; Schaeffer 1939, pl. 25). Its general style is much the same, and the gold sheathing of the helmet and face has been preserved. (There are also separate bangles on both arms.) There is a piece with a more closely comparable arm position from Ras Shamra itself (Schaeffer 1935, pl. 33, 1). Perhaps the closest parallel of all, however, is from Megiddo (Loud 1948, pl. 235, 22; Dussaud 1949, fig. 43; Negbi 1976, no. 1360). The modelling too is very similar, although on the Megiddo piece the skirt is more clearly shown, and with a waistband. The eyes are indicated by sockets and were presumably inlaid. The Phylakopi piece could well have been made in the same workshop as this: while one need not claim so close a relationship, it certainly belongs within the same tradition. The contexts at Megiddo (levels IX – VII) and Ras Shamra (acropole niveau 1) simply indicate a Levantine Late Bronze date, which the Minet el-Beida context (depot 11, Late Bronze Ib – II) narrows slightly indicating a date of manufacture (following Negbi 1976, 41) in the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries BC. Set amongst the various other finds from the Aegean, it stands closest to that from Mycenae, but it is altogether a finer and more elegant piece. The Phylakopi bronze can certainly be regarded as from the Syria-Palestine area, imported perhaps in the thirteenth century BC.

The second Phylakopi bronze, SF 518, is less accomplished. Its coarser style might at first suggest the possibility of local manufacture, but it does not closely resemble any of the pieces from the 'intermediate' period in Crete (Naumann 1976), nor those of geometric Greece (Rolley 1969). Within the Aegean it stands closest to that from Thermon (no. 7). The latter is certainly cruder, and its left foot is not advanced. This and the position of the left arm (held high, and horizontal) might lead one to assign to it a late, even a geometric date. But both have the rounded-conical headdress, the prominent eyes, the large ears and a rather similar loincloth.

There is a better parallel in the Levant, however, once again from Megiddo, from tomb 4. This is a figure with a club in the right hand, carrying a square shield in the left (May 1939, pl. 34, 357; Guy 1938, pl. 153, 8; Negbi 1976, pl. 24). The helmet is identical with the Phylakopi piece, and the shape of the face, the modelling of the nose and the form of the ears are similar. Both have a similar stocky, rather lumpish build and the same, ill-defined kilt resembling bathing trunks. The clubs are similar but not identical. The Phylakopi piece however, lacks the shield, while the Megiddo one does not wear a bangle. The resemblances are so close that their makers were certainly working within the same tradition, at a centre in Syria or Palestine. Tomb 4 at Megiddo can be dated rather more precisely than the previous contexts, to the Late Bronze II period, and thus to the fourteenth or thirteenth centuries BC.

Both these pieces have recently been discussed by Negbi (1982) who stresses that figurines in the smiting pose were rarely produced in the Levant after about 1200 BC. While this may present difficulties for the examples from Lindos and the Heraion at Samos, discussed above (see Muhly 1980) it need not do so for the Phylakopi pieces which could as easily have been imported in the Late Helladic IIIB as in the IIIC period. There are other indications of offerings remaining in the sanctuary for a long period before burial (the Lady of Phylakopi herself being one) and there is no need to resort to the hypothesis of 'heirlooms'. The alternative that they might be early iron

age products of Phoenician craftsmen, probably in Cyprus seems quite implausible. Figurines in smiting pose are in fact rare in Cyprus: apart from the 'ingot god' himself, there are only two from documented contexts (Negbi 1976, nos. 1403 and 1404) and five more without provenance, and there is no reason at all to doubt that these pieces, like the others in the Aegean, are imports from the Levant coast.

It would not be appropriate to leave the question of the two bronze figures from the sanctuary without brief reference also to the bronze figure previously found at Phylakopi (Phylakopi 1904, 186 and pl. 37). It was found at the western end of the site 'between two stones in the east wall of room C. 5:7 at about half a metre from the surface', in a context which might now be interpreted either as Third City (Late Bronze I) or as Fourth City (Late Bronze III). Like the others, this has little in common, in stylistic terms, with the Minoan figures of the palace period. This piece is very different in style from the smiting figures, and does not resemble any other finds from the Aegean. Nor is it easy to place in a Near Eastern context with the same confidence as the smiting figures. The sex is not clearly indicated, but the stance comes closest to that termed by Negbi (1976, 42) 'male deities and worshippers in benedictory pose'. They differ from the other figurines in being clad in long robes, predominantly cloaks with thick rolled edges and the arm posture is again different. The heavy corrosion of the Phylakopi figurine does not allow a comparison of details, and the similarities may not be close. But it is quite possible that this piece was made in the same general area as the two smiting figures. It may be of the same date or a little earlier. We can be confident, however, that the two smiting figures from Phylakopi are indeed imported pieces, probably from the Syria-Palestinian coast and that they were made in the thirteenth century BC or a little earlier. Their possible significance is further considered in Chapter X.

THE BRONZE BIRD (FIG. 8.5; PLATE 59)

SF 1578 NLc layer 218 Phase 2b

Bronze bird originally surmounting a larger object, now broken. The bird is perched upon a bronze bar, broken at both ends, from which a bronze ring or loop protrudes forwards. The bird is much corroded and, even after cleaning at the National Museum, details are not visible. The feet are placed on the bar at the point where the ring joins it. The wings are folded, and some striations are visible on them, although these may be due to corrosion. The position is such that the wings are held horizontally in the manner of a pigeon or duck rather than an eagle. The breast bulges, dovelike. The head and beak are clearly shown, and the drawing (FIG. 8.5) gives a good impression of the shape as well as of the degree of corrosion. The horizontal bar is clearly seen in the view from above, and in the same view, at the left, the protruding, widening tail of the bird. On the right, the beak is seen to be positioned vertically above the aperture (just visible) in the ring.

Measurements: total height: 3.6; total length: 4.5; width across wings 2.1; width of bar 0.9; thickness 0.3; diameter of ring 1.7; diameter of aperture 0.7.

The only closely similar parallel from the Aegean bronze age comes, appropriately, from the Artemision deposit on Delos (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1948, no. 77, pl. 40, 2). This is a duck of solid bronze of length 4.3 cm. Unfortunately the feet are not preserved, and the piece may well have been mounted upon a larger object. The same deposit contains a much smaller figurine of a bird with long neck (*ibid.* no. 78, fig. 26: length 1.7 cm) as well as two birds of sheet gold worked in repoussé (*ibid.* nos. 49 and 50). Birds in terracotta are known from several sites (French 1971, 160): the example from the Amyklaion (Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 49), with wings outstretched, comes from a deposit with other finds seen to occur in ritual contexts elsewhere.

Bronze birds are frequently found in the geometric period as an embellishment of bronze stands, and the bird decorating a bronze cup from the Tiryns treasure (Karo 1930, no. 6224, pl.

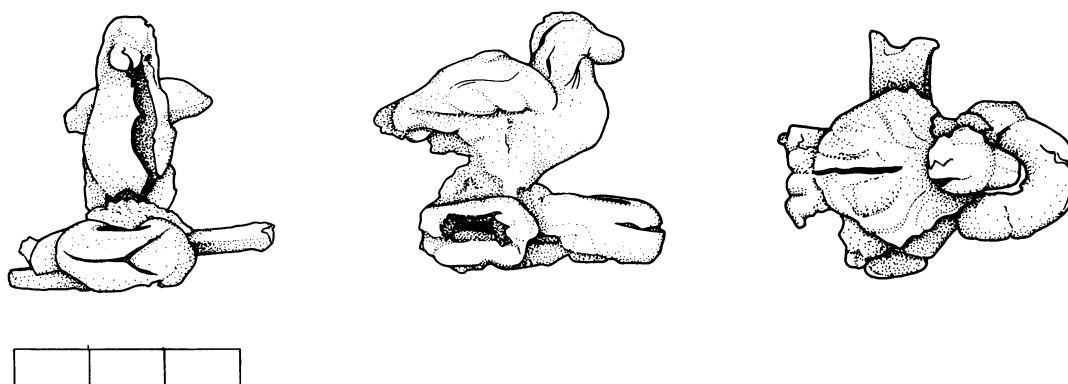


FIG. 8.5 Bronze bird (SF 1578). Scale 1:1

34) is similar to these. Boardman (1961, no. 48) published a bronze bird from the Dictaeon Cave which might be considered Minoan. Certainly it may be compared with the Phylakopi and Artemision examples, although it is better preserved than either of these.

Other Metal Objects (FIG. 8.6)

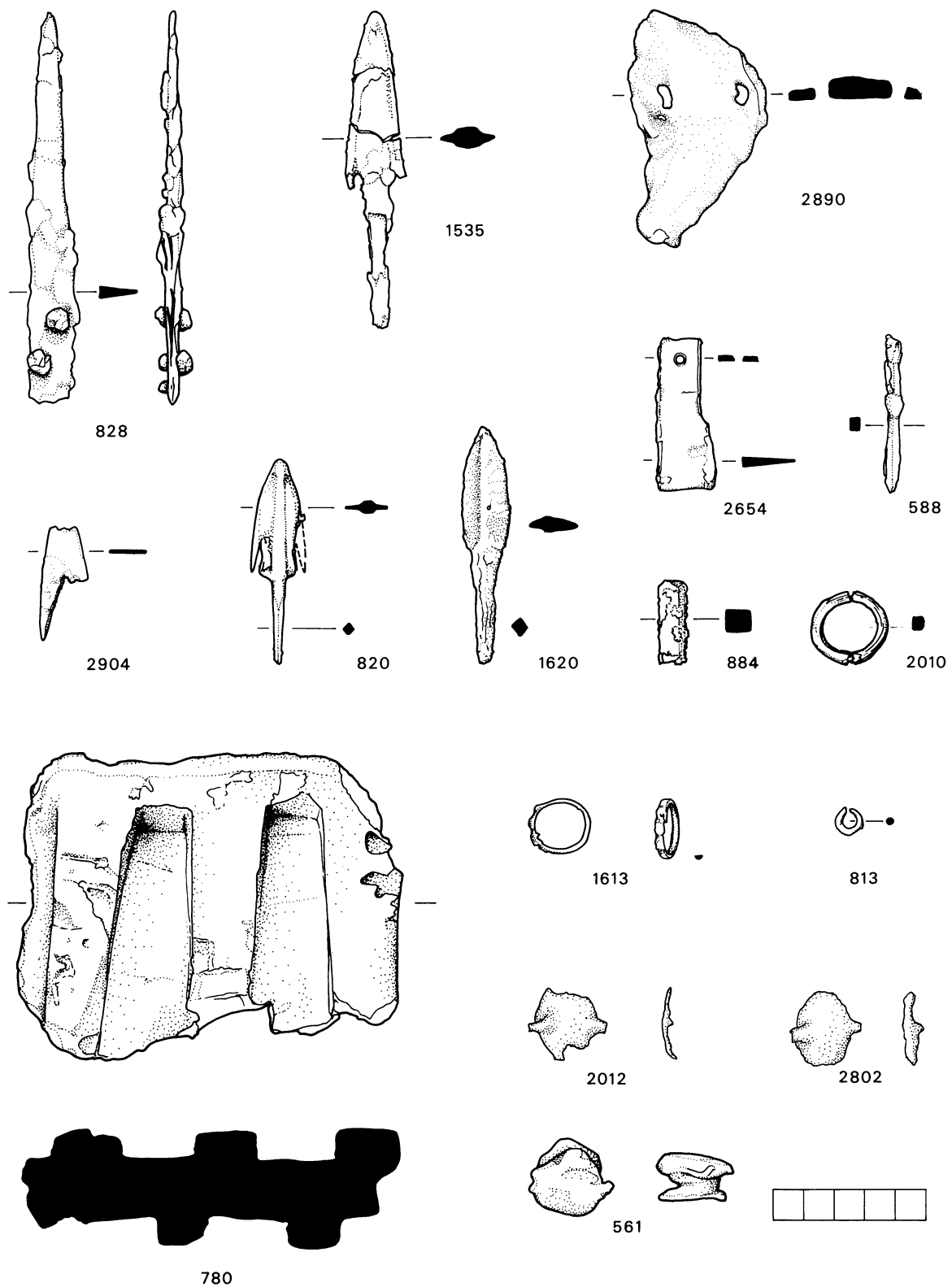
Beyond these special pieces, numerous other incomplete objects and fragmentary pieces of metal were found.

In addition to the gold head already described, there was a very small piece of sheet gold from the West Shrine, and a single object of silver, a ring, (SF 1613, FIG. 8.6) from the West Shrine.

One particularly interesting find was an incomplete finger ring (SF 2012) with an undecorated bezel (FIG. 8.6) which on analysis by Dr N. H. Gale and Mrs Z. Stos-Gale of the Department of Geology and Mineralogy in Oxford proved to be of tin. This is the only well-dated and chemically analysed tin object from bronze age Greece, although one or two tin objects are known from Egypt. The only other well-documented use of metallic tin in the Aegean bronze age is as a metallic coating on vases from late bronze age burials in Crete and mainland Greece (Immerwahr 1966). A second similar ring (SF 2802, FIG. 8.6) was also initially identified as lead: this piece was not analysed and it may also be of tin.

With the exception of a small loop (SF 813), the remaining lead objects listed were analysed. All except one proved to be of metal originating in the Lavrion source: the one exceptional piece, SF 2314, a fragment of a lead strip, is of material which does not derive either from the Lavrion or Siphnos sources, but presumably from another Aegean lead source. With the exception of the loop, the lead objects seemed strictly utilitarian: some pieces (e.g. SF 522 and 1819) had rivets attached and were used as clamps, perhaps in the repair of pottery or objects of other materials (see Renfrew 1967, pl. 2b; Branigan 1974, 197). Details of the analyses of the lead objects from the Sanctuary will be given in a contribution by Mrs. Stos-Gale in a subsequent volume.

The bronzes include four projectile points (FIG. 8.6). All are forms well known from the Aegean bronze age (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, 48, fig. 20). SF 1531 falls within form VIIc of the typology established by Buchholz (2962). This type is known also from the earlier excavations at Phylakopi and from the Artemision deposit at Delos (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1948, figs. 27 and 28), where there were 29 examples, although most of these are around 6 cm in length, and the Phylakopi piece is longer than is usual. SF 820 is also of form VIIc, closely resembling an example from the very end of the bronze age from Karphi in Crete (Buchholz 1962, fig. 15b). SF



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FIG. 8.6 Metal objects and terracotta mould fragment. Scale 1:2

1620, lacking barbs, belongs in class VIIa (compare Buchholz 1962, fig. 13, j—l). SF 2904, lacking a tang, may be assigned to class V (Buchholz 1962, 18, fig. 11). All these types are Late Bronze III forms, but it should be noted that form V is commoner on the mainland, while form VII is commoner on Crete. Indeed form VIIc has not been reported from the mainland, and it is interesting to observe this Cretan form so well represented among the arrowheads from Melos and Delos.

There are two one-edged knives, of which the first (SF 828) is much corroded, and the second (SF 2654) very fragmentary. Both may be regarded as falling within class 1a of the classification by Sandars (1955, 175). This is a form very common in Crete, the mainland and the islands. The first is of the standard three-riveted form, with very little differentiation between handle and blade. The second has a clearer distinction between handle and blade, although only one rivet hole is preserved: there are no flanges. (See also Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, 55.)

The remaining finds include a number of awls and pins, and various fragments, many of them from objects of uncertain form.

Bronzes occur already well before the collapse phase and are fairly widely distributed about the sanctuary. The fragmentary condition of some of the pieces, notably the small piece of sheet gold (SF 2372), and the occurrence also among the ivory objects of what may be part of the pommel of a sword (SF 2396), raises the question as to whether the Sanctuary was plundered of the more notable of its metal objects, either immediately after the phase 2b collapse, or when it went out of use at the end of phase 3c. This is not an easy question to answer, but the possibility must be borne in mind that many of the most precious objects may have been removed, leaving behind mainly fragments, damaged objects, and pieces so small as to evade easy recovery.

Table 8.1: Objects of Gold, Silver and Lead

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>			<i>Description</i>
			L	W	Th	
Gold 2372	NLc South layer 251	2b	1.7	1.5	—	Fragment of sheet gold; no trace of decoration.
Silver 1613	NLa layer 321	2b	1.9	1.9	0.15	Ring, complete but corroded. Possible traces for attachment of bezel. (Diameter 1.9). FIG. 8.6.
Tin 2012	MLb East layer 13	2b	2.4	2.5	0.35	Tin ring bezel. Corroded and broken, but probably originally oval in shape with convex upper surface and concave lower. Indications of attachment to ring. FIG. 8.6.
Lead 2802	MLb East layer 23	1b/2a	2.2	2.0	0.35	Lead (?) ring bezel Oval upper surface slightly convex, lower surface slightly concave with traces of ring attachments. FIG. 8.6.
813	NLe space a/b layer 61	2b	0.9	—	0.2	Small lead loop or ring. Circular in cross section. FIG. 8.6.

522	Old layer 67	2a/3c	2.8	2.2	0.7	Lead clamp; flat strip preserved on two sides with projecting rivet on lower surface and two raised ridges on upper. Length of rivet projection 1.0.
1819	NLb layer 421	2b/3a	—	—	—	Lead strip with two rivets.
2346a	NLc layer 24	3c	2.4	1.1	0.3	Fragment of lead clamp, comprising corroded strip with projecting rivet, broken at one end.
2346b	NLc layer 24	3c	1.9	1.2	0.4	Fragment of lead clamp, comprising strip broken at end with projecting rivet.
770	NLe space c layer 49	3a/c	3.8	1.9	0	Short strip of lead, folded in half.
868	NLc space c layer 72	2b/3a	6.7	1.5	0.6	Strip of lead broken and corroded on all surfaces. Wedge shaped in section.
2314	NLc South layer 234	3b	4.5	2.7	0.5	Fragment of lead strip with rim-like upper edge, other sides broken.
2505	NKc/d layer 816	1b	20.0	3.0	2.2	Strip of lead, badly corroded and broken at both ends.
561	NLd space 4 layer 4	D	2.5	—	1.5	Circular spool-shaped piece of lead. FIG. 8.6.
562	NLd space 3 layer 4	D	2.1	1.8	0.1	Flat lead fragment.

Table 8.2: Bronze Objects

SF	Context	Phase	Measurements			Description
			L	W	Th	
820	NLe space a layer 61	2b	6.7	1.8	0.4	Bronze arrowhead, complete. The tang with circular cross-section continues as central rib of arrow; two barbs. Diameter of shaft 0.4. FIG. 8.6.
1535	NLc layer 214	3b	4.3	0.7	0.4	Bronze projectile point, complete except for part of tang. Corroded. Slightly rounded central rib continuing into tang, with two barbs. FIG. 8.6.
1620	NLa North baulk	D/S	7.6	1.5	—	Complete bronze arrowhead. Leaf-shaped head with slight central ridge continuing into tang of circular cross section. FIG. 8.6.
2904	MLb Room B layer 2046	1b/2a	3.5	1.0–1.5	0.1	Fragment of hollow based arrowhead, tip and one barb missing. FIG. 8.6.
828	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	12.4	1.4	0.6	Bronze knife, complete though badly corroded. Three rivets. Single edged blade, triangular in cross section, tapering to point. FIG. 8.6.
2654	MLb Room B layer 958	D	4.8	0.3	—	Bronze knife: part of blade and handle with rivet hole: handle rectangular in section, blade triangular. FIG. 8.6.
588	NLd East baulk layer 26	D	4.9	—	0.2–0.3	Fragment of bronze awl, very corroded but originally square in cross section. FIG. 8.6.
884	NLd space 4 layer 79	2a	2.6	—	0.8	Quadrangular awl of bronze. Squared off at one end, other end broken. FIG. 8.6.

2887b	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.8	—	0.5	Fragment of bronze awl, broken at both ends. Square in section.
1566	NLc layer 221	2b	14.4	—	—	Complete but fragmented long bronze pin, corroded, though section probably circular, tapering to sharp point.
1728	NLc space a/b layer 132	0/2a	2.1	—	0.3	Small fragment of bronze pin. Section not clear through corrosion, broken at both ends.
776	NLd space 1 layer 52	3b	1.9	—	0.6	Possible fragment of bronze pin, broken at both ends. Section corroded.
516	OLd layer 59	2b/3c	1.8	head 0.3 stem 0.2	—	Two fragments of bronze pin or awl, possibly part of head and stem. Badly corroded.
64b	OLc layer 12	D	1.0	—	0.3	Fragment of bronze pin or awl. Circular in cross section and broken at both ends.
161	OLc layer 14	D	2.8	—	0.4	Bronze pin or awl, broken at both ends. Section not clear through corrosion.
509	OLd layer 47	D	3.6	—	0.5	Fragment of bronze pin, slightly curved and broken at both ends.
1573	NLc North layer 222	2a	—	0.6	0.2	Bronze ring, corroded and broken into three fragments, flat oval in section. Diameter 1.7.
1744	NLe layer 152	2b	—	—	0.4	Bronze loop or ring. Section not clear through corrosion, though possibly circular. (Ring formed from bronze rod.) Diameter 1.5.
2010	MLb East layer 13	2b	—	2.4	0.3	Bronze ring, much corroded. Circular in section.
1749	NLe layer 153	0/2	1.6	0.7	0.4	Fragment of bronze tool, possibly the tip of a chisel, with a slightly rounded tip, tapering to 0.1 at edge.
1503	NLc layer 213 pb 1314	D	1.0	1.1	0.5	Tip of bronze tool: rounded end tapering to chisel-like edge.
2890	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	7.6	4.3	0.5	Flat sheet, with two perforations. FIG. 8.6.
74	OLc layer 26	3c	1.7	—	0.4	Small curved fragment of circular cross section. Broken at both ends.
521	OLd layer 65	2b/3c	1.5	1.2	0.05	Two small scraps of sheet bronze, broken all round.
2395	NLc East baulk layer 262	2b/3a	4.0	—	0.15	Fragment of bronze sheet, angled as though originally fitted around edge of box.
2681	MLb Room A layer 972	1b/2a	2.9	1.5	0.45	Fragment of bronze strip. Rectangular in section.
2807	MLb East layer 23	1b/2a	4.3	—	—	Bronze stem, broken at both ends and much corroded though probably round in section. Diameter 0.6.
152	OLc layer 5	S	3.4	—	0.4	Hook-shaped fragment of bronze, broken at one end, section not clear through corrosion.
557	NLd space 3 layer 6	S	3.3	0.5	0.1	Fragment of strip of flat bronze, rounded at one end, broken at other.

Other Bronze Fragments

In addition to these sometimes fragmentary bronze objects, two nineteenth century coins were found in unstratified levels, and a fragment of iron from the area of the dump of former excavations (not listed).

There were twelve further findspots of small pieces of bronze, generally considerably corroded, whose original form could not be discerned: the findspots are listed in TABLE 8.3. (Ten similar pieces from unstratified levels are not separately listed.) There were in addition seven occurrences of possible slag, which are also listed in TABLE 8.3. It is possible that these were the by-product of the smelting or casting of copper or bronze, but no significant concentration of such material was found *in situ*, and they offer little suggestion that metal was actually worked within the Sanctuary area.

In this connection, however, the find should be noted, of a terracotta mould, SF 780 from NLe space a layer 55 (phase 3b). It is seen in FIG. 8.6, and described with the objects of terracotta.

Table 8.3: Bronze Fragments

SF	Context	Phase	Measurements			Description
			L	W	Th	
1542	NLc layer 215	3b	2.7	1.7	1.1	
1616	NLa layer 327	0/1a	1.3	0.8	—	
1807	NLb layer 412	3a/c	—	—	—	Three small fragments.
1812	NLb layer 418	2b/3a	—	—	—	Fragment.
2041	MLd Room B layer 518	1b/2a	0.7	0.6	—	Fragment.
2819	MLb East layer 25	1a	1.1	0.8	0.6	
2825	MLb East layer 25	1a	1.2	1.0	0.8	
2887a	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	—	—	—	Small fragment.
2307	NLc South layer 231	3c	1.5	—	—	Two fragments.
2366	NLc South layer 249	3b	—	—	—	Three fragments.
2676	MLb Room A layer 971	1b/2a	4.0	—	—	
Possible Slag Fragments						
772	NLe space c layer 49	3a/c	—	—	—	Two fragments, one with purple stain.
575	NLd space 1 layer 17	3b	2.1	1.3	0.4	
2655	MLb Room B layer 960	2b/3a	4.1	3.9	2.2	Light and pumicey, not necessarily from metal production but certainly fused.
2043	MLd Room B layer 520	0/1a	4.1	3.6	1.5	
2196	NLd space 3 layer 36	2b	4.3	3.8	1.3	Ore? Heavy, pale brown in colour.
1618	NLa layer 327	0/1a	0.9	0.8	—	
1745	NLe layer 152	2b	1.3	1.2	—	Pumicey slag.

3. Beads* (FIG. 8.7, PLATE 60)

A total of 98 beads were found in the Sanctuary (FIG. 8.7, PLATE 60); by far the majority (86) are of glass paste, the remainder being in various stones (5), faience (2) and shell (5). Their presence in nearly every assemblage in the Sanctuary, together with their great rarity elsewhere on the site (there are none mentioned in the reports of the earlier excavations and only 'a few' by Dawkins and Droop (1911, 22)), strongly suggests that beads formed a common votive offering throughout the life of the building. As might be expected, finds of small groups of beads of similar shape, size and material in the same context imply that they were offered as necklaces, bracelets or diadems, but in no assemblage is there a coherent group large enough to make up a complete string of beads—a fact which obviously raises questions about the extent to which votives placed in the Sanctuary were robbed during its use and collapse. A few examples of types unique at Phylakopi, sometimes in exotic non-local stone (e.g. SF 861, 2362), may have been offered individually, as no doubt were the sealstones.

The glass paste beads exhibit only the simplest of shapes: globular or spheroid (11), flattened spheroid or 'doughnut' (49), elongated spheroid (2), discoid (12), cylindrical (2) and fusiform (2), plus half a dozen examples so fragmentary that their form cannot be reliably reconstructed. None appears to have been decorated, although certainty is precluded by the fairly advanced state of decay of most of the beads: it must be emphasised that the colour descriptions in the table below are not reliable indicators of the original state. Nonetheless, yellowish-white and blue are certainly represented—the colours, interestingly enough, of the necklaces and bracelets of spherical beads worn by women on the Saffron Gathering fresco from Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1976, Colour Pls. F–H). No exhaustive listing of parallels is possible, since simple glass paste beads have been found, in greater or lesser quantities, on practically every Mycenaean and Minoan site of Late Bronze Age date. At the LH IIIC cemetery at Perati (Iakovides 1970), which offers the best corpus of beads elsewhere in contexts as late as the final phases of the Phylakopi Sanctuary, 103 of the total of 375 beads are of glass paste and 220 of them are spheroids or flattened spheroids. As Higgins (1961, 73–82) noted, the introduction in the late 15th century BC of mass-produced beads led to a steady increase in the use of glass paste, at the expense of precious materials such as gold; by the 12th century BC even the covering of beads with gold foil drops out and few but glass paste beads are in use.

Shell is represented by a few minuscule discoids, paralleling the glass paste examples noted above and a single occurrence in stone (SF 63). The identification of the raw material is not easy in view of their size, but the only other likely material is bone, beads of which are extremely rare in the Aegean (Bielefeld 1968, 25). Tiny disc beads of this sort have a long history in Egypt and were used in their thousands for the elaborate beadwork decoration of clothing: the 40,000 or so beads of this variety from chamber tomb 2 at Dendra-Midea (Persson 1931, 106 no. 5 and Pl. XXXIV, 4) probably represent an actual Egyptian import. In general, however, quantities are more modest and their use was clearly for necklaces and bracelets, good Late Bronze Age examples of which have been found, for example, in the tholos tomb at Nichoria (McDonald 1975, 79 and Pl. 21c) and in the tombs at Langadha on Kos (Morricone 1966, 111, 179, 200, 269). Rather oddly, this type is scarcely represented among the beads from Perati. One further shell bead from the Sanctuary (SF 2376) is a rather larger irregular saucer-like discoid for which no close parallels can be found.

Three of the five stone beads deserve special note. The splendid large carnelian bead (SF 861) is of a shape very typical in that material and rare in others, although carnelian itself is a frequent

* We are grateful to Mrs Helen Hughes-Brock for her detailed comments on the beads from the Sanctuary.

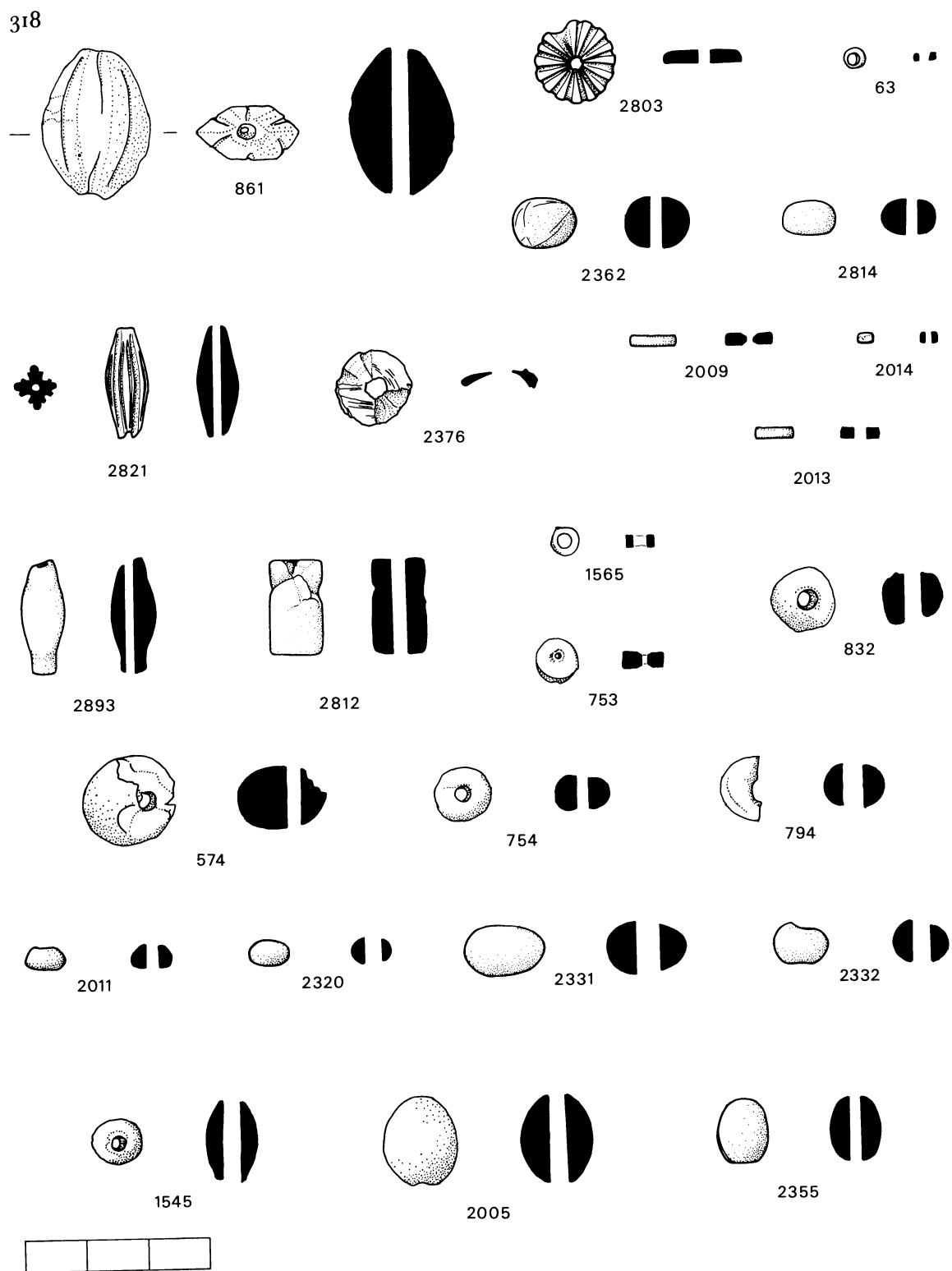


FIG. 8.7 Beads. Scale 1:1

material for Late Bronze Age beads. Precisely comparable examples occur in both 18th Dynasty Egypt (where they were sometimes also decorated or even inscribed) and in 14th and 13th century BC Near Eastern contexts (e.g. Alalakh: Woolley 1955, 269 and Pl. LXVIII, 6). Some, at least, of the Aegean examples may well have been made locally, however: a piece from Knossos (Heraklion Museum no. 2106) is unfinished, with the stringhole not yet bored. Aegean finds of carnelian amygdaloids span the entire Late Bronze period and the findspots include, among others, Perati (Iakovides 1970, 305 and fig. 128, 10), Prosymna (Blegen 1937, 277), tholos tomb III at Pylos (Blegen *et al.* 1973, 82 and fig. 169, 18), Mycenae (Wace 1932, 86, no. 67, Pl. VIII and 208–9) and a recently excavated tomb at Knossos (Popham 1980, 171, fig. 6D).

SF 2362, a flattened spheroid of highly polished amethyst, probably was imported to the Aegean as a finished product (cf. Blegen 1937, 292). The raw material comes from Egypt and the type is very common there in Middle and New Kingdom times. Large numbers of precisely similar and very well-made examples are known in the Aegean (e.g. tholos tomb IV at Pylos: Blegen *et al.* 1973, 124–5). Evidence from chamber tombs at Mycenae led Wace (1933, 208) to assert that they ‘hardly occur later than LH II’, but finds since then have extended the chronological range well into the LH III period (e.g. those from the tholos at Nichoria: McDonald 1975, 78 and Pl 21a).

An ultimate Egyptian (18th Dynasty) derivation also seems likely for the decorated discoid SF 2803. Aegean examples are certainly known, for instance from tomb 11 at Langadha on Kos (Morricone 1966, 111 and fig. 92 bottom), although ribbed ray patterns of this sort occur more commonly on sub-spherical beads (e.g. Blegen *et al.* 1973, fig. 227.1 and 260.27) than on discoids; at times, this pattern comes close to rosette designs, which Higgins (1961, 77) mentions as the commonest of all Aegean Late Bronze Age relief bead types. The raw material of SF 2803 is thought to be grey schist and a bead of this stone has indeed been found in a LBI–II deposit in House A at Agia Irini on Kea (Cummer and Schofield, 1984, no. 1381b); but Mrs Hughes-Brock urges caution in the identification, since the dark grey slightly mottled surface of some faience beads can easily be mistaken for schist.

Only two faience beads can be definitively identified, one a flattened spheroid, the other a gadrooned bead of elongated barrel shape. The latter is a standard Aegean type, sometimes described as in the shape of a grain of wheat; well-preserved examples in quantity were found, among other places, at Dendra-Midea (Persson 1933, 106 no. 48; 1942, 85–6, fig. 95) and Archanes (Sakellarakis 1975, fig. 232β).

Table 8.4: Beads

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>		<i>Description</i>
			D	H	
Stone beads					
63	OLc layer 12	D	0.35	0.15	Very small discoid. FIG. 8.7.
861	NLc space a/b layer 63	0/2a	0.9-1.7	2.3	Large carnelian amygdaloid. Each face bears three shallow curved grooves running lengthways, the central groove discontinuous. FIG. 8.7.
2362	NLc South layer 245	1a/2a	1.0	0.8	Slightly flattened spheroid. Purple with fine white grains (amethyst?), highly polished. FIG. 8.7.

2803	MLb East layer 23	1b/2a	1.25	0.2	Discoid, flat on reverse, obverse with a ribbed ray in relief. Material is probably grey schist (or, less likely, faience). FIG. 8.7, PLATE 40 <i>a</i> .
2814	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.85	0.6	Slightly flattened spheroid of black-green spotted stone. FIG. 8.7, PLATE 40 <i>a</i> .
Faience beads					
596	NLd layer 28	3b	0.8	0.5	Slightly flattened spheroid. Material off-white in colour, probably faience.
2821	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.7	L 1.7	Elongated, tapering to either end; quadrangular, with two grooves on each face. Pale green-blue faience. FIG. 8.7, PLATE 40 <i>a</i> .
Shell beads					
2009	MLb East layer 13	2b	0.75	0.2	Discoid. FIG. 8.7.
2013	MLb East layer 13	2b	0.6	0.25	Discoid. FIG. 8.7.
2014	MLb East layer 13	2b	0.25	0.15	Very small discoid. FIG. 8.7.
2376	NLc South layer 252	2b	1.2	0.15	Irregular curved discoid (i.e. upper surface convex, lower surface concave). FIG. 8.7.
2804	MLb East layer 23	1b/2a	0.5	0.1	Small discoid, either shell or glass paste. PLATE 40 <i>b</i> .
Glass paste beads					
1543	NLc layer 215	3b	(Max W) 1.6	0.4	Two joining fragments, partially complete. Irregular elongated shape, pointed at one end; originally either fusiform or in the shape of a cereal grain, with stringhole running transversely to the length. Pale green (with black dots from glass decay).
2893	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	0.7	1.8	Fusiform with tapering ends; slightly flattened, with possible traces of grooving on one side. Broken at one end and rather worn. FIG. 8.7.
2809	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.6	2.25	Cylindrical, chipped at one end. PLATE 40 <i>a</i> .
2812	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.85	1.5	Cylindrical, badly chipped at one end. Brownish-white. FIG. 8.7, PLATE 40 <i>a</i> .
753	NLd space 3 level 33	2b/3a	0.65	0.25	Discoid, off-white. FIG. 8.7.
1539	NLc layer 215	3b	0.5	0.2	Small discoid, white.
1541	NLc layer 215	3b	0.5	0.2	Small discoid, white. Half missing.
1565	NLc layer 221	2b	0.45	0.2	Small discoid, white. FIG. 8.7.
2017	MLb East layer 13	2b	0.45	0.2	Small discoid.
2322	NLc South layer 234	3b	0.5	0.2	Small discoid, white, 3 joining fragments.
2356	NLc South layer 244	1a/2a	0.65	0.15	Discoid, greenish-white.
2805	MLb East layer 23	1b/2a	—	—	Fragments of a very small bead, probably discoid.
2806	MLb East layer 23	1b/2a	0.5	0.1	Small discoid, white. PLATE 40 <i>b</i> .
2883	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	0.45	0.15	Small discoid, white.
2902a	MLb Room B layer 1039	1b/2a	0.55	0.2	Discoid, white.
2902b	MLb Room B layer 1039	1b/2a	0.55	0.2	Discoid, white.
525	Old layer 67	2a/3c	0.9	0.9	Spheroid, pale grey with speckling from decay.

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600	NLd space 3 layer 33	2b/3a	0.7	0.6	Roughly spheroid, off-white with areas of decay. Half missing.
782	NLe space a/b layer 55	3b	0.6	0.6	Roughly spheroid, off-white with grey areas. Slight trace of piercing at one end only and thus not necessarily a bead.
823	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	0.7	0.8	Fragment of spheroid, flaking and friable. Surface colour speckled black-brown, interior pale yellow.
832	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	1.0	0.8	Roughly spheroid, off-white. FIG. 8.7.
2334	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	0.9	0.7	Roughly spheroid.
2357	NLc South layer 244	1a/2a	1.2	1.0	Large spheroid, slightly broken at one end. Pale grey.
2678	MLb Room A layer 972	1b/2a	0.75	0.65	Spheroid, off-white. Half missing.
2694	MLb Room A layer 973	1b/2a	0.85	0.8	Spheroid, grey.
2823	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.9	0.75	Spheroid, grey. PLATE 40 <i>b</i> .
2824	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.85	0.85	Spheroid, black with white patches (but originally blue, before decay). PLATE 40 <i>b</i> .
513	OLd layer 59	2b/3c	0.8	0.5	Flattened spheroid, off-white.
574	NLd space 2 layer 16	0/3c	1.45	1.0	Large flattened spheroid off-white. Badly chipped and flaking. FIG. 8.7.
581a	NLd space 3 layer 22	3c	0.8	0.5	Flattened spheroid, off-white.
581b	NLd space 3 layer 22	3c	0.7	0.4	Flattened spheroid, off-white. Flaking.
581c	NLd space 3 layer 22	3c	0.9	0.4	Flattened spheroid, off-white. Surface chipped.
581d	NLd space 3 layer 22	3c	0.9	0.6	Flattened spheroid, off-white. Half missing.
594a	NLd space 3 layer 27	3b/c	0.8	0.4	Flattened spheroid, off-white.
594b	NLd space 3 layer 27	3b/c	0.8	0.4	Flattened spheroid, off-white. Half missing.
594c	NLd space 3 layer 27	3b/c	0.7	0.4	Flattened spheroid, off white.
754	NLd space 3 layer 36	2b	0.9	0.6	Flattened spheroid, off-white to very pale yellow. Chipped and flaking. FIG. 8.7.
794	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	1.0	0.75	Flattened spheroid, dark brown/black outer surface, pale yellow core. Half missing. FIG. 8.7.
1548	NLc layer 216	3b	1.0	0.8	Flattened spheroid, off-white.
1549	NLc layer 216	3b	1.4	0.8	Large flattened spheroid, off-white.
2011	MLb East layer 13	2b	0.65	0.4	Flattened spheroid, off-white. FIG. 8.7.
2037	MLd Room B layer 518	1b/2a	1.1	0.9	Flattened spheroid, greyish-white.
2039	MLd Room B layer 518	1b/2a	0.9	0.5	Flattened spheroid grey.
2232	MLb Room B layer 976	2b	1.2	—	Flattened spheroid, yellowish. Half missing and flaking badly.
2315a	NLc South layer 234	3b	1.1	0.6	Flattened spheroid, white.
2315b	NLc South layer 234	3b	0.9	0.6	Flattened spheroid, white. Half missing.
2319	NLc South layer 234	3b	0.5	0.2	Very flattened small spheroid, yellow. Half missing.
2320	NLc South layer 234	3b	0.65	0.45	Flattened spheroid, black. FIG. 8.7.
2325	NLc South layer 234	3b	1.5	1.2	Large flattened spheroid, off-white. Half missing and the remainder badly preserved.
2326	NLc South layer 234	3b	0.8	0.5	Flattened spheroid.
2329	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	0.8	—	Flattened spheroid, yellow. Half missing.

2331	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	1.3	0.85	Flattened spheroid, off-white. FIG. 8.7.
2332	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	0.9	0.7	Flattened spheroid, yellow. FIG. 8.7.
2333	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	1.1	0.8	Flattened spheroid, off-white. Half missing.
2352	NLc South layer 242	1a/2a	0.8	0.6	Flattened spheroid, black outer surface and white core.
2353	NLc South layer 242	1a/2a	0.7	0.5	Flattened spheroid, off-white. Chipped.
2359a	NLc South layer 244	1a/2a	0.7	0.5	Flattened spheroid, off-white.
2359b	NLc South layer 244	1a/2a	0.65	0.7	Flattened spheroid, pale greenish-white. A small tail-like protuberance survives at one end from the manufacturing process.
2695	MLb Room A layer 974	1b/2a	0.65	0.5	Flattened spheroid, pale grey.
2810	MLb East layer 25	1a	1.2	0.9	Flattened spheroid, grey/black with white speckles (from decay). Traces of manufacturing tail at one end (cf. SF 2359b). PLATE 40 a.
2811	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.5	0.35	Flattened spheroid, off-white. PLATE 40 b.
2813	MLb East layer 25	1a	1.1	0.8	Flattened spheroid, off-white. Half missing.
2816	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.75	0.45	Very flattened spheroid, off-white. PLATE 40 b.
2817	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.6	0.3	Flattened spheroid, grey. PLATE 40 b.
2818	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.55	0.35	Flattened spheroid, grey. Chipped. PLATE 40 b.
2822	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.6	0.4	Flattened spheroid, grey-green.
2882	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	0.8	0.55	Flattened spheroid. Half missing. PLATE 40 b.
2884a	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	0.95	0.8	Flattened spheroid, creamy-yellow.
2884b	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	0.95	0.8	Flattened spheroid, creamy-yellow.
2884c	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	0.95	0.8	Flattened spheroid, creamy-yellow. Half missing.
2884d	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	0.95	0.8	Flattened spheroid, creamy-yellow. Half missing.
2884e	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.2	0.65	Flattened spheroid, light grey.
2884f	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	—	—	Fragments only, light grey-blue.
2884g	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	—	—	Fragments only, light grey-blue.
2885	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.0	0.7	Flattened spheroid, yellow.
2897	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.0	0.55	Flattened spheroid, grey.
1538	NLc layer 215	3b	0.9	0.8	Elongated spheroid, grey. Broken at both ends, surface flaking.
1545	NLc layer 214	3b	0.8	1.3	Elongated spheroid, blue turning black with decay. FIG. 8.7.
2005	MLb East layer 13	2b	1.2	1.4	Ovoid, black surface with white core. FIG. 8.7.
2355	NLc South layer 243	1a/2a	0.9	1.0	Ovoid, black surface with yellow-white core. FIG. 8.7.
2815	MLb East layer 25	1a	0.5	0.9	Ovoid, black surface.
863	NLe space a/b layer 63	o/2a	—	—	Fragments of (?) 2 beads, shape unknown.
1560	NLc layer 221	2b	—	—	Fragment, shape unknown.
1709	NLe space c layer 101	2a	—	—	Fragments, shape unknown.
2327	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	—	—	Fragments, yellow. Not certainly beads.
2328	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	—	—	Fragments, off-white. Not certainly beads.

4. Ivory*

Several fragments of ivory were found, of which only two are sufficiently large and well-preserved to require comment.

SF 830 (FIG. 8.8; PLATE 61 *d*) is an elongated piece of ivory, sub-oval in cross-section and possibly incomplete at the end bearing a rivet-hole and incised groove. Its function is unclear. One possible interpretation is as a mirror-handle and there is indeed in the museum at Plaka on Melos a bronze mirror said to be from Phylakopi but not published in the reports of the earlier excavations. However, the few surviving Mycenaean mirror-handles in ivory are considerably more large and ornate and seem invariably to be cut in one piece with a flaring attachment for the mirror rim (cf. Poursat 1977, Pls. XXXV and XLI). A more likely alternative is a handle to which was hafted a bronze knife blade (or some similar metal tool). Krzyszkowska (1981, cat. nos. 38:1–9) has recently listed a number of examples in ivory or bone, all of Late Bronze Age date but mostly poorly preserved. In some cases they consist of two separate sheets rivetted together, but one-piece ivory knife handles with two or more rivet holes do exist (Korres 1974, fig. 112β). If our piece is indeed a knife-handle, it must lack at least one or two centimetres at the end to which the blade was attached.

SF 2396 (FIG. 8.8) is more readily paralleled. There exist from Late Bronze Age contexts two small classes of objects classified by Poursat (1977, 35–6; cf. Krzyszkowska 1981, cat. nos. 40a and 40b) as ‘rondelles de pommeau’ and ‘pièces de fourreau’. They are circular or ellipsoidal discs of ivory, evidently sawn from the tusk, with a central piercing, either rectangular or square or circular. Of the latter class, whose dimensions are the larger, over a dozen examples are known from the tholos tombs at Kambos and Menidhi and from Mycenae and Thebes, all in LH II–IIIB contexts; Symeonoglou (1973, fig. 250) illustrates how the Theban examples might be interpreted as scabbard-tops and provides persuasive arguments for such a reconstruction (1973, 57–8), while Poursat (1977, 36) notes that the dimensions of the central slot in all cases seems suited to accommodate swords of Karo Type A. The piece from Phylakopi, it should be noted, however, while of similar form, is only about half the size of these parallels and its irregular slot seems too small to take any weapon blade. It is therefore more likely to be part of a sword or dagger pommel, ivory examples of which were also found at Thebes (Symeonoglou 1973, fig. 247). Several such rings would be fitted at the upper end of the handle and covered with metal sheet or organic material, accounting for the rough finish of the object (which would not be visible): the complete pommel from Mallia provides the best illustration of the method of attachment (Chapoutier 1938, 25 and figs. 8 and 9). Why only one such pommel-ring survived in the Sanctuary is an open question.

* We are grateful to Dr O. Krzyszkowska for examining drawings of these objects.

Table 8.5: Ivory

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>	<i>Description</i>
830	NLe space a layer 62	2b	L 6.7 × W 1.4 × Th 1.1	Handle(?), roughly oval in cross-section, with a single rivet hole (Diameter 0.25) and a groove running transversely across the top end. FIG. 8.8, PLATE 61 <i>d</i> .
2396	NLe East baulk layer 262	2b/3a	D 3.3 × Th 1.1–1.4	Roughly circular sawn slice of ivory, with an irregular slot (2.0 × 0.5) in the centre. Probably part of a sword pommel. FIG. 8.8.

2264	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	L 1.8 × D 1.3	Very poorly preserved fragments of what may originally have been a small cylindrical object.
2335	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	—	Several very small fragments; no recognizable shape.
2337	NLc south layer 237	2b	—	Two very small fragments; no recognizable shape.

5. Ostrich Eggshell

Numerous small fragments of ostrich eggshell were found in levels of phase 3c in the East Shrine (PLATE 64). Many of these could not be joined, but it is unlikely that more than a single egg is represented by these finds. That it was used as a rhyton, just as every other known occurrence of ostrich eggshell in the Aegean, is quite certain in view of several pieces which show that the top of the egg was cut to give a regular circular hole about 4 cm in diameter. No trace has survived of the faience or metal mouths and underpieces with which all such Minoan eggshell rhyta seem to have been equipped (cf. Karo 1933, Pl. CXLII). A small fluted D-shaped handle of stone bearing traces of plaster incrustation on its curved inner surface (SF 194; FIG. 8.12 and PLATE 64 c) was found close by and might perhaps be considered as an attachment for this vase, especially if—as seems frequently to have been the case (Warren 1969, 163; Foster 1977, 132)—it was originally covered with metal foil; if so, it would be unique, since small handles are so far known only on faience or stone rhyta imitating the ovoid shape of the true ostrich egg rhyta (e.g. Wace 1956, Pl. 20).

The ultimate source for the eggshell at Phylakopi (discounting Vermeule's (1975, 20) playful suggestion of pet ostriches at Kato Zakro) must be somewhere in the region of Libya, Nubia or the Sudan, although the fittings on better preserved examples strongly imply that they were reworked as rhyta by Minoan (or Minoanizing) craftsmen. Even if it did reach Phylakopi from Egypt via Crete, it is nevertheless an important member of the small group of objects from the Sanctuary whose origins lie beyond the Aegean basin. The rarity of such finds in the Minoan-Mycenaean world and the frequency of imitations in other materials (Evans 1928, fig. 129) highlight their exotic nature and indubitable high value. The nearest examples are the pair of well-preserved ostrich egg rhyta from Room Delta 16 at Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1972, 35–6, Pls. B and 81–84). Four other instances are recorded from Shaft Graves IV and V at Mycenae (Karo 1933, 238–9, Pls. CXXI and CXLII), one from the tholos tomb at Dendra-Midea (Persson 1931, 37, fig. 14 and Pl. III), and fragments from MM I and MM II deposits at Knossos (Evans 1928, 221–6; Cadogan 1976, 28). A single fragment from the 'upper EM stratum in Delta 32' at Palaikastro (Dawkins 1904, 202) is the earliest known occurrence in the Aegean and, interestingly, was found with two triton shells. Since tritons and ostrich eggshells were also found in context together at Akrotiri and Phylakopi, there seems to be an association of symbolism which extends over at least a millennium.

Table 8.6: Ostrich Eggshell

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Description</i>
167	OLc space a/b layers 21, 22, 23 and 26	3c	Many fragments, some joining, of (a single?) ostrich eggshell. Several pieces indicate a circular opening cut at the top of the egg. PLATE 64.
573	NLd space 1 layer 15	3c	Two joining fragments.
1733	NLc layer 149	3c	Single fragment.

6. Tortoise Shell

Fragments of tortoise shell were recovered from seven separate contexts in both the East and West Shrines, ranging in date from phase 1 (SF 2894) to phase 3c (SF 188). Two of these contexts produced groups of pieces which restored to nearly complete shells (PLATE 63; SF 195 and 825). Tortoises are still to be found in the countryside behind Phylakopi and archaeological occurrences on Bronze Age sites are common enough: Vickery (1936) cites examples from sites as far afield as Vardaroftsa in Macedonia and Palaikastro in Crete, while Gejvall (1969, Table 3) lists 1682 identifiable specimens, mostly of EB date, from Lerna. The few examples from Phylakopi are thus no surprise and could in theory represent either food debris or the remains of a handful of individuals who from time to time crawled into the Sanctuary area and died there.

What gives these finds added importance and makes such interpretations unlikely is the presence on three or four fragments (SF 814 and 815) of carefully drilled holes, between 0.1 and 0.3 cm in diameter (PLATE 64 *d*). The only plausible and historically documented use for *drilled* tortoise shell is as the soundbox of a lyre. Roberts has recently studied the techniques of manufacture (1981) and of playing (1980) ancient Greek instruments of lyre type, while several important new finds are reported by Phaklaris (1982). Fragmentary lyres of Classical date are now known from Argos, Arta, Bassai, Eleusis, Kerkyra and Locri Epizephyrri (in Calabria), to which must be added the considerable testimony of artistic representations on figured vases (Paquette 1984, 145–71) and the graphic description in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (31–53) of the manufacture of a tortoise-shell *lyra*. All the surviving lyre soundboxes exhibit drilled holes, up to 0.4 cm across, around the edge (for pegging or stitching the oxhide stretched over the concavity) and/or in a symmetrical pattern on the upper part of the carapace (for the internal attachment of the long curving sidepieces known as *πήχεις* or *κέρατα*). The drilled fragments from Phylakopi seem to be examples of the latter. It should be noted that neither of the near-complete shells is drilled, implying either that they were not part of lyres or that different methods of attachment were employed.

No remains or depictions of tortoise-shell lyres survive from the Greek Bronze Age, although there is much evidence for the use of stringed instruments of other forms. The best-known instance is the player providing a musical accompaniment to one of the cult scenes painted on the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus (Long 1974, 38), and similar musicians are to be seen in the Procession Fresco from the same site (Paribeni 1908) and in the Lyre Player Fresco at Pylos (Lang 1969, 79–80, no. 43 H 6, Pls. 125 and 126A); actual remains of instruments of the same type were found at Knossos, Mycenae and the tholos tomb at Menidhi, and numerous additional small-scale representations are known from painted pottery, sealstones and hieroglyphic signs (Evans 1928, 834–8 and fig. 552). The exhaustive reviews of all this material by Platon (1966) and Wegner (1968), now updated by Dragona-Latsoudi (1977), make it quite clear that the instrument in question (which has many close parallels in Egypt and the Near East in the second millennium BC) is like the lyre with about seven plucked strings of roughly equal length, but differs from it in the lack of a soundbox and in the manner in which it is to be played (cf. Dragona-Latsoudi 1977, Pl. 80 and Evans 1928, figs. 552–3). Rather than a true lyre of the later Classical variety, it is a ‘cradle-cithara’, a type of instrument known from 8th century BC and later depictions and which is broadly equivalent to the *phorminx* or *kitharis* of Homer.

The drilled tortoise shell from the Phylakopi Sanctuary may thus be regarded as the earliest direct evidence for the use in the Aegean of the tortoise-shell lyre proper and it provides a useful addition to our knowledge of Bronze Age instruments. Although this need not in itself be considered surprising, it is worth remembering that there is a gap of at least five hundred years

between this single Bronze Age example and the probable late Archaic or early Classical date of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (Cassola 1975, 172) and of the earliest of the surviving lyres from Classical antiquity.

Table 8.7: Tortoise Shell

SF	Context	Phase	Measurements		Description
			L	W	
188	OLc space b layer 23	3c	3.5	2.0	Single fragment.
95	OLc layer 29	3b	18.4	12.9	Nearly complete shell. PLATE 63.
814	NLe space a layer 61	2b	—	—	Seventeen fragments, three bearing drill holes (diameters 0.3, 0.3, 0.1). PLATE 64 d.
815	NLe space a layer 61	2b	—	—	Twelve fragments, one with possible traces of a drill hole.
825	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	18.0	14.0	Nearly complete shell. PLATE 63.
838	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	5.7	2.8	Single fragment.
2283	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	—	—	Single fragment.
2284	NLe space c layer 72	2b/3a	—	—	Single fragment.
2342	NLe South layer 237	2b	7.2	6.3	Single large fragment from edge of shell.
2894	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	—	—	Seven fragments.

7. Shell*

Among the finds from the Sanctuary is a small quantity of marine molluscs (PLATES 61 *a* and 62). It must be emphasised that the excavations, both in the Sanctuary and elsewhere on the site, produced other shells in abundance, nearly all of them limpets (*Patella coerulea*); these presumably represent food refuse, although many of them have the apex broken away, whether intentionally or accidentally, and the resultant shell rings may perhaps have been strung for ornamental purposes (cf. Phylakopi 1904, 201 and Pl. XXXIX.10). The shells discussed here stand out against this background as unusual finds, even though they are species which are not in themselves rare and which have been recovered at many other Aegean Late Bronze Age sites.

It seems reasonable to suggest, by virtue of the species and the condition of the shell, or by analogy with other sites, that most of these shells were not collected for their food value. One exception may be the single shell (SF 2310) of murex, a species which can be eaten, as well as used for bait or for ornamental purposes. But both the cowrie (SF 2351) and *Conus* (SF 2382) are non-food species which were most likely collected, for aesthetic reasons, as empty shells found washed up on the beach. Reese (1982, 139) has noted the widespread significance, both today and in the past, of the cowrie shell in particular as a symbol of fertility and as a prophylactic against the evil eye.

The two occurrences of *Spondylus gaederopus* are of particular interest. The species is edible, but was clearly sought more for the size and durability of its shell, from which a wide variety of ornamental and utilitarian objects were fashioned from early prehistoric times. *Spondylus* is regularly found on sites of the Aegean Bronze Age: at Lerna, for instance, there were 1874

* We are grateful to Mrs J. Shackleton for helpful comments on photographs and descriptions of the marine molluscs discussed here.

occurrences (over 20% of the total inventory of shell) in levels of all periods (Gejvall 1969, Table 4). Complete, or near-complete, valves with deliberately produced holes (SF 890) are common, especially in the late neolithic of north Greece and the Balkans (e.g. Renfrew 1973, Pl. 118), but in these cases the hole seems to have been created by chipping and grinding the exterior surface on a flattish stone as the first stage in the production of bracelets or annulets of considerable prestige value. The single worked instance from Phylakopi, in contrast, has clearly been holed by rotary perforation from the interior, a technique which apparently has no Aegean parallels, although examples are known from the neolithic Danilo culture of Yugoslavia (Korošec 1959, Pl. LI). It is not clear whether this is a finished artefact (perhaps a weight or sinker?) or represents an intermediate stage in the manufacture of some other end product. Yet more striking is SF 1547 (FIG. 8.8), a small circular object of highly distinctive form manufactured on a *Spondylus* valve. The pair of perforations at one side imply that such items were intended for attachment to a garment or, more likely, for suspension; the latter suggestion, together with the regular feature of a central ring-like projection, has led to them being known as 'bossed pendants'. Precise parallels occur in mixed neolithic levels at the Franchthi Cave, both in *Spondylus* (Nauplion Museum nos. 16343, 16381, 17480) and in stone. Other instances of comparable date are known in Thessaly and it seems likely that an object from period IV (EH III) at Lerna described as an 'oyster shell lid' (Banks 1967, 482–4, cat. no. 1217) provides a slightly later example of the same class. The occurrence of this item in a level of early LH IIIC date at Phylakopi, with no second millennium BC parallels, perhaps suggests that it was found elsewhere and brought to the site; otherwise, we must imagine the unusual persistence over a long time span of a very characteristic type of artefact whose origins clearly lie in the neolithic period.

The two essentially intact conch shells SF 170 and SF 1522 (PLATE 62) are paralleled by two similar finds from the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 201). This species, too, is edible and the find of a cache of half a dozen triton shells, together with those of other species including murex and limpet, in room Delta 16 at Akrotiri on Thera may perhaps be regarded as food debris (Marinatos 1972, 36 and Pl. 86). Triton shells seem also to have been used as containers, scoops and ornaments. Yet such a large number of these shells have been found complete in Minoan contexts and there are so many skeuomorphs of them in other materials such as terracotta, faience and stone (see examples cited in Foster 1979, 137–8; Barain and Darcque 1983, 59–73) that some non-utilitarian significance may safely be claimed for them—a suggestion strengthened by the many examples in other cultures of the ritual use of conch trumpets (Montagu 1981). In many cases, both in Crete and beyond during the Middle and Late Bronze Age, their find contexts imply special activities of a cult or votive character: an LM IB group at Pyrgos in Crete, for example, included a red faience conch model, together with clay sealings, a Linear A tablet, parts of early Egyptian stone vases, a bronze rosette and a clay tubular offering stand (Cadogan 1981), while the shells from the MM IIB shrine at Phaistos offers a further clear instance. Our SF 1522, likewise, was a central item in a similarly specialised group of objects in the north-west corner of the West Shrine (Assemblage L).

That conches were sometimes used as trumpets in ritual is clear from the famous rock crystal sealstone from the Idaean Cave (FIG. 9.3; Evans 1904, fig. 167), showing a woman apparently blowing a conch before an altar with horns of consecration and boughs upon it, perhaps—as Evans (1908, 142) suggested—performing 'a ritual function in summoning the deity.' Both examples from the Sanctuary at Phylakopi have holes at the apex which allow air to be passed through them, although in the case of SF 1522 this may not be the result of intentional modification. Their interpretation as musical instruments as well as cult objects gains some support from the presence in the Sanctuary of tortoise shells quite clearly drilled for use as the soundboxes of stringed instruments.

Table 8.8: Shell

SF	Context	Phase	Measurements	Description
170	OLc space a layer 22	3c	L 31.0	Conch shell (<i>Charonia sp.</i>), complete except for apex. PLATE 62.
186	OLc space b layer 23	3c	L 5.0 × W 5.1	Single valve of unidentified bivalve.
890	NLe space c layer 84	2a	L 10.6 × W 8.6	Valve of <i>Spondylus gaederopus</i> . One edge slightly chipped; perforated with a hole (diameter 2.0) neatly drilled from the interior surface.
1522	NLc layer 214	3b	L 26.0	Conch shell (<i>Charonia sp.</i>), complete but in a very abraded condition (including some damage to the apex). PLATE 62.
1547	NLc layer 216	3b	D 3.6 × Th 1.0	Circular pendant of <i>Spondylus gaederopus</i> . Planoconvex in cross-section, with two perforated stringholes (diameter 0.3) and a central circular raised boss with interior depression. FIG. 8.8.
2310	NLc South layer 232	3c	L 7.2	Complete unworked murex shell, probably <i>Murex trunculus</i> . PLATE 61 a.
2345	NLc South layer 239	D	L 6.1	Valve of <i>Spondylus gaederopus</i> . PLATE 61 a.
2351	NLc South layer 242	1a/2a	L 3.6	Complete unworked cowrie shell, possibly <i>Luria lurida</i> . PLATE 61 a.
2382	NLc East baulk layer 256	2b/3a	L 2.4	Complete unworked shell, probably <i>Conus Mediterraneus</i> . PLATE 61 a.
2390	NLc South layer 257	o	L 3.5	Single valve of unidentified bivalve. PLATE 61 a.
2900	MLb Room B layer 1039	1b/2a	L 5.6	Unidentified shell. PLATE 61 a.

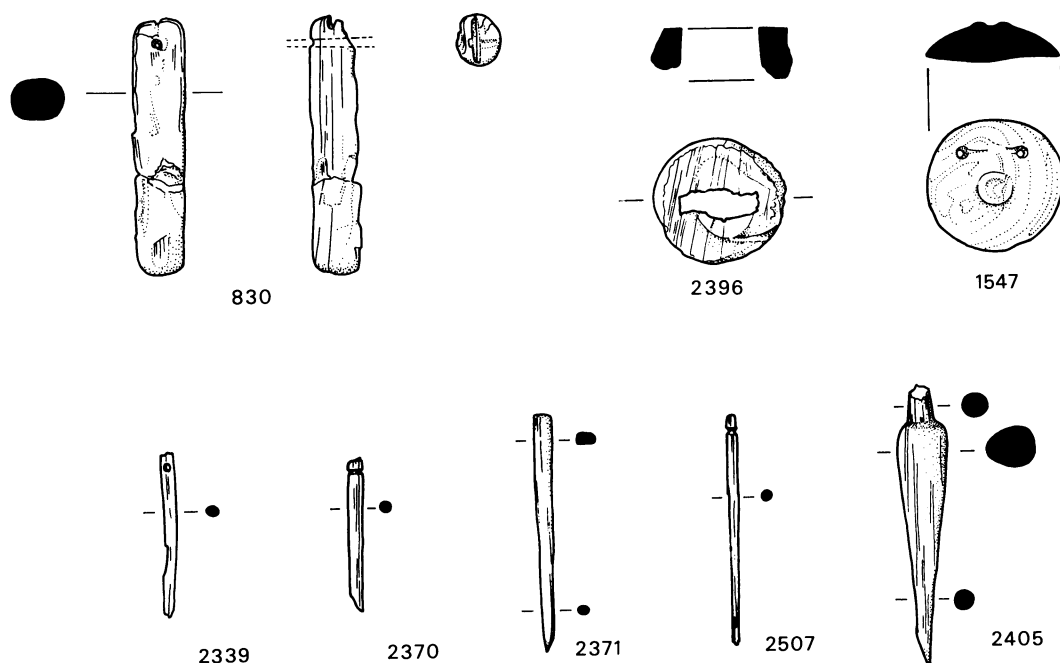


FIG. 8.8 Objects of bone, ivory and shell. Scale 1:2

8. Bone

The number of bone objects bearing unambiguous traces of working is very small (12) and includes five fragmentary pins, a needle, several crude pointed tools and a piece of drilled bone (FIG. 8.8).

Three of the pins (SF 2023, 2371, 2405b) are preserved only as polished shaft segments; the other two (SF 2370, 2507) have small bulbous heads set off from the shaft by a single incised groove and represent the simplest of the decorated types of bone pin in the Bronze Age Aegean (Krzyszkowska 1981, type 11c). It is clear from Krzyszkowska's exhaustive survey of this class of material that such pins fall at a stage intermediate, both chronologically and typologically, between the yet simpler pins with conical or nail-shaped heads prevalent in the Middle Bronze Age and the elaborate forms of the later Mycenaean period. Their distribution is dominantly on the Greek mainland and only a handful of Cycladic examples are known so far. The single needle (SF 2339) is of Krzyszkowska's type 10c (1981, figs. 62 and 63): a carefully worked segment of long bone with no distinction between head and shaft, rather flat at the shaft and rounder in section towards the tip. Three-quarters of the Bronze Age needles in the Aegean come from Early Bronze Age contexts, but some Late Bronze Age examples do occur. Finds of type 10c needles of Mycenaean date are known from Agia Irini, Perati, Mycenae and Tiryns; there are none from Crete. The pointed tools (cf. Phylakopi 1904, 192 and Pl. XL. 1–5) are either too fragmentary or too crude to be classified with any precision. Krzyszkowska (1981, types 1–9) has illustrated and discussed a very large corpus of such objects, usually manufactured on cattle, pig or deer longbones and brought to a rough point either by grinding (as SF 515, 2405a, 2677) or by removing splinters of bone (SF 1830). SF 2405a, no doubt an awl or perforator of some sort, is of unusual shape with its distinct shoulder and might perhaps be considered as an unusually stubby version of the bulbous-headed pin.

Some mention should be made here of the fragments of boar's tusk (SF 1723). None shows signs of working and it is likely that one, or at most two, unmodified tusks are represented. Melos in the Bronze Age probably did not offer a habitat any more suitable for populations of wild boar than it is today and the tusks should tentatively be regarded as imports to the island. Although an unmodified boar's tusk is known from a site near Pylos in a context as early as transitional EH/MH (Blegen *et al.* 1973, fig. 279.3), the use of boar's tusks as a helmet attachment is very much a phenomenon of Mycenaean mainland origin, beginning in the Shaft Grave period (Karo 1933, 212 and fig. 94). The many known finds, either in the form of unworked tusks or cut and drilled plaques, have been the subject of extensive discussion elsewhere, stimulated by the well-known references in Homer and a variety of iconographic representations (e.g. Evans 1935, 867–871; Persson 1942, 126–9; Wace and Stubbings 1962, 516). The examples nearest to Phylakopi come from Agia Irini on Keos, where a number of drilled plaques, strips and partially worked tusks indicate on-site manufacture (Caskey 1964, Pl. 52f; Cummer and Schofield 1984, nos. 1084 and 1689a; Krzyszkowska 1981, Pls. 14 and 15). A single tusk, presumably also unworked, was noted by the earlier excavators at Phylakopi, who did not specify its context (1904, 192).

Table 8.9: Bone

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>	<i>Description</i>
515	OLd layer 59	3b/c	L 9.2 × W 1.2-0.4	Crude point manufactured from a long-bone. Small part of tip missing.
1723	NLe space a/b layer 123	o/2a	Largest joined fragments: L 10.5 × W 2.1	8 fragments of boar's tusk, some joining. One nearly complete tusk can be reconstructed and remaining fragments seem sufficient to indicate a second. No traces of working.
1830	NLb layer 456	o/1c	L 10.4	Crude point.
2023	MLd Room B layer 509	2b/3a	L 4.1 × D 0.3	Polished pin, circular cross-section, tapering. Broken at both ends.
2194	NLd space 1 layer 15	3c	L 3.6 × W 1.9	Fragment of bone, broken on all edges, with drilled hole (diameter 0.3).
2339	NLc South layer 237	2b	L 4.2 × D 0.4	Needle, circular cross-section, pierced at one end. Broken at both ends. FIG. 8.8.
2370	NLc South layer 250	2b/3a	L 4.1 × D 0.4	Pin, circular cross-section, with simple bulbous head separated from shaft by a single groove. Tip and part of head missing. FIG. 8.8.
2371	NLc South layer 250	2b/3a	L 6.3 × D 0.4	Pin, circular cross-section, tapering to tip. Top missing. FIG. 8.8.
2405a	MLa/c layer 755	S	L 7.2 × W 1.4	Pointed tool, ovoid in cross-section at shoulder, tapering sharply to tip. Broken above shoulder. FIG. 8.8.
2405b	MLa/c layer 755	S	L 4.0	Shaft (? of pin or needle), circular cross-section, slightly tapered. Broken at both ends.
2507	NKc/d layer 816	1b	L 6.0 × D 0.2-0.3	Polished pin, circular cross-section, tapering slightly to tip. Simple bulbous head separated from shaft by a single groove. Very small part of tip missing. FIG. 8.8.
2677	MLb Room A layer 972	1b/2a	L 3.4 × W 1.0	Tip of large point.

9. Terracotta Objects

The commonest terracotta small finds from the Sanctuary are spindle whorls, of which 18 were recovered. They fit readily into the shape classifications established at other sites on the basis of far larger collections (e.g. Lerna: Banks 1967, pls. 16–18; Agia Irini: Cummer and Schofield 1984, pl. 31; Troy: Blegen *et al.* 1950, fig. 128). Biconical (7) and spherical or flattened spherical (6) forms are the most frequent; cylindrical, discoid and conical whorls are represented by one example each, and two whorls are too badly damaged to be classified. Three of them have a depression around the perforation at one end and several were slipped. Only one (SF 1825), however, bears incised and infilled decoration which, in technique at least, resembles the eight such whorls reported from the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 213 and Pl. XXXVIII.15–17): the pattern of circle and opposed concentric arcs, while known in isolated instances from Middle Bronze age levels at sites such as Eleusis (Mylonas 1932, 142–3 and fig. 118.2) or Eutresis (Goldman 1931, 198 and Pl. XIX.1,6,7), finds abundant parallels in the decorated whorls of the North East Aegean, especially Troy in virtually all phases (Blegen *et al.* 1950, figs.

366–7; 1951, figs. 57–8, 152–3, 237). Spindle whorls are probably the most frequently encountered objects in terracotta (other than pottery) on Bronze Age sites in Greece, but few collections have been sufficiently well published for it to be apparent whether the relative frequency of different shapes is chronologically diagnostic. A wide variety of forms seems to be present in the Late Bronze Age levels at Agia Irini, whereas three-quarters of those in Late Middle Bronze Age contexts at the site are biconical (Davis 1977, 127). At Eutresis, biconical whorls were found only in the Middle Helladic period (Goldman 1931, 198). The 232 Early and Middle Bronze Age whorls from Lerna (Banks 1967, 485–551) are predominantly conical, with only 20% biconical; spherical and cylindrical examples make up only 5% and do not begin until Period IV (EH III), yet at Myrtos in Crete cylindrical barrel whorls are the most popular (Warren 1972, 228). Despite these uncertainties of dating, it seems probable that the spindle whorls from the Sanctuary reflect activity on the site during the Middle and early Late Cycladic periods, as the other textile apparatus also suggests.

Among the loomweights, three (SF 563, 2056 and 2217) are essentially complete, but there is little doubt that all the remaining fragments also belong to the lentoid disc type with a single perforation near the edge and, more rarely, a flat or grooved top. Circular, oval, squat and piriform varieties are known: while only the first two are represented among the weights considered here, a number of grooved piriform examples (described as ‘pulleys’) were reported from the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 214). The grooves on the latter, of which SF 2056 is a further instance, ‘must indicate that a horizontal bar or rod, probably a cane, ran along the top of the weights to keep all the warp threads level and prevent individual groups of threads from swinging to and fro’ (Warren 1972, 212). SF 59, a fragmentary perforated loomweight with two further unfinished drill-holes, is paralleled by a very similar example also with an incomplete second perforation from Period V at Aghia Irini (Davis 1977, no. J4/32).

Disc loomweights of this sort, destined for use with the warp-weighted loom (Hoffman 1964), are common in the Aegean in the Middle and early Late Bronze Age (Carrington Smith 1975, 276–286) and are of Minoan type: very many are known in Middle Minoan Crete (although found already in EM II Myrtos: Warren 1972, 212 and fig. 96), whereas the only published mainland examples seem to be the three from Middle Bronze Age Lerna V (Banks 1967, 565–572, type d). However, they are also common at other minoanizing island sites, including Agia Irini (Davis 1977, 126–7; Cummer and Schofield 1984, Ch. VII), Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1969, Pl. 39; 1971, Pl. 50), Trianda on Rhodes (Monaco 1941, fig. 45), Seraglio on Kos (Morricone 1973, 279 and fig. 240) and Kastri on Kythera (Coldstream and Huxley 1972, Pl. 59, 11–16). Davis (in press) has argued that the adoption of specifically Cretan weaving technology on Keos (and probably also at the above-mentioned sites), implies an increase in specialised textile production during the Middle Bronze Age, a suggestion that concurs with evidence from Phylakopi that wool production and processing became more important at this time (Gamble 1982). The general chronological pattern of these parallels is in harmony with the find contexts of the loomweights from the Sanctuary, which are mainly before or early in the use-life of the building: it seems likely that their presence in the Sanctuary has nothing to do with the activities that took place there.

A date in the Middle Bronze Age (and thus pre-Sanctuary) is also certain for the single spool fragment (SF 1602), numerous complete examples of which were found elsewhere on the site both in the new and the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 213 and Pl. XL.36). They are often decorated on their flaring ends in the style of Melian Middle Cycladic pottery, with matt black paint on a chalky white ground. A number of similar examples come from the later Middle Bronze Age (Period V) levels at Agia Irini (Davis 1977, 126), but such objects are most common

on the mainland in Middle Helladic times (Banks 1967, 562–565; Howell 1973, 77; Carington Smith 1975, 400–404). On present evidence, spools are very rare after the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the solitary example from the Sanctuary is certainly a survival. Carington Smith has argued that spools were intended for use with a spool rack to prepare the warp for the horizontal loom.

The three pierced discs manufactured from re-used potsherds (SF 1536, 1741 and 656) correspond to the fifty or more examples found in unspecified contexts during the earlier excavation of the site (Phylakopi 1904, 213). They seem to have no real chronological significance and are so frequently found on Bronze Age sites throughout the Aegean that no list of other examples need be given. Banks' (1967, 572–603) careful analysis of the types of objects found in contextual association with the many sherd discs from Lerna gave little help in establishing their function and it seems likely that they were expediently made and used for a wide variety of purposes. Examples are also known which lack the perforation (e.g. SF 2667) or which were custom-made from fresh clay (e.g. SF 558) and in some cases these seem to have been used as polishers (although the Phylakopi specimens bear no traces of such use). The function of the large perforated base of a coarse vessel (SF 2675) is likewise obscure: its size might suggest that it was re-used as a lid or potstand, of which the plain disc SF 2873 may be a further instance, paralleled by numerous stone and terracotta examples found *in situ* at Akrotiri on Thera (e.g. Marinatos 1969 Pl. 7.1; 1970, Pl. 98b; 1971, Pl. 47a).

Two of the remaining terracotta finds (SF 451 and 526) are merely small fragments of much larger objects whose form and function cannot be guessed at. The third (SF 803), a vertically pierced mushroom-shaped object, is unique. Its weight and shape might perhaps suggest that it is an unusual spindle whorl, but its perforation seems too narrow for such a use and no similar example can be cited. It may be that it is a pommel, an item well-known in stone, bone and ivory (e.g. from Mycenae, Karo 1933, 140 fig. 57), although in these cases the perforation does not run right through the object; a possible clay pommel (of very different form) was found on a house floor of Period V at Lerna (Banks 1967, 655–6).

The find should be noted of a terracotta mould (SF 780) from phase 3b context (FIG. 8.6, PLATE 65 b). It is a flat piece of well-baked clay broken on three edges, with only part of one original edge preserved. The upper surface has hollows for the casting of three flat chisels of width 2.6 cm and length at least 7.9 cm; the lower surface has hollows for two more such chisels, and perhaps more when the mould was complete. Two closed stone moulds, both probably for axes, were found in the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 191) and on Kea, where considerable evidence for metallurgical activity exists, there have been found a number of moulds, including a multiple mould in steatite with patterns for a knife, a chisel and two arrowheads (Cummer and Schofield 1984, no. 978). Chisels are in fact by far the most common artefact for which open moulds were manufactured in the Early and Middle Bronze Age (Branigan 1974, table 7). The use of clay for moulds of EBA and MBA date, however, is rare: the 19 examples listed by Branigan (*ibid.*, 77) all come from Troy and constitute only 7% of the known total.

Drain Channels

Nineteen fragments of terracotta drain channels were found. These are all of rather coarse, well-fired clay, baked to an even, terracotta colour. None is complete: the best preserved (SF 786: PLATE 65 e) is now 38 cm long. The cross-section in each case is trough-shaped (see FIG. 8.9) with flat bottom and vertical sides. The width is in general between 11 and 13.5 cm, and the height between 6 and 8 cm, while the thickness of the clay is approximately 1.5 cm. (In the list which follows, the dimensions are frequently much less through incomplete preservation, but the width

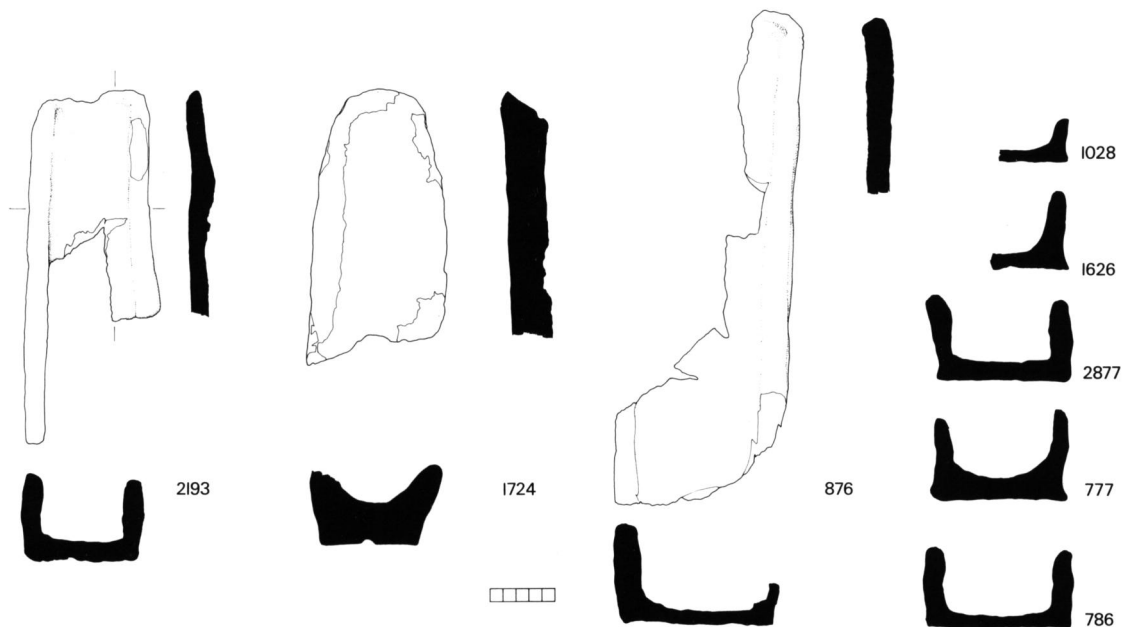


FIG. 8.9 Terracotta drain channels. Scale 0.17

and height of all the channels found had originally been approximately the same.) It is not possible to document any conformity in length, since most fragments were less than 20 cm long.

Only one of these objects differs markedly from the others. This is SF 1724 (FIG. 8.9). Here the interior section is curved, and there is a narrowing and reduction in height at one end, suggesting that this might be a spout. The clay is coarse and reddish, and covered by a black slip, not seen on the other examples. Moreover, the thickness of the bottom increases towards the tapering end, so that, lying on a flat surface, the inside would slope away from the spout. This piece is therefore anomalous, and there is the possibility that it might, if complete, prove to be some sort of coarse pottery container rather than a drainage channel.

With this one exception these finds resemble the drain channel reported from earlier excavations at the site (Phylakopi 1904, 16 and 61, fig. 57). That piece was complete, measuring 47 by 13 by 10 cm approximately. The width here is approximately the same, but the examples from the Sanctuary are less high in the side walls. It is possible that the Sanctuary examples may originally have been of comparable length to this piece.

Four fragments (including the anomalous SF 1724) are from the area of the East Shrine, but prior to the collapse phase 2b. The majority of the pieces are from the collapse phase, most of them (five) from the area south of the East Shrine, three from the southern part of the West Shrine (area NLa), one from MLb Room B, and one from a room north of the West Shrine (SF 2054). The remaining four pieces, dating from after the collapse phase, are once again all from the area near the south of the East Shrine.

There is no clear indication of the original context of these items. One possibility is that they formed part of one or more drain channels somewhere in the vicinity of the Sanctuary. Similar terracotta runnels have been found in a number of the Minoan palaces of east Crete (Shaw 1971, 128 fig. 161), although in these instances the length is of the order of 76 to 80 cm, and hence much

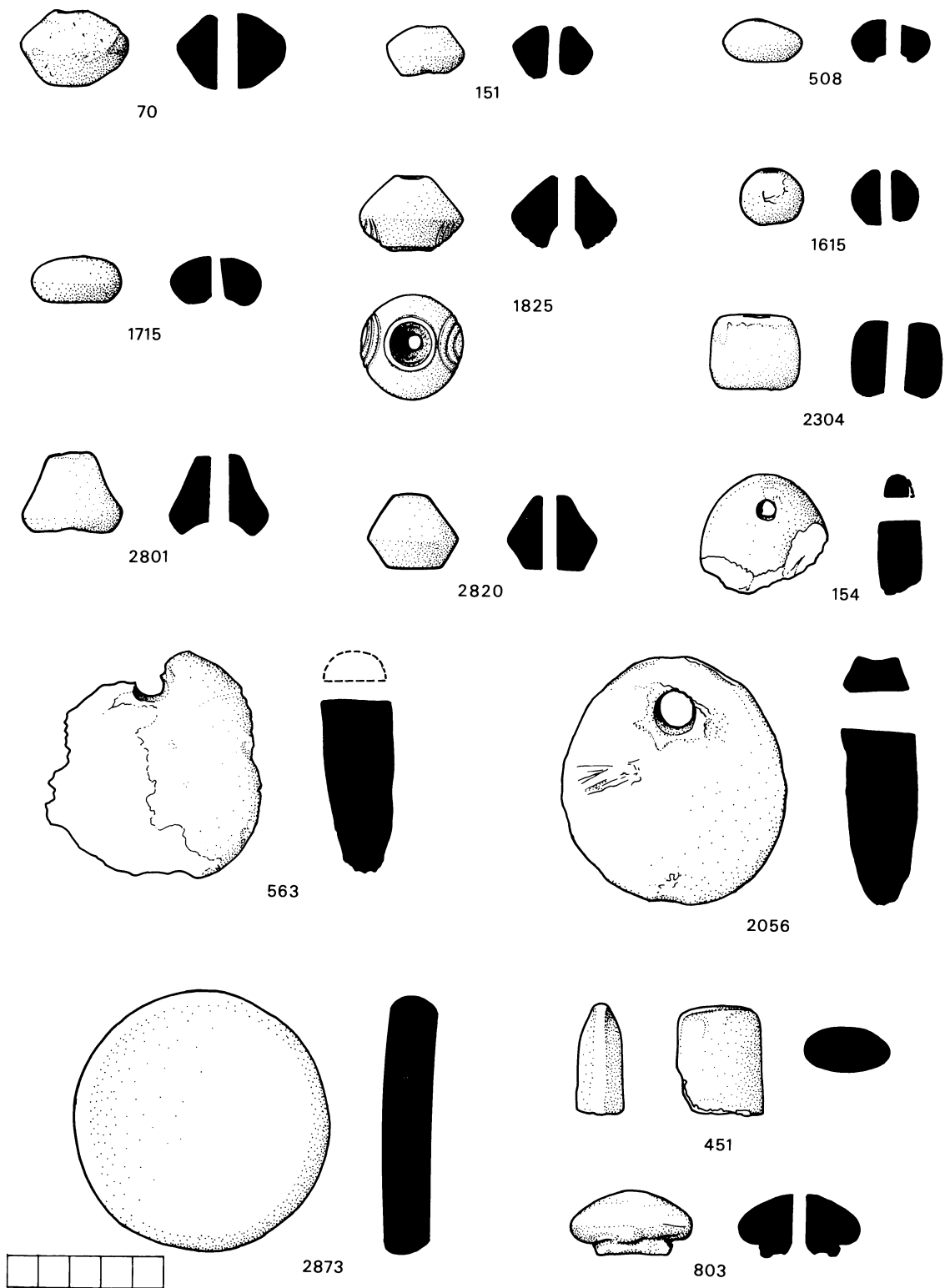


FIG. 8.10 Terracotta objects. Scale 1:2

greater than in the case of the earlier find from Phylakopi. A comparable terracotta drain channel comes from the Late Minoan III 'kitchen' near Knossos (Hood and de Jong 1959, 191 fig. 7) and other examples are known from Crete.

The alternative possibility which should be considered is that these objects were roof spouts, that is to say drain channels used to conduct water out from the flat roof of a building so that it would flow out and fall some distance away from the wall. Each channel would then be used singly, and the flat roof be very slightly sloped in such a way that the water would flow to the channel. (There is no suggestion here of vertical drainpipes or downspouts, although there is some evidence for this from Palaikastro in Crete (Dawkins 1905, 289).) We have no strong evidence for this suggestion, although it should be noted that in Crete, those channels which were used over a considerable distance to conduct water were often of a form which allowed them to interlock, which is not the case here. It may well be permissible to imagine these drain channels as facilitating the run-off of rainwater from a flat-roofed building, conceivably part of the Sanctuary itself. The East Shrine may have been such a building, but the distribution of finds does not offer a clear answer on this point.

Table 8.10: Terracotta objects

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>		<i>Description</i>
			H	D	
Spindle whorls					
70	OLc space a/b layers 21, 22 and 23	3c	2.4	3.5	Biconical, dark brown-black clay. FIG. 8.10.
72	OLc space a layer 22	3c	2.8	2.8	Spherical, brown-black clay with inclusions. Fragment preserving about one-third.
151	OLc layer 2	S	1.7	2.6	Biconical, grey-brown clay with inclusions. Surface chipped and worn. FIG. 8.10.
508	OLd layer 47	D	1.4	2.6	Squat biconical, light buff clay with inclusions. Slight depression around string hole at one end. FIG. 8.10.
584	NLd space 2 layer 18	o/3c	2.1	2.5	Roughly spherical, fine grey clay, slightly chipped.
793	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	2.0	2.2	Biconical, fine brown clay with a few small inclusions. Severely chipped and abraded.
1559	NLc layer 221	2b	1.5	2.2	Flattened spheroid, fine soft grey-pink clay. Slight depression around string hole at one end.
1615	NLa layer 327	o/1a	1.8	2.1	Slightly flattened spheroid, fine grey clay.
1715	NLe space d layer 115	o/1c	1.5	2.9	Very flattened spheroid, dark grey clay with some inclusions. FIG. 8.10.
1731	NLd East baulk layer 140	3b	—	—	Biconical, fine grey clay. Incised, white-infilled decoration: circle around string hole and two groups of three concentric arcs. FIG. 8.10; PLATE 61 <i>f</i> .
1825	NLb layer 436	S	2.4	3.4	
2003	MLb East, North Baulk layer 16	D/S	1.2	2.5	Discoid, orange clay with some small inclusions.

2304	NLc East baulk layer 228	3c	2.4	2.9		Cylindrical with wide stringhole (diameter 0.65), fine red clay. FIG. 8.10.
2683	MLb Room A layer 973	1b/2a	2.1	2.7		Slightly flattened spheroid, soft grey clay. Much worn and chipped.
2684	MLb Room A layer 973	1b/2a	2.7	2.0		Fragmentary, shape uncertain, grey clay with some inclusions.
2801	MLb East layer 13	2b	2.6	1.4-3.3		Conical, one end flat, the other concave, dark brown clay, possible traces of black slip. FIG. 8.10.
2820	MLb East layer 25	1a	2.4	2.9		Biconical, dark red clay with many small inclusions, possibly slipped. FIG. 8.10.
2828	MLb East layer 27	2b	2.1	2.1		Biconical, fine pale grey clay with lighter slip.
			L	W	Th	
Loomweights						
59	OLd layer 4	S	5.6	9.0	2.8	Fragment, probably of a loomweight, with one pierced hole and two other incomplete perforations. Coarse, light buff clay.
154	OLd layer 4	S	3.8	4.2	1.4	Fragment, lower part missing, with single perforation. Coarse pink clay with many inclusions. FIG. 8.10.
563	NLd space 3 layer 6	S	7.1	6.8	2.3	Lentoid disk with single perforation, coarse red clay with many inclusions. Very battered. FIG. 8.10.
1061	NLe space c layer 76	2a	2.2	1.7	1.0	Fragment, broken on all edges, preserving single perforation; probably from a loomweight. Fine pink-grey clay.
1554	NLc layer 218	2b	6.5	3.6	1.5	Fragment preserving about half of a lentoid disc with single perforation and two parallel incised lines on one surface. Brown-red coarse clay with signs of burning.
1621	NLa North baulk layer 334	D/S	5.7	6.2		Fragment preserving about half of a lentoid disc with single perforation. Rather coarse buff-pink clay.
2056	MLd layer 535	2b/3a	7.8	7.1	2.4	Oval, with slightly grooved top and large perforation (diameter 1.1-1.3). Light grey clay with light brown slip. FIG. 8.10.
2215	NLc layer 224	o	6.5	4.0	1.3-2.2	Fragment of ovoid loomweight, broken longitudinally, with single perforation. Coarse pale pink clay with gritty inclusions.
2216	NLc layer 224	o	6.5	5.2	1.0-2.2	Fragment, probably of a discoid loomweight; no perforation preserved. Coarse pale grey-pink clay.
2217	MLd layer 523	o/1a	6.4	6.6	0.8-2.4	Lentoid disc, slightly broken at top, single perforation. Very coarse gritty pink clay.
Other terracotta objects						
451	NLd space 3 layer 5	S	L 3.2 × W 2.5 × Th 1.2			Wedge-shaped object of pinkish-grey clay, broken at one end. FIG. 8.10.
526	OLd layer 67	2a/3b	L 7.5 × W 8.7 × Th 4.5			Very fragmentary object of friable unbaked clay, possibly part of a mud brick.

558	NLd space 3 layer 7	D	D 2.5 × Th 1.1				Clay disc with 1-2 deep grooves running round the edge. Pale pink clay, slightly chipped.
780	NLe space a layer 55	3a/b	L 12.3 × W 10.1 × Th 4.3				Fragment of clay mould broken on three sides. Upper and lower flat surfaces contain three moulds, for chisels or flat axes, of width <i>c.</i> 2.6, and of greater length than the 7.9 preserved. FIG. 8.6, PLATE 65 <i>b</i> .
803	NLe space a/b layer 60	3a	D 3.9 × H 2.0				Mushroom-shape object with convex upper surface and flat base, perforated vertically with a hole of diameter 0.45; surface colour black to deep brown. Probably a pommel. FIG. 8.10.
1536	NLe layer 214	3b	D 5.0 × Th 1.7				Pierced disc, worn and chipped, manufactured from a pot base with encircling band of black paint on exterior surface.
1602	NLa East baulk layer 304	D/S	L 2.0 × D 1.4/3.9				Fragment preserving slightly less than half of a longitudinally perforated spool of circular cross-section and with flat flaring ends. Undecorated coarse grey clay.
1741	NLe layer 151	3a	D <i>c.</i> 2.0 × Th 0.4				Pierced disc of fine pink clay, manufactured from a re-used sherd.
2656	MLb Room A layer 961	2b	D 3.5 × Th 0.6				Fragment of pierced disc of fine reddish clay, manufactured from a re-used sherd. Dark red paint surrounds the hole in a broad band on one side.
2667	MLb Room A layer 965	2b	D <i>c.</i> 5.3 × Th 0.6				Clay disc, unpierced, of pale grey clay, manufactured from a re-used, slightly curved potsherd retaining two bands of red paint.
2675	MLb Room A layer 970	2b	D 24.5 × H 4.9				Broken base of large vessel in coarse orange-buff clay; the pot walls have been trimmed almost flush with the interior surface of the base, which has been drilled with a hole <i>c.</i> 1.4 in diameter. PLATE 45 <i>d</i> .
2873	MLb Room B layer 1036	2b/3a	D 8.1 × Th 1.5				Large flat disc of fine dark red clay with small inclusions, probably a lid or pot-stand. FIG. 8.10.

L W Ht Th

Drain channels

1027a	NLe space c layer 89	2a	13.5	6.3	3.3	base 1.2 side 1.6	Broken at both ends.
1027b	NLe space c layer 89	2a	8.8	3.9	7.9	1.2/1.7	Broken at both ends.
1062	NLe space a/b layer 128	0/2a	—				
1724	NLe space b layer 123	0/2a	26.0	10.3	7.5		Broken at one end with the spout preserved, tapering to 4.7. FIG. 8.9.
786	NLd space 1 layer 56	2b	31.6	13.2	6.1	1.4	Broken at both ends. FIG. 8.9, PLATE 65 <i>e</i> .
876	NLe space c layer 74 and NLd space 4 layer 73	2b/3a	38.0	13.5	7.6	1.4	Several joining fragments of drain tile, broken at both ends. FIG. 8.9.
1028	NLb layer 419	2b/3a	12.0	6.0	3.5	0.9/1.2	Broken at both ends. FIG. 8.9.

1626	NLb layer 437	2b/3a					Broken at both ends. FIG. 8.9.
1821	NLb layer 428	2b/3a					
2054	MLd layer 535	2b/3a	20.0	9.1	—	1.0	Broken at both ends.
2192	NLa layer 321	2b					Broken at both ends.
2193	NLa layer 315	2b/3a					FIG. 8.9.
2252	NLa layer 316	2b/3a	21.7	—	7.0		Broken at both ends.
2877	MLb Room B layer 1037	2b/3a	31.0	10.0	6.5		Broken at both ends. FIG. 8.9.
777	NLd space 1 layer 52	3b	28.0	10.5	6.5		Broken at both ends. FIG. 8.9.
1022	NLb layer 405	3a/3c	14.4	6.6			
2272	NLe space c layer 42	3a/3c	20.0	10.0	7.0	1.8/1.0	Broken at both ends.
2273	NLe space c layer 42	3a/3c	12.0	5.5	8.0		Broken at both ends.
1010	NLb layer 402	D	11.0	5.3	3.7		Broken at both ends.

10. The Painted Plaster

Not much painted plaster was found in the course of the excavation. As will be seen below, the pieces from well stratified contexts and with figured designs were few, and are likely to derive from pre-shrine levels. The decorated plaster from our excavations at Phylakopi, nearly all of it of Late Bronze I date, will be published by Dr Mark Cameron in the succeeding volume of the excavation report. Fragments of red-painted plaster were sufficiently frequent in three areas, however, to pose the question as to whether there may have been within them either some area of red wall plaster, or some portable objects decorated with red plaster.

Plain white plaster was of much more frequent occurrence and was clearly much used for the interior faces of the walls, particularly in the West Shrine. It was found *in situ* there in the north-west corner, covering part of the platform features. It occurred also in the north-east corner, behind the platform (which was added during phase 3), and thus documents that the north wall of the West Shrine, or at least its lower portions, was coated with white plaster. This was very possibly the case for the other walls also.

Plaster with Decorative Designs

The first two pieces listed are in stratified contexts, both within the East Shrine. SF 191 is from Assemblage L, from the last phase of shrine use (phase 3c) (FIG. 4.17). SF 775 is from the preceding phase, but still post-dating the collapse of phase 2b. In such contexts, were either piece from a wall painting within the East Shrine, further fragments might well have been expected. On contextual grounds, therefore, one would prefer to see these as pre-Shrine (probably Late Bronze I) fragments which found their way into the Shrine during its use or (in the case of SF 191) abandonment. Professor Mark Cameron writes: "These pieces' isolated occurrence, small to tiny size, and somewhat worn surface condition suggests they were wall-fill or other haphazardly convened debris of earlier date (LB I?) than their find context. Both seem to have belonged to mural decoration."

The other decorated pieces are all from pre-shrine levels. Numbers 1096, 1714 and 1716 certainly raise the possibility that there may have been wall paintings somewhere in this general area in the Late Bronze I period. (It should be remembered that the area of the later East Shrine, where these were found, was probably an open space during the LH IIIA period.) The four remaining stratified fragments are all from pre-shrine levels in the limited sounding undertaken in the West Shrine in Room A. They do suggest that rooms decorated with wall paintings may have stood here or nearby in the Late Bronze I period.

The remaining pieces are unstratified. Most of them come from Mackenzie's dump, and some pieces have been identified by Dr Cameron as belonging to the well known 'lily fresco' (Phylakopi 1904, 76).

Table 8.11: Plaster with decorative designs

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>			<i>Description</i>
			L	W	Th	
191	OLc space a layer 26	3c	2.3	2.1	0.6	Scrap of fine plaster with part of blue branched spiral defined by black line on white.
775	NLd space 1 layer 52	3b	1.5	0.9	0.3	Scrap with traces of red on dull yellow background.
1096	NLa layer 328	o/1a	2.6	2.3	1.2	Painted yellow and red brown bordering each other along straight line.
1714	NLe space c layer 111	o/1c	1.8	0.9	0.7	Traces of yellow and red paint, extremely fugitive.
1716	NLe space c layer 111	o/1c	2.2	1.8	0.8	Painted pink and red with straight incised line separating two areas. Surface of plaster is slightly curved.
2042(a)	MLd Room B layer 520	o/1a	3.0	2.2	1.2	Possibly joining: area of blue paint edged by thin straight band of black.
2042(b)	MLd Room B layer 520	o/1a	3.1	2.0	1.2	
2045a	MLd Room B layer 520	o/1a	2.4	1.6	0.3	Traces of fugitive black paint on pink background.
2047	MLd Room B layer 521	o/1a	3.2	2.2	0.7	Area of black paint bordering area of yellow along a straight line. Two red circles on yellow.
2049	MLd Room B layer 521	o/1a	2.1	2.2	0.5	Straight red band.
551	NLd space 3 layer 2	S	—		—	Large quantities of red fragments of plaster. Large quantities of black fragments.
551 + 552	NLd space 3 layer 2	S	—		—	30 scraps of fine white plaster with lily flower decoration. 2 scraps of dark red. 2 scraps of grey/blue. 1 scrap with black design with red spot on abraded white. 1 worn white with dark red band at border. 2 black and white with coarse string line. 1 rectangular border with worn grey/black band and ochre band.
1005	NLc layer 203	S	3.6 3.1	2.5 1.6	0.4 2.0	(a) Band of black paint. (b) Traces of pale blue paint.
1066	NLa layer 303	D/S	1.9	1.6	0.7	Traces of two shades of blue paint on white background, probably representing flower stems.
1009c	NLa layer 301	D/S	5.1	4.2	0.9	Two bands of black bordering a band of blue.
1619	NLa North baulk layer 331	D/S	2.2	1.8	—	Thin straight band of black bordering red area.

Shaped Plaster Fragments

The first of these (SF 2263) is conceivably from a portable object, perhaps an offering table, whose shape cannot now be adequately reconstructed. The inner and outer surfaces are covered with red plaster. (Professor Cameron suggests that this is mural plaster rather than from an offering table.)

The second piece (SF 2378) is apparently part of the base and lower wall of a plaster receptacle, or stand, painted on the outside. The diameter of the base is only 7 cm, and it might perhaps be the lower part of the leg of a substantial tripod table.

Altar tables of plaster, sometimes attractively painted, are common in Crete during the periods, and fragments are known for the Late Bronze I period at Phylakopi (Catling 1976, 26, fig. 33).

Table 8.12: Shaped plaster fragments

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>	<i>Description</i>
2263	MLb East layer 20	2b	Upper surface 4.5 × 3.4 Rim and side 4.5 Height 3.1	Scrap of fairly coarse plaster, possibly rim fragment from 'Table of Offering' slightly concave upper surface, curved rim and part of side. Painted red.
2378	NLc South layer 252	2b	Diam. of base 7.0 Height 3.4 Th 0.7	Scrap of base possibly from a 'Table of Offering': slightly curved body and part base preserved. Painted red.

Monochrome Painted Plaster

Small fragments of plaster, the surface decorated entirely with red or pink paint were quite common finds. In three instances the pieces were sufficiently numerous to give rise to the suggestion that they were associated in a meaningful context, rather than mere stray pieces.

One context of note, NLc South, produced twelve fragments, stratified in different levels (see TABLE 8.13 below). It should be noted that it was in precisely this area that a shaped fragment of red painted plaster was found, as described above. It probably comes from a red painted 'portable altar'. There is thus the strong possibility that most of these monochrome fragments derive from the same object. Many of these fragments, including No. 2378, are from Assemblage A of phase 2b (FIG. 4.7). Other pieces are from the phase 3b levels (Assemblage G: FIG. 4.13) in this same area, and these may well be pieces from the same object—either occurring then already as fragments or representing the already damaged object which was subsequently completely broken.

From Room B come no fewer than fifteen fragments, all consistently from layers of the same phase. There can be no doubt that they represent either another portable object of red plaster, now completely disintegrated, or possibly a red painted panel decorating the wall of this room. It should be noted that although there were several pieces of decorated plaster from the earlier (Late Bronze I) levels in this room, none of these was monochrome red. It is therefore not likely that these fragments originally derive from an earlier context. It seems very possible that there was some mural decoration of red painted plaster in Room B.

It is doubtful whether the remaining finds are sufficient to suggest such a conclusion for any other part of the Sanctuary area. The existence of two fragments coloured yellow (SF 2233 and 2386) and one blue (SF 2175a) should be noted. The latter may be from pre-shrine levels.

Overall it would seem that the case for red painted decoration is plausible only in the case of Room B of the West Shrine.

Table 8.13: Monochrome painted plaster

<i>SF</i>	<i>context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>			<i>Comments</i>
			L	W	Th	
2044	MLd Room B layer 520	1b/2a	2.8	2.0	1.1	Red
2045b	MLd Room B layer 520	1b/2a	1.9	1.4	0.6	Red
2028a	MLd Room B layer 515	1b/2a	3.4	2.9	0.9	Red
2028b	MLd Room B layer 515	1b/2a	3.0	1.7	1.6	Red
2029	MLd Room B layer 517	1b/2a	2.5	1.6	0.4	Red
2030	MLd Room B layer 517	1b/2a	2.7	2.5	0.8	Red
2038	MLd Room B layer 518	1b/2a	1.0	1.0	0.4	Red, coarse plaster
2040	MLd Room B layer 518	1b/2a	2.5	2.1	1.0	Red, coarse plaster
2892	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.2	0.8	—	Red
2895	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	2.3	1.2	0.5	Red
2896	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	2.0	1.3	0.5	Red
2898	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.1	1.5	0.6	Red
2899	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.6	1.2	0.3	Red
2901	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	1.2	1.1	0.5	Red
2906	MLd Room B layer 1040	1b/2a	2.0	1.4	0.7	Red
2365a	NLc South layer 246	1a/2a	4.2	3.2	1.8	Red
2365b	NLc South layer 246	1a/2a	2.5	2.3	1.8	Red
2343	NLc South layer 237	2b	1.6	1.4	0.4	Red
2373	NLc South layer 251	2b	3.0	2.3	0.8	Red
2374	NLc South layer 252	2b	1.2	1.1	0.4	Red
2375	NLc South layer 251	2b	3.0	2.9	0.8	Red
2330	NLc South layer 235	2b/3a	3.2	1.7	0.5	Red
2313	NLc South layer 234	3b	1.1	1.0	—	Red
2316	NLc South layer 234	3b	2.7	2.6	0.8	Red
2318	NLc South layer 234	3b	3.2	3.2	—	Red
2323a	NLc South layer 234	3b	1.8	0.8	1.1	Red
2323b	NLc South layer 234	3b	0.9	0.7	1.1	Red
485	NLd space 1 layer 56	2b	1.9	1.4	0.4	Pink
1094	NLa layer 322	1b/2a	2.3	1.9	0.6	Red
1183	OLd layer 66	2a/3c	—	—	—	Red
1220	OLc space a layer 22	3c	—	—	—	Red
1720a	NLc space c layer 120	o/1c	4.0	2.7	1.3	Pink
1720b	NLc space c layer 120	o/1c	3.6	2.4	1.4	Pink
1720c	NLc space c layer 120	o/1c	2.9	1.9	0.7	Red
1729	NLc layer 138	3b	—	—	—	Red
2175a	NLa layer 330	o/1a	2.0	1.8	1.7	Blue
2175b	NLa layer 330	o/1a	3.1	1.5	—	Pink
2188	NLa layer 316	2b/3a	3.5	2.6	1.2	Brown
2197	NLd space 3 layer 35	2b/3a	1.1	1.0	—	Red
2233	MLb room A layer 976	2b	2.2	1.2	0.7	Yellow
2259	MLb layer 974	1b/2a	2.2	2.1	0.7	Red
2386	NLc East baulk layer 256	2b/3a	1.7	1.1	0.4	Yellow
1730	NLd east baulk layer 139	3a	—	—	—	Red
1009a	NLa layer 301	D/S	3.8	2.2	0.5	Red
1009b	NLa layer 301	D/S	2.8	2.1	0.5	Red
2177	NLb layer 435	S	3.3	2.3	1.1	Pink

Roof Plaster

Several pieces of coarse plaster were found bearing impressions of reeds, bamboo or other similar plants, clearly employed as laths, to which the plaster had been applied. The obvious use of this technique was to make weatherproof a flat roof such as is routinely used today in the Cycladic islands: an interpretation as wall plaster is very unlikely since such laths are not strong enough to use as restricted load bearing units. There is absolutely no evidence for timber-frame building at Phylakopi, or indeed elsewhere in the Cyclades, where wattle and daub technique for the walls might have been a possibility.

Unfortunately none of the four fragments recovered is from a well stratified context. This is not surprising however, since roof debris, if it remains *in situ*, is likely to be at the top of a stratified sequence. It is notable that all four fragments come from the area of the West Shrine.

Table 8.14: roof plaster

SF	Context	Phase	Measurements			Description
			L	W	Th	
2224c	NLa East baulk layer 304	D/S	7.5	6.2	—	Fragment of coarse plaster with three reed impressions.
2227	NLb layer 409	D	8.3	6.8	—	Fragments of coarse off-white plaster with four reed impressions.
2279	NLa layer 301	D/S	5.0	4.5	1.5	Fragment of coarse white plaster with traces of four reed impressions. Th of reeds 0.9-1.5.
2305	NLc cleaning	S	6.0	5.0	2.2	Fragment of white plaster with three reed impressions.

11. Fine Stone Objects

The corpus of 29 worked stone objects from the Sanctuary comprises 8 fragmentary vessels, 4 buttons or dress weights, 2 columnar lamps, 2 rock crystal fragments, and 13 other items, including stone discs, plaques, pendants, a celt and a handle.

Three of the stone vessels (SF 163, 585, 1024) are too badly broken to be classified, but the remainder (FIG. 8.11) can be accommodated readily in the typology of Minoan stone vases established by Warren (1969). The most striking, SF 1717 (PLATE 65 *a*), is a large part of a black serpentine blossom bowl (Warren type 5) which joins the fragment found in 1910–11 by Dawkins and Droop (1911, 22) and which is paralleled by four incomplete examples from the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 197 and figs. 166–167). Warren (1969, 14–17) referred to over 120 vases of this type and recent discoveries (e.g. from Thera: Warren 1979, 89) have added considerably to this number. Examples of this canonical form, which flourished in MM III–LM I but has often been found in later contexts, have also been recovered in the islands on Keos, Naxos, Delos and Kythera. SF 556 preserves only a small part of the thick base and wall of a serpentine vessel of indeterminate size. It is most plausibly interpreted as a portion of a bucket-jar (Warren 1969, 34–5, type 14), a form whose *floruit* is in LM I; a number of examples have been excavated on Keos and Thera (Warren 1979, 91–3). The carinated bowl, SF 889, is of Warren type 6 or 7 (1969, 17–21) and recalls the earlier instance found in Third City levels (Phylakopi 1904, 198). Warren (*ibid.*) notes that three-quarters of known examples, like ours, are of serpentine and that the form is almost exclusively MM I (although sometimes found as later survivals). SF 2046 is clearly a fragment of a double—or perhaps multiple—vessel, a

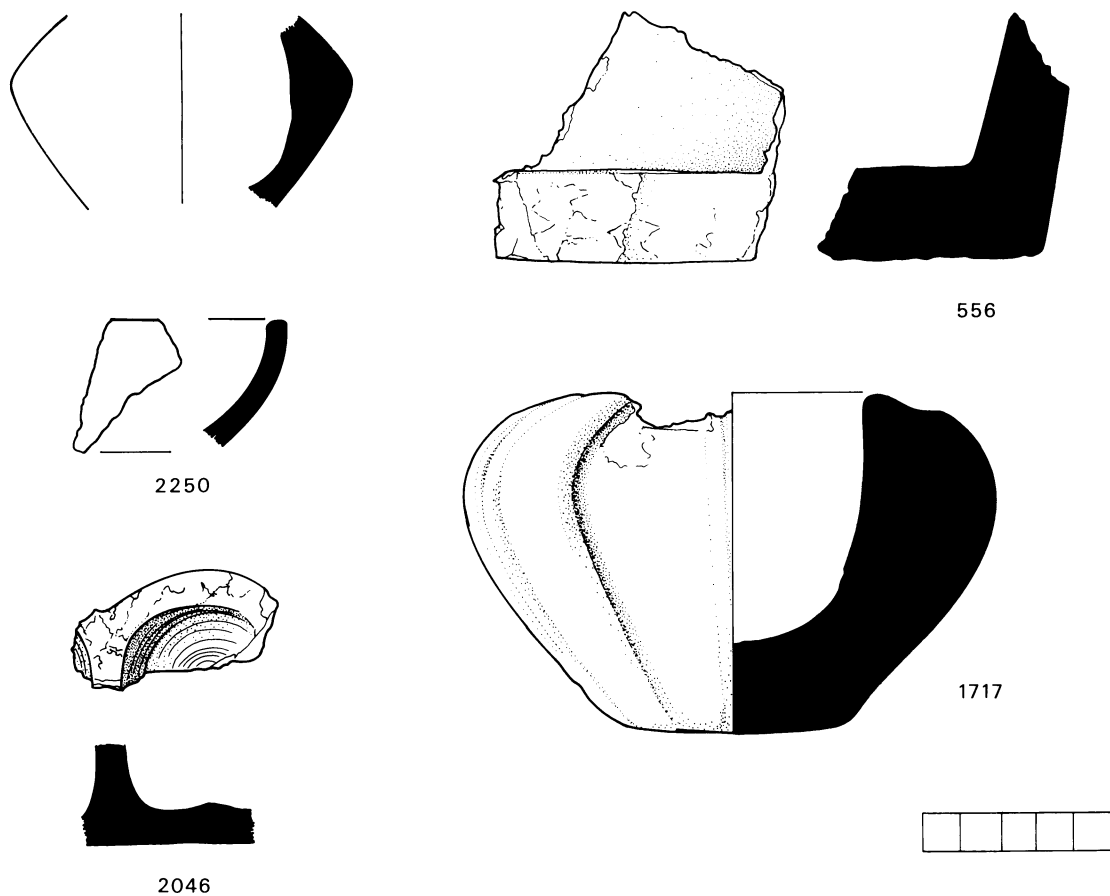


FIG. 8.11 Stone vessels. Scale 1:2

member of the class of block-vases or kernoi (Warren 1969, 11–14, type 4) whose long history in Crete from Early Minoan times on makes the dating of individual examples problematical. It is not very closely matched in Warren's series and appears to be a little out of the usual in combining the curving walls of individual vessels of a kernos with the entirely flat base of a block vase. The only example outside Crete cited by Warren is from Mycenae and, significantly, none appears among the very large group of Minoan stone vases from Thera. A rim fragment from a plain bowl of steatite (SF 2250) falls in Warren's type 31 or 32 (1969, 89–90); bowls of this very simple form (cf. Phylakopi 1904, 198 and fig. 170) were manufactured from EM III–MM I on.

It is also appropriate to make reference here to the small D-shaped fluted handle of white marble or marble-like limestone (SF 194; FIG. 8.12 and PLATE 64 *c*), discussed earlier in connection with the ostrich egg rhyton near which it was found in the East Shrine. It is by no means certain that the two belong together and instances are known of stone vases with separately made handles: a particularly interesting basin with three bow-shaped horizontal handles, each marked to indicate which handle fits where, was recently excavated on Thera (Marinatos 1972, 32 and Pls. 69–70; Warren 1979, 89 no. 1831).

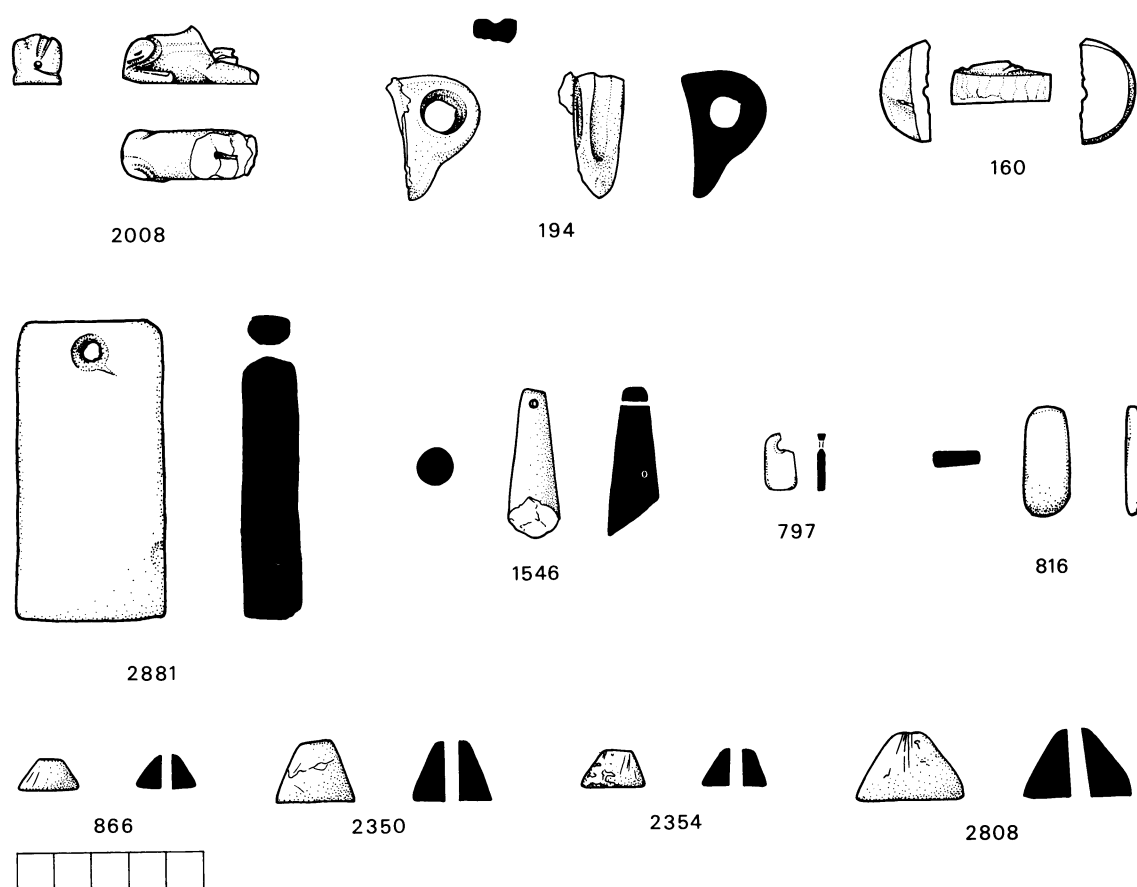


FIG. 8.12 Objects of finely worked stone. Scale 1:2

This small group of vessels, of canonical Minoan form and manufactured in non-local stones, thus provides no real surprises. Their predominant material, serpentine, is characteristic of stone vases from LM contexts and is by far the most commonly represented raw material at Thera (Warren 1979, table 2). All these vases are of types common between MM I and LM I and it is virtually certain, both from their find contexts at Phylakopi and by analogy with many other sites, that they represent survivals into the Late Bronze Age. It is perhaps worth noting the strong cult associations of multiple vases (Xanthoudides 1906), such as our SF 2046, especially as ceramic double vases were also found as part of the equipment of the Sanctuary; the fragmentary stone example, however, was found in a level which would seem to pre-date the use of the building.

Little comment is required here on the four conical perforated objects of steatite (SF 866, 2354, 2808; FIG. 8.12), usually referred to as 'buttons' or 'dress weights', since this extremely common Mycenaean artefact type forms the subject of a recent comprehensive study by Iakovides (1977). The simple conical form (*ibid.*, fig. 1 nos. 2 and 3) is the earliest chronologically, although it continued in existence with the later shanked and disc-shaped varieties until the end of the Mycenaean period; stone, almost always steatite, came into use for their manufacture at the turn of the 15th century BC. The examples from Phylakopi, coming as

they do from several contexts and being of markedly different sizes, do not represent a coherent group of the kind sometimes found in Mycenaean tombs and may therefore have been deposited individually in the Sanctuary. The earlier excavators of the site reported 9 of these objects, 8 of them conical and 1 biconical with decoration (Phylakopi 1904, 213 and Pl. XXXVIII.12–14, 16).

The two remarkable chevron-decorated pillars or pedestals (SF 2004, 2309; PLATE 66 *a* and *b*) are presumably of Melian manufacture, since the stone is the local white conglomerate tuff. They clearly form a pair, although differing in small details: SF 2309 is slightly smaller than 2004 and is roughly square, rather than circular, in cross-section. It is probable that both objects were made at about the same time (in phase 2), in which case SF 2309, found with phase 3c material in the area of the North West platform, must be re-used. Despite their crude workmanship, largely a function of the material used, they were undoubtedly important items of cult furniture in the West Shrine and find no close parallels elsewhere on the site or indeed in the Aegean in general. That one of their uses was as lamps or censers is implied by the conical upper surface surrounded by a low rim to form a shallow bowl in which, in one case (SF 2004), clear traces of burning may be seen. Tall pedestal lamps of stone or clay are a common find on Minoan or minoanizing sites and have been the subject of numerous previous studies (e.g. Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, 138–40; Persson 1942, 107–8 and fig. 113; Warren 1969, 49–60; Mercado 1975). Fragmentary examples of steatite and clay stand-lamps are already known from Phylakopi (1904, 210 fig. 186 and Pl. XLI.3), with more complete instances at Akrotiri on Thera (Marinatos 1976, Pl. 54a,b). But virtually all these lamps have bowls of ‘ashtray’ shape, with two lips for the wick, two solid handles underneath the edge of the bowl between the wicks and, usually, torus mouldings on the stem. Better parallels are perhaps to be found in objects such as the unfinished poros ‘lampstand’ from Room 55 of the palace at Pylos (Blegen and Rawson 1966, fig. 271.6), a squat concave column on a square base (a form also seen as a Mycenaean bead type). In some ways, the stone pedestals from the Sanctuary are more closely akin to the crude pedestal clay vases and ‘censers’ found in the western pillar-chamber of the Third City and elsewhere on the site in the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 158 fig. 147) and in assemblages of phases 2b and 3c in the Sanctuary itself. Whatever their use may have been, their essential cult character is not in doubt.

The two fragments of rock crystal (SF 572, 1747), although unworked, should be regarded as votive offerings: the latter is a particularly handsome piece (PLATE 61 *e*). While it cannot be ruled out that they were picked up on Melos itself, it is perhaps more likely that their place of origin was the veins found in several parts of Crete (Marinatos 1931; Warren 1969, 136–7), where rock crystal was used from the EM period for beads, pendants and other small objects; only the exceptionally large crystals used for LM I vases need have been imported from beyond the Aegean. An important use of rock crystal was by lapidaries in the manufacture of inlays and sealstones; a splendid example of the latter was found in Room B of the West Shrine in a phase 1 context (discussed in Chapter VII by Dr Younger). However, although natural and worked rock crystal has been found very widely in the Late Bronze Age Aegean, it is by no means common in the islands. A fine ‘pinhead’ from the destruction layer in Xeste 3 at Akrotiri in Thera is mentioned by Marinatos (1976, 32 and Pl. 57b) as ‘rare in Thera’. Cummer and Schofield (1984, Appendix 2), who refer to several unmodified rock crystals from Late Bronze Age levels in House A at Agia Irini on Keos, rightly note that such objects may often have been collected for their own sake as visually attractive curiosities, rather than as raw material for jewellers and lapidaries. Such may be the case at Phylakopi.

Among the several perforated stones or pendants from the Sanctuary the most elaborate is one of a pinkish, white-mottled stone (?amethyst) in the form of a *couchant* animal, now lacking its head, but identifiable as either a lion or—less likely—a dog (SF 2008; FIG. 8.12, PLATE 61 *b*). Small-scale representations of such animals, whether pierced for suspension or not, are exceedingly rare in the Aegean. Three *couchant* lions in steatite were recently found in the peak sanctuary of Iouktas in Crete (Karetsou 1974, Pl. 179β; 1975, Pl. 264ζ), a very similar steatite dog has turned up in Quartier Mu at Mallia (Detournay *et al.* 1980, fig. 149), a gold lion is known from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae (Karo 1933, no. 275) and several crouching lions in sheet gold were recovered from the LH IIIC cemetery at Aplomata on Naxos (Kardara 1977, Pl. 5a,β). Only one of these examples showed signs of perforation for suspension. It is quite possible that the object is not of Aegean manufacture at all, but rather an Egyptian amulet of *Seno*, the crouching lion, a type which is attested from prehistoric to Ptolemaic times (e.g. Petrie 1914, 45, type 219, and Pl. XXXVIII). The usual material is faience, although a variety of semi-precious stones were also used, and the mode of suspension a ring springing from the middle of the animal's back; however, lengthwise piercing is also known, for instance on an example in carnelian, possibly of a lion, now in the Museum of Ethnology and Archaeology in Cambridge (no. 36.497). An Egyptian origin, albeit a tentative one, for SF 2008 need occasion no surprise in view of the scarab found elsewhere in the Sanctuary and the presence of nearly two dozen Egyptian and Near Eastern amulets in the LH IIIC tombs at Perati (Iakovides 1970, pl. 85).

The remaining pendants vary considerably in size, but are of simple form: subrectangular (SF 797), 'elongated teardrop' (SF 1546) and flattened piriform (SF 523). The first two are certainly decorative, judging from their lightness, colour and polish, and they are readily paralleled elsewhere (e.g. Detournay *et al.* 1980, figs. 197 and 199). SF 2881, a rectangular slab of ground argillaceous stone, was presumably also perforated for suspension, although its function is unknown. Somewhat similar objects (but *not* perforated) found near Palaikastro in Crete (Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, fig. 129) and on Thera (Marinatos 1969, Pl. 37.2; 1972, Pl. 36a) were thought to be 'writing tablets', but Palaima (1982, n. 15) has resisted this interpretation strenuously; they may perhaps have served as whetstones. Two small flat objects of white marble (SF 816, 1012) are likewise of indeterminate function.

Whether these and the remaining various objects of stone should be considered to have been deposited in the Sanctuary specifically as offerings is unclear. One puzzling object which may perhaps be so regarded is a 'celt' (SF 891) roughly shaped like the axes commonly found all over Greece in the neolithic period, but clearly not intended for use as an axe since the material is a soft stone and it was not brought to a sharp cutting edge. The earlier excavators (Phylakopi 1904, 199) explicitly stated that 'celts and hammers of neolithic types were not found', although Dawkins and Droop (1911, 22) mentioned 'half a stone hammer-head and a small celt' from unspecified contexts. Celts of neolithic form, regarded by their excavators as non-functional, are however known from a few LH III sites such as tholos tomb IV at Pylos (Blegen *et al.* 1973), Perati (Iakovides 1969, Pl. 63δ), Korakou (Blegen 1921, fig. 133.7) and the cult assemblage of House G at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, 299 and fig. 206) from which a celt-shaped perforated bead of carnelian was also recovered (1938, 311 fig. 214).

Four small stone discs (SF 160, 162, 524, 2381)—two in steatite, one in white marble, and one in a local stone of volcanic ash—parallel those in terracotta. SF 160 and 162 are pierced, SF 524 only partially so; 160 seems to have been broken during manufacture. Numerous pierced stone discs are already known from Phylakopi (1904, 200), but these are larger than our examples. Clear parallels exist in quantity from Kea (Cummer and Schofield 1984, *passim*) and Thera (Marinatos 1969, Pl. 41.2; 1971, Pl. 98b), where they are variously interpreted as counters, weights and stone lids.

Table 8.15: Fine Stone Objects

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>	<i>Description</i>
Stone bowls				
163	OLc layer 19	3a/3c	L 4.3 × W 2.9 × Th 0.9	Curved wall fragment of a vessel of diameter approx. 14 cm. Highly polished, but many superficial scratches. Black stone with white impurities.
556	NLd layer 5	S	H 6.4 × W 7.8 × Th 2.4	Fragment of the base and side of a stone bowl, diameter approx. 20 cm. Serpentine. FIG 8.11.
585	NLd East baulk layer 26	D	L 3.6 × W 3.4 × Th 0.7	Small wall fragment of stone bowl, diameter about 8-9 cm. Patinated white stone, apparently not marble.
889	NLe space c layer 84	2a	H 5.0 × Th 1.6	Wall fragment from a carinated stone bowl of approx. diameter 9 cm. Hard dark greenish-black stone with white inclusions, probably serpentine.
1024	NLe space a/b layer 129	0/2a	L 2.5 × W 1.8 × Th 0.5	Small wall fragment from a white marble vessel.
1717	NLe space c layer 117	0/1c	H 8.9 × D of base 6.2 Max D 14.0	Large fragment of blossom bowl, preserving part of base and about half of body, with three carved petals. Black serpentine. FIG 8.11, PLATE 65 a.
2046	MLd Room B layer 521	0/1a	L 5.5 × H 2.7 × Th 0.9	Fragment double stone bowl with flat base and vertical sides. Black serpentine with white inclusions. FIG 8.11.
2250	OLd layer 44	S	H 3.5 × W 3.8 × Th 0.6	Rim fragment of a circular stone bowl, diameter approx. 8 cm. Black steatite. FIG 8.11.
Buttons or dress weights				
866	NLd space 4 layer 68	3a/3c	H 0.9 × Basal D 1.6 D of stringhole 0.25	Small steatite button, in shape of truncated cone. FIG 8.12.
2350	NLc South layer 242	1a/2a	H 1.0 × Basal D 1.7 D of stringhole 0.3	Steatite button, in shape of truncated cone. Dark grey with unusual red patches. FIG 8.12.
2354	NLc South layer 243	1a/2a	H 1.7 × Basal D 2.1 D of stringhole 0.4	Steatite button, in shape of truncated cone. Dark purple. FIG 8.12.
2808	MLb East layer 24	1b/2a	H 1.8 × Basal D 2.8 D of stringhole 0.4	Large steatite button, in shape of truncated cone. Dark purple. FIG 8.12.
Columnar lamps				
2004	MLb East layer 13	2b	H 48.0 × D at top 21.5 × D at bottom 23.0-26.5	Decorated pillar or lamp in white conglomerate tuff. Circular in cross-section, waisted hourglass profile, concave dishd top surface surrounded by a low rim and with traces of plaster and burning. Waist decorated in low relief with a carved chevron motif. PLATE 66 a.

2309	NLc South layer 232	3c	H 43.7 × Dimensions at base 15.2/14.2 × Dimensions at top 16.9/15.0	Decorated pillar or lamp in white conglomerate tuff. Roughly square in cross-section, waisted hourglass profile, concave dished top surface surrounded by a low rim. Waist decorated in low relief with a carved chevron motif, slightly larger and more angular than that on SF 2004. PLATE 66 <i>b</i> .
Rock crystal				
572	NLd space 2 layer 14	0/3c	L 1.2 × W 1.0 × Th 0.7	Small unworked fragment of rock crystal, preserving 5 facets of the natural crystal. PLATE 61 <i>e</i> .
1747	NLe layer 152	2b	L 6.4 × W 3.0-2.0	Large fragment of unworked rock crystal. 6 facets preserved, broken at one end, tapering to a point at the other.
Other stone objects				
160	OLc layer 14	D	D 2.7 × Th 1.1	Fragment of stone disc with slight trace of central perforation. One surface smoothed flat, the other irregular and perhaps unfinished. Grey, ?steatite. FIG 8.12.
162	OLc layer 15	D	D 2.5 × Th 0.5	Fragment of stone disc with central perforation. One surface smoothed flat, the other irregular: either unfinished or broken from some larger object. Probably steatite.
194	OLc space a layer 28	3c	H 3.3 × W 2.1 × Th 1.3	Small stone D-shaped handle, curved inner surface bearing plaster concretions. Slight fluting on exterior surface. Probably white limestone. FIG 8.12, PLATE 64 <i>e</i> .
523	OLd layer 67	2a/3c	H 5.3 × Basal D 2.4	Piriform object in off-white pitted stone, broken longitudinally and lacking part of the top, which retains traces of a horizontal perforation.
524	OLd layer 67	2a/3c	D 4.5 × Th 1.4	Disc of local white volcanic stone. Slight central indentation on one surface.
797	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	L 1.5 × W 0.85 × Th 0.2	Small flat subrectangular stone pendant with stringhole near one end, broken at one corner. Pale green translucent stone. FIG 8.12.
816	NLe space a/b layer 61	2b	L 2.9 × W 1.2 × Th 0.3	Small subrectangular marble plaque, no perforation or decoration. FIG 8.12.
891	NLe space c layer 87	2a	L 7.6 × W 4.2 × Max Th 1.8	Small stone axe, 'cutting edge' wide and blunt. Dark grey stone, perhaps steatite.
1012	NLe layer 301	D/S	L 3.2 × W 3.7 × Th 0.8	Wedge-shaped fragment of white marble.
1546	NLc layer 216	3b	L 3.9 × D 0.6-1.3	Fragmentary stone pendant, broken at bottom, circular in cross-section and tapering towards the top end with horizontal stringhole. Dark grey. FIG 8.12.

2008	MLb East layer 13	2b	L 3.6 × W 1.3 × H 1.5 D of stringhole 0.2	Fragmentary animal pendant, lacking the head. The animal (?lion) is carved in the round in a <i>couchant</i> position. Longitudinal stringhole. At each corner of the base is an incised line running diagonally. Pink stone, non-local. FIG 8.12, PLATE 61 <i>a</i> .
2381	NLc East baulk layer 255	3b	D c. 2.8 × Th 0.7	Irregular flat disc of greyish-white marble.
2881	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	L 7.9 × W 3.9 × Th 1.4	Rectangular slab of ground argillaceous stone with perforation at one end, drilled from both sides (diameter 0.5). FIG 8.12.

12. The Artefacts of Coarse Stone*

Within the Sanctuary area, numerous objects of stone were found which do not fall within the category of finely worked small objects, which are classified as 'Fine Stone'. Most of the objects, classified as 'coarse stone' are clearly to be identified as tools, most of them employed for pounding or grinding softer materials (including grain), but in some cases the function is less obvious. The objects have been divided here into a number of classes: saddle querns, mortars, grindstones and hammerstones, discs and marble slabs, and miscellaneous stone. (The marble slabs should hardly be described as 'coarse', but in view of their size they are most conveniently listed here.)

The constituent materials fall into two major classes, one of them subdivided, although beyond these classes other rocks were used, amongst them marble, which is not available on Melos. The material most commonly used may be described as 'mylopetra', the hard igneous (andesitic) rock which is found at several places on Melos and on Kimolos. Two varieties were observed, described below as 'material a' and 'material b', both falling within this general category. One obvious place for obtaining such rock is from the 'beach' deposit of very large boulders (up to 60 or 70 cm) which lies immediately to the north-east of the site. It is clear that much of the building material for the site came from the same source. Other sources of comparable material are known on Melos and Kimolos (Runnels 1981, 86–90). These two varieties of andesitic rock are distinguished here, since further research on this topic in Melos may well identify the specific source of each.

The third common material, here listed as 'material c', is a soft and rather friable white conglomerate material of igneous origin. Mr Peter Shelford has described one of the coarser and heavier specimens as 'calcareous grit with silty matrix and occasional bubbles of decayed rhyolite. Could be ex-flash flood deposits up valley to east of Phylakopi.' But this description may not sufficiently stress that in many cases the constituent material is clearly of volcanic origin, probably tuff. The example in question is of a darkish yellow colour, while some pieces are much whiter and of finer texture, and may be from primary deposits of compacted volcanic ash, rather than this redeposited material. Other stones than these three are occasionally used for hammerstones and grindstones.

In considering the occurrence of these objects in the Sanctuary, there are several notable assemblages. Three mortars, one of them very large (SF 580; PLATE 66 *e*) were found on the platform in the north-east corner of the West Shrine in assemblage K of phase 3c (see FIG. 4.16). At the same period, a quern fragment (SF 2311) and a pounder (SF 2312) were found in

* We would like to acknowledge the collaboration of Mr. Callum Macfarlane in the study of the coarse stone artefacts.

assemblage J in the north-west corner (FIG. 4.15), and a quern (SF 1165, PLATE 66f) was found in the phase 3c materials in the East Shrine also. At this late period there is thus some evidence for thinking that these objects were closely associated with the activities near the platforms.

In the previous phase, phase 3b, there is again a find in the East Shrine (SF 506: FIG. 4.14), and a couple of mortar fragments (SF 1525 and 2367) and a grinder (SF 1540) from assemblage G in the north-west corner of the West Shrine. In addition, no fewer than seven items of coarse stone were found in the street area south of the East Shrine in levels of phases 3b/3c.

It is striking, however, that objects of coarse stone are not prominent in the assemblages of the collapse phase, phase 2b, near the three platforms then in operation: in the north-west and south-west corners of the West Shrine, and in the East Shrine. Just two objects, one of them a mortar (SF 1580) were found in Assemblage A near the north-west corner of the West Shrine (FIG. 4.7). Instead there is a concentration in Room B to the west, and also some items in Room A (in Assemblage C), as well as in the street south of the East Shrine (in Assemblage E), and in the room north of the West Shrine (Assemblage F). The relevant objects are listed by findspot in Chapter IV. Several objects, including two querns or rubbers are found in levels of phase 1b/2a in room B.

Although the matter is far from clearcut, there are some grounds for seeing the grinding equipment and other coarse stone as playing a background role, as it were, during the earlier part in the life of the Sanctuary: it is not prominent in the assemblages near the platforms within the main rooms of the shrine, but is commonly found in what may be regarded as ancillary positions to the west, north and south. After the collapse of phase 2b, however, this distinction is no longer maintained, and querns, mortars etc. are as common within the shrines as outside them.

There is one other general observation which seems worth making before the finds are described in more detail. It is that much of the coarse stone was recovered in fragmentary condition: finds of parts of querns or of mortars were common. Now in the case of incomplete pots it can sometimes be assumed that some of the missing material may be explained by shortcomings in the recovery procedures adopted during the excavation. But this can scarcely be the case for objects so large as these. In some cases—notably the phase 2b deposits in Rooms A and B and in the street south of the East Shrine—the finds are in *in situ*, and probably undisturbed since the collapse itself. Nor is there much likelihood that many querns or mortars were actually damaged or broken during the collapse. The conclusion would thus seem to follow that many of these tools were being used in incomplete condition. And this applies not only to the later use of the Sanctuary in phase 3 but during its earlier and more flourishing period also.

Saddle Querns

Many of the objects of coarse stone may be described as saddle querns (FIG. 8.13, PLATE 66f, g). That is to say that each formed the stationary, lower surface for a rubbing or grinding process, where the rubbing motion was linear, and the rubber or grindstone was moved up and down along the major axis of the quern. Saddle querns are oblong in shape, and the length is generally about twice the width. The outer (non-rubbing) surface is generally convex, since these tools have been produced by detaching a fragment from a rounded stone to produce a flat working surface. The larger querns, of length generally more than 40 cm and thickness more than 10 cm, have a markedly concave working surface (hence the name), no doubt worn in position during grinding.

Along with the saddle querns proper are smaller, rather similar oblong stones of the same material, again with a single worn working surface. They are of the order of 30 cm long,

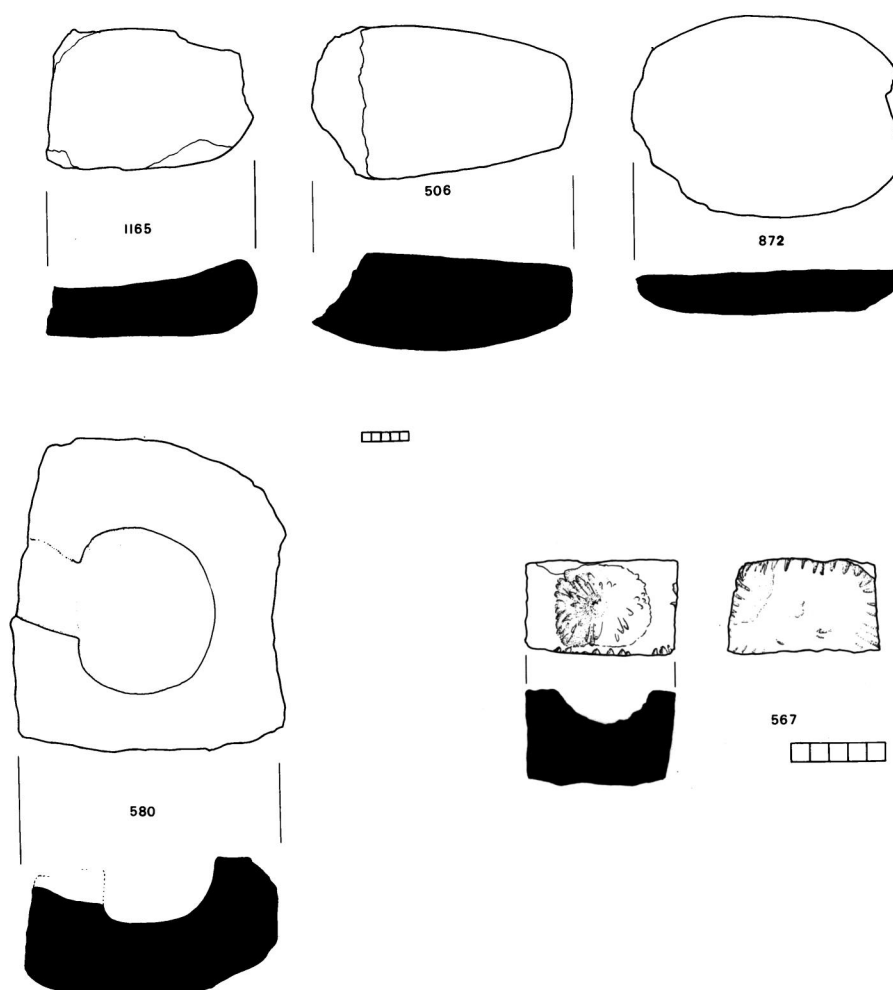


FIG. 8.13 Objects of coarse stone. Scale 1:8 (1:4 for SF 567)

generally more than 7 cm in thickness, and again have a naturally convex outer surface. The working surface is, however, flat rather than concave, and in many cases these are likely to have been the upper part, the grindstone. For convenience they are also listed here.

It is, of course, well established that such querns were used for grinding grain to make flour throughout the prehistoric period: rotary querns were not in use until classical times. Runnels (1981) refers to them as 'millstones', and they are commonly found in the Cyclades (Evans and Renfrew 1968, fig. 89 and 91) and indeed throughout the Aegean.

In the list which follows, no automatic distinction can be made between the smaller, upper stone, the rubber, and the lower stone or quern proper. However, it seems that the larger, lower stones generally show the more pronounced indications of wear, becoming markedly hollow (concave) along the major axis. In the table which follows an attempt has been made to quantify this in terms of 'concavity', expressed as a ratio. The first figure (in centimetres) expresses the degree of curvature by indicating the maximum distance by which the working surface falls

below a line joining the two extreme ends of the working surface of the object: the second figure is simply the distance between those two ends. When the first figure is zero, the surface is flat. The curvature in the lateral direction, at right angles to the main axis, is also of interest: in some cases (which may be rubbers) the object is convex laterally. Well-worn querns usually are concave laterally as well as longitudinally.

In most cases the weight in kilograms of the object is given: the constituent materials are as described above. In all cases the measurements refer to the object as found, however incomplete.

Table 8.16: Saddle Querns

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>					<i>Description</i>
			L	W	Th	Wt	Rat.	
506	OLe layer 29	3b	27.8	16.9	8.2	4.8	0.2/21	Two-thirds quern stone. Material a. Laterally flat. FIG. 8.13
512	OLd layer 59	2b/3c	29.0	22.0	6.5	4.5	0.6/25	Material b. Chipped round edge. Laterally slightly convex.
787	NLd space 4 layer 57	3a/c	29.0	17.0	6.0	5.1	—	Material b. Chip missing. Flat longitudinally and laterally.
872	NLe space c 74	2b/3a	27.6	21.2	3.6	3.8	—	Broad. Material b. Slightly convex longitudinally and laterally. FIG. 8.13, PLATE 66 g.
1165	OLc space a layer 22	3c	21.8	14.5	5.7	2.5	0.8/19	Two-thirds preserved. Laterally flat. The break however is a regular one and gives the impression that the surface at the break has been ground flat vertically. Material b. FIG. 8.13, PLATE 66 f.
1702	NLd East baulk layer 94	3a/c	25.4	25.9	12.8	13.4	0.7/21	Incomplete fixed quern. Material a.
1711	NLe space c layer 105	2a	14.7	17.2	5.6	1.9	0.1/12	Half quern. Material b. Laterally slightly convex.
2026	MLd Room B layer 511	2b/3a	18.5	19.2	5.4	2.6	—	Half missing. Material a. Flat, laterally slightly convex.
2031	MLd Room B layer 516	1b/2a	28.3	18.8	7.1	4.5	0.8/25	Material a. Complete.
2035	MLd Room B layer 519	1b/2a	11.9	10.6	6.4	0.8	—	Material b. Small fragment.
2311	NLc South layer 233	3c	17.5	18.0	5.0	1.9	0.3/17	Half complete. Material a. Concave laterally.
2380	NLc East baulk layer 253	3c	26.8	18.6	13.2	5.5	1.9/18	Irregular surface, almost complete. Pale hard siliceous conglomerate stone.
2397	NLc East baulk layer 260	2b/3a	26.1	20.0	6.2	4.4	0.3/26	Almost complete. Material b. Laterally flat.
554	NLd space 3 layer 5	S	—	—	—	—	—	Chipped round edge. Material b. Upper surface slightly concave.
555	NLd space 3 layer 5	S	21.0	16.4	8.6	—	—	Chipped on two sides. Material b. Incomplete.
590	NLd East baulk layer 26	D	23.4	17.9	7.4	2.6	—	Broken on three sides. Material b. Incomplete. Upper surface concave.
1001	NLa layer 301	D/S	8.50	15.0	5.7	2.3	—	Half quern. Material b. Slightly concave upper surface.

1002	NLa layer 301	D/S	10.5	9.5	5.1	2.7	—	Broken at one end. Material b.
1004	NLa layer 301	D/S	12.5	12.5	6.6	5.5	—	Complete. Material b. Roughly circular.
1509	NLc layer 213 pb 1316	D	33.1	20.7	14.4	9.9	1.4/26	Incomplete. Material b. Slightly convex laterally.
1604	NLa layer 306	D/S	—	—	—	—	—	Fragment.
1805	NLc layer 201	D/S	29.2	19.7	5.5	4.15	—	Complete. Material b. Flat upper surface.
2189	NLc layer 201	S	—	—	—	—	—	Complete.
2400	MLa layer 751	S	16.0	14.0	4.4	—	—	Fragment. Material b.
2401	MLa layer 751	S	16.0	13.0	4.7	—	—	Fragment. Material b.

Mortars

The term mortar is used to designate stones of approximately circular form with a pronounced declivity, clearly used as a base for the process of grinding which employed a circular motion. In general they are of andesitic rock (materials a and b). A subdivision would be possible. In the first place there is a fairly well-defined class of 'small mortars', distinguished not only by their small size (the declivity has diameter *ca.* 7 cm, and the total length is not generally more than 20 cm), but by the use of the whitish material c, a compact gritty ash or tuff. Often these are rectanguloid blocks, and they do not resemble the main series of larger, heavier and harder mortars. These small mortars are represented by the first four items listed. In one case (SF 1712), the oval depression with channel leading to the edge, suggests that this served as an oil lamp, and the same function is possible for the other three in this sub-group. Spouted mortars have been found from earlier phases on the site, and in two cases here (SF 2034 and 2369) there is likely to have been a spout, although it is not now preserved, and is suggested by the protuberance or handle which in complete examples is situated opposite the spout. We may also distinguish between the large or 'fixed' mortars, which are too heavy to move easily and whose length exceeds 30 cm, and the smaller, 'portable' mortars, whose length is often less than 20 cm.

Mortars occur in Rooms A and B, and in the street to the south of the East Shrine in contexts which have been recognised above as fairly prolific in coarse stone. Their presence should be noted in several assemblages in the main room of the West Shrine, namely in the north-west corner in phase 2b (Assemblage A: SF 1580, FIG. 4.7) and phase 3b (Assemblage G: SF 2637, FIG. 4.13), and most notably in the north-east corner in phase 3c (Assemblage K). Here there were found, actually *in situ* on top of the stone platform, two fragmentary mortars (SF 576 and 577: FIG. 4.16) and a very large example (SF 580: FIG. 8.13) which, in a more suitable context might have been interpreted as the socket stone for the upright pole of a door. Such an interpretation would be possible for several other examples found, had they been discovered *in situ* in a suitable position, but no case was identified, nor could any of these stones be interpreted, from its position, as the base for a wooden pillar to support the roof. The weight is given in kilograms; Dec. indicates the depth of the declivity.

Table 8.17: Mortars

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>					<i>Description</i>
			L	W	Th	Wt	Dec	
567	NLd space 4 layer 10	3a/c	7.5	5.2	—	0.3	1.5	Neat rectanguloid block of fine grained sandstone. The hemispherical declivity (diameter 4.5) shows the tool marks used to hollow it and two edges of the base and two vertical edges show decorative scorings cut at right angles to the edge. FIG 8.13, PLATE 66 <i>c</i> .
1154	OLd layer 67	2a/3c	12.8	11.8	5.2	1.4	0.9	Irregular lump of marble with circular depression, diameter 4.3.
1708	NLe space c layer 101	2a	14.0	14.0	7.0	0.9	2.5	Squarish block. Material c. Diameter of declivity 7.
1712	NLe space c layer 110	o/1c	14.0	10.8	5.5	0.6	—	Rectanguloid block. Material c. With circular depression.
576	NLd space 3 layer 22	3c	13.5	9.0	3.0	0.5	—	Mortar fragment. Material c.
577	NLd space 3 layer 22	3c	18.0	12.6	8.0	1.3	1.5	Material c.
580	NLd space 3 layer 13	3c	32.5	25.6	14.5	8.3	6.0	Large roughly rectangular block with circular declivity of diameter 17. Material c. FIG 8.13, PLATE 66 <i>e</i> .
760	NLe space c layer 42	3a/c	16.0	17.0	8.0	1.4	4.9	Part of rectangular block. Material c. Deep declivity.
761	NLe space c layer 45	3a/c	29.0	18.0	10.5	3.8	5.8	Half mortar. Material c. Flattish bottomed declivity.
771	NLd space 2 layer 18	o/3c	19.0	18.0	12.0	2.5	3.4	Complete mortar, roughly circular. Circular declivity, diameter 9.5. Material c.
1525	NLc layer 214	3b	19.3	26.2	8.8	5.5	2.0	Half mortar. Material a. The flat-bottomed declivity is particularly well smoothed with areas of polished surface not seen on other mortars of this black material.
1628	NLb layer 437	2b/3a	25.3	20.7	17.1	5.6	6.5	Mortar or vessel cut from roughly rectangular block. Deep oval declivity, (length 20, width 13) with flattish bottom. Material c. PLATE 66 <i>d</i> .
1721	NLe space c layer 121	o/1c	19.5	11.9	10.2	2.9	3.8	Oblong mortar, half missing. Material a. Oblong declivity, 15 by 8.5.
1722	NLe space c layer 121	o/1c	14.4	12.1	6.9	1.7	1.3	Ellipsoidal stone with a small circular depression, diameter 5.5. There are traces of what may be red pigment in the declivity, whose high polish has not been observed on any of the other coarse stone from the site. Material a.
1752	NLe layer 155	o/2a	19.5	18.3	11.6	2.4	6.4	Fragment of large mortar. Material a. Flat bottom and part of one straight side preserved.

1808	NLb layer 414	3a/c	20.2	15.1	8.0	2.9	1.8	Oval mortar, fragment missing. Material a. The oval declivity (17 by 11) is shallow and its interior rather flat. This and the regular oval form of the mortar distinguish it from other examples.
1820	NLb layer 423	3a/3c	18.0	17.0	9.5	2.8	4.5	Irregular block. Material c. Diameter of declivity 8.0.
2024	MLd Room B layer 511	2b/3a	22.0	17.7	9.8	5.5	2.6	Oblong mortar, one-third missing. Circular declivity diameter 12. Material b.
2034	MLd Room B layer 519	1b/2a	11.1	14.2	7.9	0.9	—	Small fragment of spouted vessel, the spout is missing but preserving protuberance opposite. Material b. The original height is 7.9; and the thickness of the material at the base is 2.0. The original radius of the vessel was approx. 7.0.
2055	MLd layer 535	2b/3a	25.5	15.7	12.2	4.8	4.8	Missing large flake. Material a.
2244	MLb Room A layer 970	2b	11.1	8.9	4.7	—	—	Fragment of sub-rectangular mortar. Material c.
2367	NLc South layer 249	3b	8.7	7.0	7.2	—	—	Corner fragment of mortar. Material c.
2369	NLc South layer 250	2b/3a	15.3	25.3	10.7	4.15	5.5	Spouted vessel, half complete, preserving handle not spout. Material a. Handle length 10.2; width 3.9; protrudes 1.8.
2880	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	14.8	9.1	6.6	—	—	Complete. Natural stone with central declivity smoothed by use. Possible door socket. Diameter of declivity 3.4.
1017	NLa layer 303	D/S	20.0	9.4	16.8	1.8	4.2	Stone mortar or door socket. Material c. Circular declivity, diameter 7.8.
1018	NLa layer 303	D/S	15.5	14.8	9.6	2.5	4.0	Possible mortar or lamp. Material a. Broken around edges with circular declivity, diameter 11.5.
1501	NLc layer 213 pb 1314	D	21.6	17.7	11.2	2.6	4.7	Fragmentary mortar, ends missing, with deep declivity. Material c.
1502	NLc layer 213 pb 1314	D	18.2	17.2	9.0	3.5	1.6	Rounded mortar. Material c. Complete.
1510	NLc layer 213	D	11.8	6.1	6.9	0.4	4.5	Circular block with flat base missing. Material c. Diameter of declivity 7.5.
1806	NLb layer 410	D/S	32.2	23.5	9.0	6.7	7.0	Corner fragment of rectangular block with deep declivity. Material b.
2002	MLb Room A layer 4	S	—	—	—	—	—	Fragment of stone mortar.
2190	NLc layer 213 pb 1318	D	30.5	37.5	20.4	19.5	8.5	Large block of coarse texture. Material c. Approximately square and with a flat base. A sloping concavity has been cut so as to make a fairly regular depression narrowing as it slopes down perhaps to conduct a liquid or fine powdery solid after grinding.
2500	NKc/d layer 808	D	16.9	12.6	10.0	1.4	4.0	Complete. Material c.
2501	NKc/d layer 801	S	16.0	16.5	13.5	—	—	Part of mortar. Material a.
2503	NKc/d layer 801	S	23.0	17.0	—	—	—	Fragment of mortar. Material a.

Grindstones and Hammerstones

The querns and mortars represent the fixed, concave lower surfaces for rubbing and grinding. The corresponding upper surface was provided in general by a smaller stone rubber or pounder, held in the hand. Those from the Sanctuary form a somewhat miscellaneous collection, at least some of which are likely to have been used in conjunction with the querns and mortars already described. They are listed below and include both the rather flat stones which one might term rubbers, and the more cylindrical pounders and hammerstones. Several examples were found in the room to the north of the West Shrine (Assemblage F), but otherwise the finds were not notably numerous. Querns and mortars were not invariably accompanied by a hammer or grindstone or rubber: for instance there was none on the platform at the north-east of the West Shrine along with the quern and three mortars forming part of Assemblage K.

Table 8.18: Grindstones and Hammer stones

SF	Context	Phase	Measurements		Description
			D	Th (or L)	
510	OLd layer 53	2b/3c	6.5	—	Roughly spherical hammer stone of material a.
519	OLd layer 63	2b/3c	6.6	4.5	Grindstone of material a, circular grinding surface. Diameter of handle 3.5.
1063	MLd Room B layer 510	2b	2.8	3.3	Top of serpentine hammer stone. Tapered end shows marked evidence of use.
1508	NLc North layer 213 pb 1315	2b/3a	9.0	6.6	Complete grindstone, material a. Roughly circular with domed upper surface. Work surface slightly convex and smooth from use.
1512	NLc North layer 213 pb 1320	2b/3a	8.3	15.8	Ellipsoidal pounder of material b. Indications of wear at both ends.
1513	NLc North layer 213 pb 1320	2b/3a	6.2	9.2	Ellipsoidal pounder of material b. Indications of wear at both ends.
1515	NLc North layer 213 pb 1322	2b/3a	9.0	14.5	Ellipsoidal pounder. Material a. Wear at both ends.
1540	NLc layer 215	3b	6.6	3.9	Grindstone of 'mylopetra'. Circular with domed upper surface. Work surface flat and worn from use.
1574	NLc layer 222	2a	7.5	13.7	Stone pounder ellipsoidal in shape. Signs of wear at both ends. Material a.
1587	NLc layer 224	o	6.7	10.1	Ellipsoidal. Material a. Signs of wear at both sides.
1588	NLc layer 225	o	6.3	12.7	Oblong hammer stone of grey marble, broken with indications of use at one end.
2025	MLd Room B layer 511	2b	8.8 6.5	10.0 8.3	Pair of hammer stones. The first ellipsoidal, material a. The second oblong with flattened end. Material b.

2048	MLd Room B layer 521	o/1a	6.8	8.9	Oval grindstone, pounder complete. Domed upper surface and flat, smooth lower surface. Stone cracked at ends from heat or pressure.
2200	NLd space 3 layer 37	2b	5.5	7.4	Grindstone, complete. Natural cobble with flattened surface, smooth from use.
2312	NLc South layer 233	3c	9.8	5.9	Lentoid, with pronounced concavity in middle of one surface. Material b. Declivity diameter 3.5; declivity depth 0.3.
2388	NLc South layer 257	o	3.5	—	Worked fragment of marble, possibly a smoother. Broken at one end, roughed at other, roughly rectangular in section.
2673	MLb Room A layer 970	2b	8.0	9.5	Grindstone, complete. Natural cobble of rhyolite with evidence of smoothing on lower surface.
165	OLd layer 13	S			Fragment of stone pounder.
452	NLd space 3 layer 6	S	5.3	2.4	Roughly circular, flat stone. Material a. Top surface worn smooth.
1003	NLc layer 301	D/S	6.2	15.2	Stone pounder. Grey blue in colour. Circular in section oblong in shape, traces of chipping and wear at either end.
1622	NLa layer 334	D/S	14.5	8.0	Natural slightly flattened spheroid of material b. Signs of working on upper and lower surfaces suggests attempt to make 'stone doughnut' perhaps for use as sinker or weight.
2001	MLb layer 5	S	5.7	8.5	Stone pounder. Brown-grey stone. Roughly oblong with flattened end, circular in section. Traces of pecking at either end.
2050	MLd layer 527	S	7.0	14.8	Stone pounder, grey in colour. Sub-triangular in section (natural) oblong in shape, traces of wear at either end.

Discs and Slabs

Five circular discs of stone were found in stratified levels of the Sanctuary, one from the street south of the East Shrine (SF 1829) and four from the rooms to the west of the main room of the West Shrine. Two of these (SF 2266 and 2879) were from Room B. They are all fairly small (diameter 7 to 13 cm) and may have served either as lids to pots, or as stands on which to place pots or other objects. The distribution suggests that they form part of the utilitarian assemblage from these areas.

The marble slabs are of note primarily because marble is not found on Melos, and they are therefore imported: on most other Cycladic islands they would escape comment. Although initially the possibility had to be considered that flat slabs of marble had played some decorative role within the Sanctuary, the contexts and the lack of any evidence of sophisticated working argue against this view. Instead it seems possible that these pieces of marble were valued because they formed flat working surfaces, and surfaces on which things could readily be stood, otherwise in short supply in Melos where the local stones are either irregular or rounded. Once again the findspots are predominantly in the areas where other utilitarian equipment was found (Rooms A and B, and the street), and they are likely to have fulfilled productive rather than ceremonial functions.

Table 8.19: Discs and Slabs

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Measurements</i>			<i>Description</i>
			D	Th		
Discs						
1829	NLb layer 440	2b/3a	7.8	3.0	Stone disc with central hole, diameter of hole 1.0 cm. (Possibly a stone loomweight.) Soft white conglomerate tuff.	
2266	MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a	—	—	Two roughly circular flat discs of mica schist.	
2668	MLb Room A layer 970	2b	12.8	1.4	Flat disc of mica schist.	
2879	MLb Room B layer 1037	2b/3a	8.0	1.6	Roughly circular disc.	
1011	NLa layer 303	D/S	9.4	1.3	Roughly circular flat disc. Mica schist. Chipped at edges.	
			L	W	Th	
Slabs						
1172	NLe space c layer 89	2a	9.1	7.2	1.7	Slab of grey marble, smooth on both upper and lower surfaces with an even thickness. Broken on all sides.
1703	NLd East baulk layer 96	2b/3a	32.0	23.0	3.6	Slab of cream/white marble smoothed on upper surface.
1718	NLe space c layer 117	o/1c	22.0	17.5	5.1	Slab of fine white marble, the upper surface polished very smooth. Two roughly parallel edges are original, distance 22 cm apart. Broken at each end. (Joins with small fragments SF 1719 NLe space c layer 117 and SF 1710 NLe space c layer 101.)
2027	MLd Room B layer 511	2b/3a	35.0	31.0	6.8	Slab of grey fine grained marble with a well polished upper surface and an even thickness. One side relatively straight although not well dressed. Broken at the other three sides.
2680	MLb Room A layer 972	1b/2a	16.5	14.0	6.0	Slab of cream/white marble, flat and smoothed on upper surface.
2903	MLb Room B layer 1039	1b/2a	41.5	39.8	6.0	Slab of cream/white marble, upper surface polished very smooth. Two straight edges (one bevelled) and one broken edge.
2905	MLb Room B layer 1040	1b/2a	22.5	18.0	30.0	Slab of cream/white marble, upper surface polished very smooth. Edges broken. Possible traces of pink plaster on one edge.
565	NLd space 4 layer 4	D	10.2	6.8	1.8	Cream/white marble, smoothed on upper surface. Broken on all sides.
2202	OLd layer 36	S	—	—	—	Marble slab.
2403	MLa layer 753	S	18.9	11.9	5.5	Slab of cream/white marble, smoothed on upper and lower surfaces. One edge worked other sides broken.
2404	MLa layer 753	S	16.0	8.9	3.7	Slab of white marble containing many inclusions of mica. Upper and lower surfaces reasonably flat, broken on all edges.

Miscellaneous Stone

Various further objects of stone were found, some with indications of wear. The first three pieces are circular and have been ground from both sides to give a bi-concave form. If the grinding process had been continued it would have produced an annular shape which, with further grinding and smoothing would have resembled the next two pieces listed (SF 595 and 2653). The 'mylopetra' material in each case is andesite. Otherwise these objects require little comment: they are simply stone tools found within the Sanctuary area.

Table 8.20: Miscellaneous Stone

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Description</i>
785	NLd space 1 layer 56	2b	Circular stone, with slightly convex surface in each of which a circular cavity has been ground. Material 'mylopetra'. Measurements: D 9.2; Th 4.3.
1705	NLe space c layer 99	2b/3a	Incomplete circular stone, with slightly convex surfaces, in each of which a circular cavity has been ground. Material 'mylopetra'. Measurements: D 6.7; Th 3.8; Depth of declivities: 2.0 and 1.7.
2021	MLd layer 506	D	Half flattened spheroid of stone material b, with concave depressions on either side. Measurements: D 6.5; Th 4.4; Diameter of depressions 3.3; Depth of depressions 2.1.
595	NLd space 3 layer 27	3b/3c	Irregular stone, incomplete, with hole through the middle. Material a. Measurements: L 11.8; W 11.0; Th 4.2; Diameter of hole 3.2.
2653	MLd Room A, layer 957	2b	Incomplete circular stone, with hole through middle. Material 'mylopetra'. Measurements: D 7.8; Th 4.2; Diameter of hole 1.9.
560	NLd space 2 layer 4	D/S	Possible whetstone. Fragment of fine grained igneous rock showing signs of parallel scratches on one surface. Measurements: L 7.3; W 5.5; Th 3.0.
1804	NLb layer 410	D/S	Possible whetstone. Hard dark grey stone, oblong in shape with flattened ends, oval to circle in section. Measurements: L 10.0; W 4.6; Th 3.6.
474	OLd layer 1	S	Fragment of possible stone weight. Dark grey, material b. Half flattened spheroid with central hole. Measurements: L 6.7; W 4.4; Th 3.0.
2022	MLd layer 508	D	Possible stone weight, pale grey, originally natural oval in shape, groove cut around body. Measurements: H 8.9; W 5.9 × 6.7 at top. Width at base: 8.7 × 7.0.
2303	NLd space 3 cleaning	S	Small waisted weight. Originally oval stone with rounded ends and central groove around body. Measurements: L 6.4; D 4.4.
1823	NLb layer 433	S	Possible stone loomweight, pyramidal in shape roughly oval in section with flat base—no trace of stringhole, grey/white conglomerate tuff much worn. Measurements: H 10.2; W 6.4 at base tapering to 1.8 at top.
2306	NLc South layer 229	D	Possible stone drain. Large rectangular shaped stone broken at both ends with a wide groove on upper surface. Smaller stone attached to former by plaster. Measurements L 37.0; W 27.0; Th 13.0; Small stone L 13.0; W 7.0; Th 6.0.
2875	MKd North baulk	S	Possible unfinished stone spindle whorl. Roughly conical in shape, flat base with uneven incised groove near base. Depression on top and bottom, possibly an unfinished stringhole. Conglomerate tuff. Measurements: H 2.7; D 4.5.
164	OLd layer 13	S	Large fragment of powdery conglomerate tuff, flat on one side with straight edge carved around other side with convex surface—some traces of scratch mark. Measurements: L 10.1; W 2.9; Th 5.8.
2402	MLa layer 753	S	Fragment of worked pumice. All edges broken but traces of four parallel grooves on one side. Measurements: L 7.0; W 4.5; Th 3.0.

Chapter IX

The History and Use of the Phylakopi Sanctuary

The interpretation of a building complex apparently devoted primarily to religious observances is a highly difficult undertaking. As discussed in Chapter I, the interpretive argument must lay great stress upon context. The ceremonial functions of the complex must be demonstrated, not assumed. In this chapter, the initial stage of the interpretation is undertaken, and it is attempted initially in terms of the Phylakopi finds themselves, rather than in the form of some wider synthesis, although convincing documentation of the site's status as a sanctuary cannot be given without reference to other areas. A wider approach will follow in the next chapter, where the Phylakopi Sanctuary is reviewed again in the light of what is known from other sites of cult practices in the bronze age Aegean.

1. The Phylakopi Structure as a Sanctuary: the Melian View

In the first place it is necessary to establish that we are indeed justified in describing the structures under consideration as a sanctuary, in the light of the criteria set out in Chapter I.

As described in Chapter II, the structure subsequently designated the 'East Shrine' was the first to be excavated, the first objects recovered being those on the uppermost floor, Floor 1, which has been assigned to phase 3c. These are listed in Chapter IV as Assemblage L and their distribution is illustrated in FIG. 4.17. The finds included a pedestal vase, numerous ostrich egg shell fragments, a conch shell, two female figurines of Psi form, seven substantially restorable animal figurines and a driven ox, with the fragments of five more animal figurines as well as of a driven ox and of two bovine figures.

This find of so many figurines and fragments was certainly out of the ordinary for the site. The pedestal vase is itself not a common form, and a conch shell is an unusual discovery. The presence of exotic material (ostrich egg shell), which in view of its distant source must have been highly valued, supports the impression, (the worked aperture of the egg indicates that this was a container), as does the discovery of the head of gold leaf (SF 192). This is an item of some value, (gold has not been found at Phylakopi before). Clearly it had some symbolic significance.

When we found these things, the possibility of a cult assemblage certainly occurred to us. But this thought arose partly from a knowledge of contexts of terracotta figurines found elsewhere in the Mycenaean world, and of the interpretations which had been offered for them. In terms of the discussion in Chapter I it would certainly have been premature to see these finds, taken in their own right, as indicating religious ritual. In the first place, this was simply a collection of objects found in association but with no contextual indication of their use. And secondly the symbolism involved could not yet—taking Phylakopi in isolation from other finds in the Aegean—be interpreted as relating to a transcendental being or beings.

The following year the position became clearer: a context was provided. With the removal of Floor 1, the platform in the north-east corner of the room became visible. This could be regarded as some kind of 'special facility', although of uncertain purpose. It became possible to think of some more active function for this small room, rather than one simply as a small store for a rather special assemblage of material. The assemblages associated with Floors 2, 4 and 5 in this room, (Floor 5 with its collection of ten sealstones—none having been found previously at Phylakopi)

confirmed that this was indeed a rather special area. They showed also that it had continued to function as a repository for rare items over a considerable period of time.

Certainly the suggestion could now reasonably be made that the stone platform served as a deliberate 'facility' for the location of these special items. Their special character and their varied nature, including objects of intrinsic worth and others where the symbolic value lies in the form rather than the material, suggested that these could conceivably have the status of offerings. It was not difficult to speculate that the platform could have served as an 'altar' and that the gold head and the Psi figurines might relate in some way to a deity or deities. The conch shell, it might be suggested, would be an appropriate part of a cult assemblage. But without reference to other parts of the Aegean, these were not more than suggestions. Clearly it was of interest that a small, separate building should contain such objects, and no convincing alternative hypothesis to the ritual one was proposed. But there was no clear answer.

Excavation in what was later termed the 'West Shrine' soon revealed the platform at its north-east corner, with its own assemblage, Assemblage K, including the female figurine (SF 579), a double vessel and several beads. Here the platform with which they were associated was a taller one, seeming inappropriate for long-term storage, and it could be suggested that these objects might have been deliberately displayed upon it. Such display could clearly rank as 'expressive action', and the suspicion that Assemblage L, along with the new Assemblage K, was of a votive character was reinforced. Two platforms, with one and two Psi figurines respectively and with various other finds, were more impressive than a single one. It was now a serious hypothesis that we had two platforms used for religious ritual, with what might be claimed as a plausible cult assemblage. But the symbolic element (a gold head, three Psi figurines and the seven animal figurines plus fragments together with the engraved sealstones) was still modest.

With the excavation of the remainder of the West Shrine, the successive assemblages in the north-west corner (Assemblages A, G and J) and in the south-west corner (Assemblage B) emerged. In each case we were again dealing with objects either lying or fallen from a platform or bench. Moreover they could be seen to be at the west end of a well-built rectangular room (in terms of the standard of construction general at Phylakopi) built with the use of some dressed stone. Again there was a sequence of use, with the north-east platform replacing that in the south-west. Both western platforms had held human representations in phase 2b: two female figurines at the south-west, along with other notable finds. One significant circumstance, which seems to show both continuity and seriousness of purpose, was the evidence that one at least of the male figures in use in phase 3b had been in use already in phase 2b, when the hand had become broken (SF 1550). Some special function for both the West Shrine and the East Shrine involving the use of these rather special objects could now be regarded as likely. This conclusion was certainly reinforced by the remarkable finds (Assemblage C) which were discovered in Room A and in the accompanying niche. They certainly enriched the symbolic repertoire.

Taking the site of Phylakopi in isolation, ignoring for the moment other finds within the Aegean, the modest case for religious ritual, and hence for identifying this small complex of buildings as a sanctuary can now be put. In the first place, we have here two buildings whose use, over several phases, can be shown to involve these rather special classes of objects, some of which are rare or non-existent elsewhere on the site. The evidence which can be put forward for routine domestic activity in the area, however, is not trivial: there are pestles, mortars and grindstones. There are also obsidian artefacts, and there is animal bone debris which does not differ significantly from that found in other areas. And of course there is fairly plentiful pottery, of which only a minority of pieces were of conspicuously unusual form. But there is no obvious utilitarian function for these buildings. They contain what, in terms of Phylakopi, is a treasury of

fine goods (sealstones, beads, metal objects) and a great wealth of terracotta figures and figurines, both animal and human. These objects were clearly assembled and looked after with some care, although there was a disastrous episode of destruction (phase 2b) after which much of the West Building was blocked off.

What we need to establish, of course, in terms of the discussion in Chapter I, is that these objects were used in the course of 'expressive actions' commensurate with a ritual interpretation. If we reject the notion that this was some bizarre storage area, the suggestion does seem at least a plausible one. The conjunction of personal items very suitable for human wear, such as beads and sealstones, together with the terracotta representations (which have no personal decorative role), makes the notion of 'offering' perfectly reasonable. But in the absence of any depictions indicating such expressive actions, the inferential case for them is hardly conclusive.

It was argued in Chapter I that the second requirement is to indicate a transcendental rather than a merely secular association for these supposed ritual acts. The case was set out in some detail there that this is a feature which must be established if we are to recognise 'the performance of expressive actions of worship and propitiation by the human celebrant towards the transcendent being'. Now there is no shortage of items here which are clearly of symbolic significance: all the human and animal representations fall within the category. Nor is it necessary that any of these be identified as a cult image in order to imply a transcendent being—a representation of the divinity as such. It is quite sufficient that they be documented as serving such a divine being, as votives or votaries. This is a crucial point in the argument.

The reader will, I think, agree that the hypothesis is a plausible one, but it is one which is difficult to establish in a definitive way by the adequate fulfilment of these two criteria. Two relevant arguments can be followed at this stage: an examination of the various potential archaeological correlates established in Chapter I; and a consideration of alternative explanations, for it was argued earlier that an absence of alternative functional explanations can be adduced as a relevant argument. We shall first look at the correlates in turn, in the order established in Chapter I.

1. Special spot: not demonstrated.
2. Special buildings: yes.
3. Public display: possible on a small scale in the West Building. Hidden mysteries: possible in both buildings and perhaps relevant to Room A.
4. Gesture: possibly reflected in the positions of the arms of the human figures and figurines.
5. Experience-inducing devices: music/sound indicated by lyres and conches; perhaps drink.
6. Attention-focussing devices: yes, benches and platforms.
7. Cult image: possibly so, the human figures.
8. Ritual facilities: yes, the platforms and benches.
9. Sacrifice: no evidence.
10. Food and drink: some evidence, but non-specific.
11. Offerings: yes.
12. Special portable equipment: yes, special ceramic forms, two pillar lamps.
13. Repeated symbols: yes, in the human and animal figures and figurines.
14. Relationship between symbols and deities: not established, hypothetical.
15. Symbolism related to funerary ritual: very little funerary evidence from this period on Melos.
16. Cleanliness and pollution: not demonstrated.
17. Wealth in equipment and offerings: yes, to a notable extent (by Phylakopi standards).
18. Investment in structure: only to a modest extent, e.g. some dressed stone.

This listing raises some relevant issues, but serves ultimately to emphasise the limited scope of the evidence supporting the hypothesis of religious ritual. The main arguments in its favour may be summarised under the broad categories established in Chapter 1:

1. *Attention focussing.* Aspects of the design of the buildings can be interpreted in this sense: the platforms or podia upon which objects were displayed and the situation of the north-west and south-west platforms at the west end of the West Shrine, placed symmetrically in relation to its main axis, clearly served in this way. The suggested placing of figures in the two niches must have had a comparable effect. The provision of music, by conch trumpets and lyres is adequately documented, and the use of some special lighting effects is indicated by the columnar lamps.
2. *Special aspects of the liminal zone.* In the absence of documentation of expressive behaviour, these aspects are implied mainly by the special categories of artefact which are found within the buildings: the symbolic representations—whether cult images or offerings—which are mentioned below, the special objects interpreted as offerings, and other special artefacts which may be interpreted as cult equipment. Apart from the columnar lamps, there are the pedestal vases and the double vessels which are certainly forms not in common use elsewhere on the site.
3. *Presence of the transcendent and its symbolic focus.* The figures and figurines from the area evidently offer the richest symbolic repertoire from the site. The largest and most striking of them, the Lady of Phylakopi, is shown gazing upwards, and was found in association with a number of bovine figures. The symbolic content of the various assemblages in different parts of the building complex was itemised in Chapter IV. Certainly it is conceivable that the Lady of Phylakopi could have served as a cult image, and the suggestion is made below that the same may have held for the largest of the male figures. But to imagine this is not the same as to demonstrate it with confidence, and it might be possible to propose alternative explanations for the discovery of so many terracotta figures and figurines within such a building. Certainly it is these finds which may most plausibly be used to suggest the possible presence of the transcendent. Without them the proposal would depend on the much less direct evidence of the layout of the buildings with their platforms.
4. *Participation and offering.* While the evidence from the area does not clearly document special activities of the kind discussed in Chapter I, the range of special objects found is certainly of note. Some of these, such as the sealstones, must certainly be accounted items of value, and there are other unusual and valuable objects which taken together cannot be seen as an assemblage fulfilling any ordinary functional purpose. One clear hypothesis to account for such an assortment is that they served as offerings to the hypothetical transcendent being. Other hypotheses might perhaps be formulated.

Taken together, these four categories of evidence certainly harmonise with the suggestion that the building complex served as the locus for 'the performance of expressive actions of worship and propitiation' by human celebrants towards a transcendent being or beings.

It is certainly appropriate to consider alternative explanations, since if reasonable alternatives could be found, the case for religious ritual would no longer be more than one of several possibilities. At the same time, failure to establish a plausible alternative is only a rather weak support for the initial hypothesis, which is not thereby conclusively established. The range of valuable objects (sealstones, metal) would be commensurate with some kind of storehouse, but this would not explain the terracottas effectively. The observation by one scholar that this area may simply have been a Mycenaean toyshop deserves to be taken more seriously than it was

perhaps intended. As we have seen earlier, one of the principal non-religious uses for small images and representations does indeed fall within the context of play. However that does not really square with the other finds (beads, metalwork), nor very readily with the structures themselves.

In the absence of evidence from other sites in the Aegean relating to the practice of religion, the case from the Phylakopi excavations is perhaps not more than plausible. It is interesting, however, to speculate whether the area in question would have been recognised as a sanctuary had it been found during the excavations of 1896–9, before researches in Crete brought to light the evidence of the Minoan civilisation.

It is possible to consider this matter in the light of two significant works of the time and of the commentaries upon them. The first, the chapter on religion in the first major work of synthesis on the Mycenaean civilisation (Tsountas and Manatt 1897, chapter XII) used the depictions on Mycenaean seals and other finds to suggest religious interpretations. The terracotta figurines of Psi and Phi form were brought into the discussion as were the bronze 'smiting god' figures from Mycenae and Tiryns: 'they are the images of the deity' (Tsountas and Manatt 1897, 297). Already Schliemann (1880, 13) had sought to identify the terracotta figurines from Mycenae and Tiryns as 'idols of Hera who was the tutelary deity of both cities', whom he equated with Hera Boöpis, evidence for whose existence at Troy he had claimed in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1875. There can, I think, be no doubt that the much greater concentration of finds at Phylakopi would have elicited similar explanations from these scholars.

It is relevant to quote also the fundamental article by Sir Arthur Evans, 'The Mycenaean tree and pillar cult' (Evans 1901). Here he cited a whole series of features in Crete and the mainland, which he considered to be of religious significance. The observations offered by Rouse (1901) were refreshingly critical, but they ran counter to the general tendency of the time to ascribe a religious significance to almost any symbol whose regular use could be recognised.

There can be little doubt that the Phylakopi finds would almost universally have been acclaimed as documenting a sanctuary, had they been made in 1896–9. This can hardly be taken as very significant support for such a claim today, however, if one accepts the argument set out at the beginning of the Introduction to this work that earlier writers have in the main been too ready to welcome such assertions without careful supporting argument. To establish this point with more conclusive firmness, I believe that it is necessary to look outside of Melos.

2. The Phylakopi Structure as a Sanctuary: the Aegean View

In writing the final two chapters of this publication, it was my original intention to restrict the discussion in the present one to the evidence from the site alone, considered exclusively in Melian terms, without reference to other locations in the Aegean. I was aware that the case made for the religious status of many archaeological finds is often a weak one: finds at A are recognised as documenting religious ritual in view of the finds at B, C and D, while those at B are justified by finds at A, C and D, and so on. In this way the whole structure of reasoning sometimes takes a circular shape. Moreover, it will be argued in the next chapter that there was no single Minoan-Mycenaean religion, and it might then be held in consequence that it is not appropriate to take into account finds from Crete or Mainland Greece when establishing the religious status of those from Melos.

The discussion in the previous section has shown, however, that while the Phylakopi finds do indeed give some plausible suggestions of religious ritual, in terms of the criteria established in Chapter I, they are not conclusive in themselves, if a highly sceptical position be adopted. I would now go on to argue that the same observation would hold for any one of the other prehistoric sites in Crete, the Mainland or the Islands, *taken in isolation*. There are, I would argue,

individual sites in Mesopotamia or Egypt or Mesoamerica which, taken in isolation, could indeed conclusively meet the criteria set out in Chapter I, but that such may not be the case for any single Aegean 'sanctuary' yet discovered.

Some further argument is thus needed in this section of this present chapter to establish the religious nature of the Phylakopi sanctuary in a more conclusive way, in view of these difficulties. We shall return in later sections to its consideration primarily in Melian terms, and then in the next chapter to assess its implications for our wider understanding of the early Aegean religions.

The problem here is essentially an epistemological one. At this point it involves the proposition that observations from a number of different sites can reliably establish or validate a hypothesis which cannot be documented from any one taken in isolation. This is a view which would today be supported by many philosophers of science (e.g. Quine and Ullian 1979, 22; Hesse 1980, 86), and involves moving away from a simple positivist correspondence theory of truth (Lowther 1962), where each observation can stand up to interpretation on its own. It is incumbent upon us, however, not to dismiss the problem by vague reference to 'coherence', but to adduce the specific data which together lead to the necessary conclusions.

The discussion must of necessity here be brief, and can only indicate an outline. The matter is as follows. If it could be established that within the Aegean, at the relevant time, there are sanctuaries demonstrably for the practice of religious ritual which take the form of small buildings with internal benches or platforms, on which terracotta human effigies are set analogous in some respects to those at Phylakopi, then the argument is significantly advanced. The Melian finds would not then constitute a unique case existing in isolation but, showing these features, would belong to an already well-defined class of site. For, whether or not Phylakopi was then under the political domination of one or other part of the Aegean, and whether or not the religious practices were in fact the same in different areas of the Aegean, other evidence certainly does indicate the use of a number of widely shared symbol systems at the time in question. To put this point another way, there was then a considerable degree of peer polity interaction within the region (Renfrew 1982, 286). This particular point can be documented in a number of ways without making reference explicitly to the details of religious iconography: it is sufficient at first to compare pottery types, or metal types or the existence and form of sealstones. This observation does not imply that religious observances were the same in their meaning and content in different areas, but it does lead towards the implication that certain symbolic forms were widely recognised, and that some religious symbols are likely to have been analogous, at any rate in some respects, in their form.

What I am therefore saying is that if we could demonstrate reliably, for instance, that the so-called temple at Mycenae (Taylour 1970) did in reality serve as a place for religious ritual, then the close similarities which we may indicate between it and the West Shrine (with Room A) at Phylakopi could be used to strengthen the arguments already outlined above for Phylakopi for religious practices beyond a position of reasonable doubt. In fact, however, although in an Aegean context the argument for the Mycenae temple is persuasive, I am not sure that, *taken in isolation*, it is in fact any stronger than is the Phylakopi case.

A more compelling alternative is to submit, for consideration together, a number of Cretan instances. The argument here is that taking the four cases concerned into consideration together, and only those, their religious nature can jointly be established in the light of the criteria of Chapter I. We shall then see that this does have a bearing upon the Phylakopi case. The sites and finds in question are as follows:

1. The Aghia Triadha sarcophagus (Long 1974).
2. The Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos (Evans 1902, 95; Evans 1928, 335).

3. The shrine at Gournia (Hawes 1908, 47).

4. The shrine at Gazi (Marinatos 1937).

It should of course be clearly understood that the designation of numbers 2 to 4 as a 'shrine' is at this stage merely following convention, and does not carry with any force until the case can be established.

This is not the place to carry out an analysis of these sites in exhaustive detail. Numbers 2 to 4 are related in a number of ways, particularly by the common use of a terracotta effigy. This form has been termed 'the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms' in an important article by Alexiou (1958). At Gournia (Hawes 1908, 47) a small building stood at the end of a cobbled street. Along its southern and part of its eastern wall were low benches made of stone rubble. The most important find was a bell-shaped figure of a woman with upraised arms, with a snake coiling round her body. There were four cylindrical 'snake tubes' and a round pottery table, and various other finds. The case for regarding this assemblage as representing a shrine or temple is, taken in isolation, probably less strong than for Phylakopi. But it is significantly altered when other finds are considered.

At Gazi, Marinatos (1937) excavated a small room, this time without benches, but again containing two 'snake tubes' and a flat terracotta table. The most striking finds were the five bell-shaped figures of a woman with upraised arms, with emblems on the head, including birds, poppies and the 'horns of consecration'. Once again a similar case might be made for considering this to be a shrine.

When the two sites are taken together, however, the case is very much stronger. The images clearly represent either the same individual, or the same class of individual, and they are found in analogous contexts. While special arguments might be put forward to explain such a find at a single site, the find of such similar assemblages in separate buildings at two Cretan sites must be taken to indicate rather closely similar customs and beliefs at both. The most obvious explanation, now greatly strengthened, is the religious one.

The finds in the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos (Evans 1928, 335) again include a bell-shaped female figure with upraised arms, along with two horns of consecration, a small double axe of steatite, a tripod table and other figurines. It reinforces the impression given by the Gournia and Gazi finds, and confirms the association with the horns of consecration indicated by the Gazi figure, and with the double axe motif which is seen on a pithos fragment at Gournia.

When these are taken in conjunction with the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus, discussed in Chapter I, matters are taken still further. For here the double axe and horns of consecration are seen in association with depictions of expressive action which, it was argued in Chapter I, do indicate ritual, although possibly funerary rather than specifically sacred ritual. The evidence can be augmented by reference to various other Cretan sites where the terracotta effigy is found (Kannia, Karphi etc.) and to depictions of symbols on rings and sealstones, often associated with 'expressive actions'. But this further evidence is not different in kind from that which has already been outlined.

The repeated finding within Crete of a room with an effigy or effigies in a specific form, and in association with symbols elsewhere depicted in a context of expressive action is, it is here argued, firm indication of religious ritual. The figure with upraised arms might be interpreted as a deity or as a worshipper, but in either case the purpose of communicating with transcendent powers is inferred. The special force of this argument lies in the repeated occurrence of the symbol system, indicating a rather general practice or belief. When these sites are taken in conjunction they fulfill more adequately the criteria of Chapter I.

The relationship between these four finds of the Late Minoan III period is established, then, by the symbolic forms shared between them. That the actions depicted upon the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus were of a ritual nature was argued in Chapter I, although the possibility was there indicated that this may have been ritual of funerary rather than of other religious character. The other three sites exemplify the use of much of the same symbolism in contexts for which no funerary association need be argued. In each the figure with upraised arms is very prominently placed, at Gournia and perhaps at Gazi in a separate building, at Knossos in a special area of the former palace, most of which had been abandoned by this time (Popham 1964).

Much of the force of the argument for the religious function of these places, with their anthropomorphic figures, springs from the repetition of various elements, in particular the figure with upraised arms itself. For whereas for any one site taken in isolation, any number of special explanations might be put forward suggesting some special function for the assemblage, this view becomes very difficult to maintain when a special assemblage of very unusual objects can be indicated at *several* places within the region. The case cannot be set out in great detail here, but the position of these sites within Crete, and their place in the Late Minoan III period, allows us to regard them as sharing a common symbolism and with it no doubt many of the same beliefs about the meanings of the symbols employed. For these sites taken together, the case for a religious function for this symbolic assemblage becomes a very strong one.

Once this position is established, it is legitimate to seek to add Phylakopi (or Phylakopi along with Mycenae and Tiryns) to the discussion. The argument has been indicated above that there is a sufficient degree of interaction in various ways within the Aegean at the relevant time to lead us to expect some elements of community in religious symbolism and in the forms of religious practice, so that the Phylakopi finds (specifically the use of terracotta effigies, and of small separate buildings equipped with benches and platforms for offerings) can be seen to fit in some ways into a more widespread context of symbolic expression (despite the absence of some of the symbolic forms seen in Crete). This does *not* of necessity imply that the same deities were worshipped in Crete, the Mainland and the islands, nor that similar symbols had identical ascribed meanings. That is an issue for discussion in the next chapter. But it does imply that some of the same means of expression and of symboling were used in these various Aegean areas.

Armed with this conclusion from the four Cretan sites, the notion of the Phylakopi terracottas as cult images or as votive/votaries becomes a proposition of a different order.

In this section, therefore, I have sought to suggest that the consideration of the Phylakopi finds in a well-defined and broader context, can lead to the conclusion that they can be regarded as constituting a sanctuary. Taking this point as established, we can now return to their consideration within a primarily Melian context.

Once the sacred associations are accepted, certain other features are seen in a new light, for instance the stone standing on the pavement east of the entrance to the West Shrine, and south of the doorway to the East Shrine. Its shape has been deliberately modified to make it more regular. What might formerly have been regarded simply as a monumental stone, a cippus, may now be considered to have some sacred significance, a baetyl.

This rather laborious demonstration of the sacral character of the sanctuary might seem a shade superfluous, in view of the richness of the finds. But there are so many cases in the archaeological literature of buildings entirely lacking in cult objects being hailed as shrines, and of the same claim being made for assemblages of cult objects without any associated building or other indication of their mode or place of use, that a necessary first step must be the demonstration that the putative shrine does in fact fulfil the criteria laid down in Chapter I.

3. The Sanctuary at the Time of the Collapse

The functioning of the complex in its heyday is most clearly seen from the assemblages of phase 2b, which are particularly rich. We have no destruction material prior to that period to document earlier phases with comparable effectiveness, and the later use of the shrines was clearly somewhat impoverished.

The sanctuary at this time consisted of three major parts:

- (a) The West Shrine
- (b) The East Shrine and
- (c) The Street and courtyard area, with the baetyl and the nearby quarter-circle declivity with its stone kerb.

It is shown, in reconstruction by the excavation architect Mr Alec Daykin, in FIGS. 9.4 and 9.5. To the south, the precinct was bounded by the south side of the West Shrine (the doorway in its south wall being already blocked), by the Extension Wall, Wall 661, and by the Late Helladic IIIB₁ defensive wall. To the north was one of the main streets of the town, running, because of the terraced slope, at a higher level than the shrine buildings. The west end of the complex is defined by the west wall of Rooms A and B. Access was therefore at this time exclusively from the east, along the street which opens into the courtyard.

(a) *The West Shrine*

The east wall of the West Shrine, as approached in this way, must have been an imposing piece of masonry with door jambs of dressed stone. Its northern end had, however, been obscured by the construction of the East Shrine, and its southern end by the Extension Wall built up against it.

On entering one found oneself at the end of a rectangular room, 6.0 metres long and 5.8 metres wide. We do not have direct evidence for the roofing of this room, although reed impressions, discussed in Chapter VIII, perhaps suggest that it was flat. Other arguments further suggest that it was indeed covered. In the first place, while some of the figurine fragments recovered were very much weathered, the surface of many of the more complete pieces, which had evidently been buried soon after going out of use, was in very good condition. This militates against their being exposed to the elements for any length of time.

Secondly there was clear evidence of plastering on the walls, notably on the north-west platform of the West Shrine, while a very fine sequence of re-plastering was observed in the floor near the doorway in Room B (see FIG. 2.15). Had the floor been open to winter rains, the silts and sediments of erosion and deposition would probably have caused these more than 30 replasterings to occupy a much greater depth.

The roof span of nearly six metres is of the same order as that of the contemporary megaron of the 'palace' on the site, which will certainly have been roofed. Unfortunately, the insertion into the West Shrine of the Blocking Wall, following the phase 2b collapse, has obscured the floor at the precise centre of the room. It is here that one would expect to see the bases for columns, probably two in number, to support the roof beams. The general arrangement would probably have been much like that in the main room of House G at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, fig. 43), although the width there is only *ca.* 4.5 m. The drain channels, of which nineteen fragments were found in the sanctuary area, may have served as spouts to drain water away from the flat roofs of the shrine. The interior of the West Shrine at this time as reconstructed by Mr Alec Daykin is seen in FIGS 9.5 and 9.6.

The room was lit principally by its eastern doorway. Facing it was the doorway into the smaller Rooms A and B at the rear. To the right and left of this were narrow platforms or benches on which the cult equipment stood. Above these were the niches, intercommunicating with

Rooms A and B at the rear, in which a cult figure or bovine figure might on occasion be placed. The shrine is in general symmetrically arranged about its major (east-west) axis.

(b) The East Shrine

The south wall of the East Shrine still stands to a height of *ca.* 1.15 metres above the street surface of phase 2b to its south. The shrine was approached from the south, the visitor entering at its south-west corner. Its floor was *ca.* 0.30 m above that of the street and of the West Shrine. Doubtless it was roofed, the roof perhaps being drained by drain spouts in the same manner as the West Shrine (see FIG. 9.4). The interior space was small, only 4.80 by 2.20 m. In the north-east corner was the low platform or podium, only *ca.* 0.25 m above the floor, on which the cult equipment stood. The alignment of the East Shrine is the same as that of the West Shrine, but there is here no symmetrical arrangement.

(c) Differentiation in Cult Function

The principal assemblages of phase 2b, from the north-west and south-west platforms of the West Shrine, from Room A and its niche, and from the East Shrine, are seen in FIGS. 4.7 to 4.9 and 4.11. The finds of cult equipment and other finds of all phases of the sanctuary are summarised in TABLE 9.4 (in pocket at rear).

As indicated in Chapter VI, a distinction is made between terracotta figures and figurines, the former being in general greater than about 15 cm in height, for human representations, and the latter less than this. The animal figures, which represent bulls or cows, are hollow, and in most cases wheel-made, the animal figurines are solid terracotta, generally less than 10 cm high. Finds are listed by their primary (earliest) context of occurrence. A distinction has been made in TABLE 9.4 between objects which represented, or could be restored to give, a significant proportion of the original, and those represented only by fragments. For a figurine, about half the original is required to qualify as 'significant', for figures about one quarter, both taking into account such joins as may be made from later, secondary contexts.

The iconographically interesting features of these assemblages are summarised for phase 2b in the following table (TABLE 9.1) which omits fragments and other details. The niche, with Room A behind, is immediately behind the platform in the south-west corner of the West Shrine.

Several important consequences follow from this table. In the first place, the male figures are restricted to the north-west platform (and this restriction holds for phase 3 also: see below). Secondly, female figurines are found only on the south-west platform. Moreover, if it is assumed that the objects in the niche, and those behind in Room A, were for use on the south-west platform exclusively, then the female elements are restricted to this joint assemblage (B with C).

Bovine figures are found both on the north-west platform and accompanying the female figures in assemblage C. Two of these have miniature vessels on their backs, which suggests that these two at least may be cult vessels, used in the pouring of liquids, rather than cult images or votives as such. (Since they have no satisfactory outlets they could have received but not dispensed liquid offerings.) The bovine figures in the West Shrine may be regarded as accompanying the human figures.

Two animal figurines, plus a chariot group and a driven ox accompany the human males at the north-west platform. There is no sign whatever, not even in fragmentary form, of such figurines at the south-west platform, or in the niche or in Room A, and it seems safe to infer that animal figurines of this kind did not accompany the female figures and figurines here.

In the East Shrine, the position is very different. There are no human figures or figurines whatever. But bovine figures are well represented (three examples, of which one could be very

Table 9.1
Principal finds of phase 2b

<i>Assemblage:</i>	<i>West Shrine</i>				<i>East Shrine</i>
	NW A	SW B	Room A C	Niche	D
Female figure	0	0	4	1	0
Male figure	3	0	0	0	0
Female figurine	0	2	0	0	0
Bovine figure	1	0	1	4	3
Chariot group	2	0	0	0	1
Driven ox	1	0	0	0	1
Animal figurine	2	0	0	0	11
Sealstone	0	0	0	0	0
Double vase	0	2	0	0	0
Pedestal vase	0	0	1	0	0
Columnar lamp	0	1	0	0	0
Bronze bird	1	0	0	0	0
Beads	12	6	0	1	2
Other metal	2	2	0	0	5

substantially restored). And there are no fewer than eleven animal figurines, plus a chariot group and a driven ox.

We are thus able to make the very important inference that the right-hand (north) platform of the West Shrine has male associations, and the left-hand (south) platform has female associations. Bovine figures accompany both, but the chariot and animal figurines go with the males. This is the first duality which the sanctuary suggests. The second obvious duality is between West Shrine and East Shrine (bearing in mind that the East Shrine is a phase 2 addition to the complex). Here at first sight the dichotomy is between human (male plus female) in the West Shrine, and animal in the East Shrine. But it is less clear-cut. For while the two entities in the West Shrine were 'male and no-female', and 'female and no-male' respectively, the same sort of antithesis does not hold. The East Shrine is 'animal and no-human' but the West Shrine is 'human *with* animal'. Indeed it is not impossible that the gold human head, found in phase 3c of the East Shrine, may originally have made its appearance there in phase 2. We have good evidence that one of the males in the West Shrine (SF 1550) was re-used there in phase 3b, and other cases of re-use are discussed below. It was suggested in Chapter VIII that this head of sheet gold may have covered the head of a wooden, or possibly bronze figure. In this admittedly speculative case the distinguishing feature of the East Shrine would then be the material of its human figure, the number of animal figurines accompanying it and the great number of sealstones.

(d) Cult Image or Votive?

This question was posed in Chapter I, and can now be applied to the Phylakopi material in a preliminary way. We shall find, however, that it cannot adequately be answered without some systematic consideration of other sites, such as is attempted in Chapter X.

There is no evidence of any representation in the sanctuary of anything approaching life size, nothing comparing with the suggestive pair of terracotta feet recently discovered at Archanes in Crete, which might be interpreted as part of a cult image otherwise made of wood.

At a smaller scale, the three male figures from the north-west platform of the West Shrine must be considered as possible cult images or alternatively as votives or votaries. The largest (SF 1550), height 35.0 cm easily dominates the other two (SF 2340, height 23.0 cm; SF 1553, height 15.8 cm headless) and unlike the others probably carried nothing in its hands (see Chapter VI). The gesture, with the arms held forward, is however similar in each case. It is possible then that the largest is a cult image, while the other two are votives or votaries. It may be suggested that the objects which were held by SF 2340 and 1553 (see Chapter VI above) might be interpreted as offerings. These two would then be votive figures: the possibility that they too are cult images cannot however be discounted.

Turning to the south-west platform, the two figurines (SF 2007, height 15.2 cm; SF 2015, height 15.3 cm) might be considered as candidates for cult images, albeit not very impressive ones, were it not for contents of Room A. The human head from the niche (SF 2691) and the head from Room A (SF 2672) both lack bodies, and whatever their former status (when complete) would not in that fragmentary condition make impressive images, although the possibility cannot be excluded: they could have been dressed. The same holds for the headless figure, SF 2661. On the other hand the Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2660, height 45.0 cm) is almost entire, lacking only the arms. (The rather crudely made figure, found standing beside her (SF 2658, height 25.5 cm) also lacks arms.) The Lady gazes upwards in an attitude of great intensity, which could be interpreted alternatively as a look of adoration (in a votive) or of divine contemplation (in a cult image).

The unique status of the Lady, in the context of the sanctuary in terms both of scale and of workmanship undoubtedly makes her the best candidate for a cult image. Moreover it has already been suggested that the contents of Room A could be put on display in the niche, where they would be visible from the West Shrine: the niche may certainly be considered an attention-focussing device. Comparison with other sites in the next chapter reinforces the suggestion that this is indeed a cult image, and hence a representation of a deity. The accompanying figure, SF 2658 might then be a votive, or an attendant of the deity, or, as suggested in Chapter VI, a further representation of the deity, with a clearer indication of female sex than is seen on the Lady.

The position of these items in the small room at the back, Room A, certainly merits consideration. Is this to be regarded simply as a storeroom for images or votives not currently in use? Or was it alternatively an *adyton*, a 'Holy of Holies', a place apart, where the most important cult image could be venerated away from the defiling eyes of the congregation? Both positions could be held, and there are arguments, set out in Chapter X, for preferring the former. The most significant evidence, however, is in the distribution of offerings—beads and small metal objects. There can be little doubt that the finds of beads, made near the platforms in the sanctuary, represent offerings made to the deities venerated at those platforms. They may indeed have adorned cult images, or votives placed on the platforms. As TABLE 9.1 indicates, they are seen in significant numbers at both the platforms of the West Shrine, and are supplemented by sealstones in the East Shrine. None was found in Room A, and only half a bead in the niche,

although several were found in Room B. This analysis thus may be taken in support of the view that the objects in Room A and in the niche were in storage, rather than in a position of special, exclusive veneration. Such an interpretation is supported by the fragmentary condition of the three incomplete figures there which must have been broken in earlier use, and were now presumably stored away for the safe-keeping that their sacred character may have demanded.

The Lady of Phylakopi may then tentatively be identified as a cult image, a representation of the deity. We have suggested that the bovine figures did not have that status, mainly because two have vases on their backs, suggesting a role for them as cult vessels and for the others as cult equipment.

If the principal male figure was a cult image, it too might be a representation of a deity venerated at the northern platform. But if it, like its two companions, is a votive, what do they tell us of the deity to whom they were dedicated?

Many arguments in the literature by implication assume some principle of homology, that votive figures in many ways share the attributes of the deity to whom they are dedicated. In Greek temples to Apollo, for instance, the votive representations are generally, like the god, male in character. Such an argument here would suggest a male deity. But cases can no doubt be found of what might be termed a principle of antinomy or antithesis, where the characteristics of the votive are the opposite of those of the deity. A male god, after all, might have female attendants, and vice versa. Such an argument would make the northern deity a female one also, like her southern counterpart, but in this case one served by male votives while those at the southern platform are female. Either structure of belief would be perfectly coherent. What is quite clear, however, from the explicit male sex of these figures, is that the male character of the votives (if votives they are) is an essential feature of that belief structure.

No cult image can be identified in the East Shrine. The presence of beads and sealstones among the finds, as amongst those associated with the two platforms in the West Shrine but in distinction to the contents of Room A and its niche, suggests that this was not a storeroom but that the platform may have been used in the actual practice of cult. It could perhaps be argued, since the many small (but surely votive) figurines were all of animals, that some animal deity was venerated here. But similar, although fewer, figurines were found in the north-west of the West Shrine, where a deity in human form has been proposed. It is possible that there was originally a cult image in the East Shrine, perhaps removed after the phase 2b collapse, and the suggestion was made above that the gold head found here in phase 3c levels may conceivably have originated earlier. If there was a human cult figure, its sex is unknown. The presence of chariot groups and small animal figurines, which were similarly found in the north-west of the West Shrine but not in the south-west, could be used to imply a greater affinity with that of the north-west platform. But the absence of male figures in the East Shrine prevents the comparison from being taken very far.

The two very different groups of finds from the West Shrine leads us then to conclude that two very different deities or powers were venerated there. The first is directly represented, probably, by the Lady of Phylakopi. The second may have been male, or is at least worshipped through the agency of male votives. Bovine figures occur in the cult equipment of both. A different deity again may have been worshipped in the East Shrine, where animal figurines (and bovine figures) but not male figures, are among the votive offerings.

(e) The Courtyard and Street

The third major constructional component of the sanctuary is the area to the east of the West Shrine and to the south of the East Shrine. At the point where the fortification wall, Wall 100,

comes to its western end, the street from the east which gives access to the sanctuary broadens out into a small courtyard which is closed to the south by the Extension Wall 661. Along the foot of this wall runs a bench designated Wall 663. While this could readily have been constructed as seating, the use of somewhat analogous benches within the West Shrine (and in shrines elsewhere) should caution against too ready an assumption of this mundane interpretation: it may be more appropriate to regard this bench as a platform.

At its eastern end is the quarter circle of unpaved area delimited by a small stone kerb. And in the middle of the paved courtyard stands the stone 'baetyl'. It is 47.0 cm high and 49.5 cm in diameter. In plan it is roughly circular and in section roughly ellipsoidal. The stone is the local rather rough conglomerate tuff, and the working is not very accomplished, so that the form is not of great regularity, nor is the surface carefully smoothed. Neither the choice of this rather commonplace stone, nor the modest scale nor indeed the unimpressive finish are notable in any way: it is, rather its position against bench, Wall 663, in line with the doorway of the West Shrine (and hence near its major axis) and in line with the east jamb of the door of the East Shrine, which singles it out for attention.

The assemblage from this area, and from the foot of the City Wall to the east, is also an important one (Assemblage E). It contains but a few fragments of figurines, most of which join with pieces having a primary context within the East Shrine, and the same explanation may be offered for the other small votive objects. Its special interest lies rather in the twenty or so pots found here, some of them restorable: a number of these seem to have been broken in the fall of stones of the collapse. All of these pots, with the possible exception of P. 197 Cat. No. 81, which is discussed in Chapter IV, seem to be in their primary context here. A significant number relates to the handling of liquids: three kylikes, two jugs and a dipper as well as three amphorae and two hydriae.

There is no reason to doubt that the pots were used in this area, and the relative scarcity of pots from other areas of the sanctuary heightens their importance. It is tempting to suggest that they might have been used for the pouring of libations, perhaps into the unpaved quarter-circle area, which would have made an excellent soak-away (although it could also have been a good position for a fire). Whether or not this explanation is correct, this assemblage of pottery, in proximity to the baetyl, constitutes a fourth major focus of the sanctuary in phase 2b with its own complement of what may have been ritual equipment. Unlike the other three foci (the north-west and south-west platforms of the West Shrine, and that of the East Shrine) it is not accompanied by iconographic figurations.

4. Diachronic Aspects

Having set out some of the principal features of the sanctuary in its heyday, as documented for us by the phase 2b collapse, it is appropriate now to survey the history of the sanctuary and its changes in use. The development of the sanctuary is seen schematically in FIG. 3.1. The various assemblages listed in Chapter IV are indicated there by the letters A to L. Their findspots are seen in greater detail in FIG. 4.7 to 4.11 to 4.17. The practice of cult at Phylakopi before the construction of the sanctuary should however first be considered.

(a) Before the West Shrine: Cult at Phylakopi in the Late Bronze I period

There is no evidence for cult practice in the area of our sanctuary prior to its construction in the Late Helladic IIIA2 period. A pillar in the south-west platform of the West Shrine (PLATE 14 c) and various ashlar blocks in the walling may be re-used architectural features, but not necessarily from a building on precisely this position, nor from one of cult significance. The walls

of Late Bronze I date below the sanctuary were of a different orientation (FIG. 2.11). No cult significance need be attached to the Minoan blossom bowl (SF 1717; PLATE 65 *a*) found below the street levels to the south of the East Shrine.

For possible indications of earlier cult at Phylakopi we must look elsewhere on the site, to the famous 'pillar crypts' which were used by Sir Arthur Evans in his discussion of the possible cult significance of the well-built masonry pillars of the palace at Knossos (Evans 1901). These lie within square G3 of the original plan of the site (Phylakopi 1904, plates I and II). More detailed indications, however, are given by Mackenzie (1963) in his Daybooks. The area was investigated by a small sounding in the course of our excavations, and re-dated to the Late Bronze I period, that of the Third City on our current nomenclature (Renfrew 1978). The earlier attribution to the Middle Bronze Age Second City is in error.

The north-east room of the complex (Phylakopi 1904, pl. I, square G3, room 6/7) contained a pillar of two blocks of stone. Traces of red plaster adhered to this pillar. In this room were found the now-famous Flying Fish Fresco, and another with human figures. One of these is seated, with a gold belt and bracelets, and holds a blue object, perhaps drapery, in the left hand. The Lily Fresco was found in the room to the south (Room 11). A second pillar, of a single block of stone and very finely dressed, was found in a room to the west (room 2/4). With it were several pedestal vases (Phylakopi 1904, 138, fig. 110). In a nearby area (Square G3, space 10 of Phylakopi 1904, pl. 1) was found part of a terracotta bovine figure (FIG. 9.1).

The complete absence of identifiable cult iconography here at present prevents our recognising these finds as forming a cult complex, in terms of the discussion in Chapter I. The same view is taken by Rutkowski (1972, 107) in his discussion of Minoan pillar crypts in general, including that of Phylakopi.

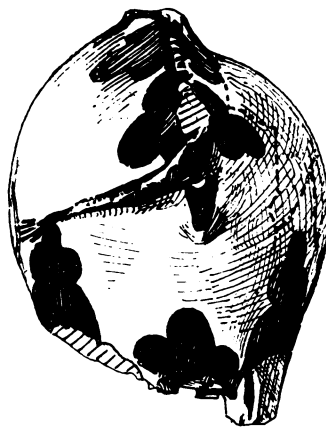


FIG. 9.1 Bovine figure found during earlier excavations near the 'pillar crypt'. Not to scale

The single find probably of Late Bronze I date at Phylakopi which has an undoubtedly sacred significance is the ivory ring, PLATE 55 *a* (Phylakopi 1904, 193). It depicts a woman in a flounced skirt standing before a platform, on which the Minoan 'horns of consecration' symbol may be discerned. Conventional tree branches are seen behind the votary. This find does not tell us much about religious beliefs at Phylakopi, since it was not necessarily carved in Melos, although it incorporates this one important element of Minoan symbolism. Taken together with the frescoes in the pillar crypt, it serves to suggest that the symbolism at Phylakopi in the Late Bronze I period fell broadly within the canons of Minoan iconography.

The find of two terracotta heads of bulls should also be noted. (Phylakopi 1904, 205, figs. 178–9). They were already and rightly compared by the excavators with the larger bull's head rhyton from Gournia in Crete (Hawes 1908, pl. XI, 20). There is also a pottery animal figure (Phylakopi 1904, fig. 176) which resembles a number of Cretan examples of 'naturalistic' form.

One other find should be mentioned here: it is a figurine, in Kamares ware and therefore of Middle Minoan (and therefore Second City) date. It was not published in the excavation report from the site, but was illustrated by Myres (1903, 369, fig. 1) as a comparison for his finds from the Petsofa peak sanctuary. It is on display with the other Phylakopi material in the National Museum in Athens (FIG. 9.2) and derives, like the other accompanying Kamares material on display, from the excavations of 1896–9 (see Myres 1903, 369). The skirt is of the hollow, bell-like form which is widely seen in the Minoan figures of the Bronze Age, but here the arms do not appear to have been upraised in the manner common in Late Minoan III. Its findspot on the site

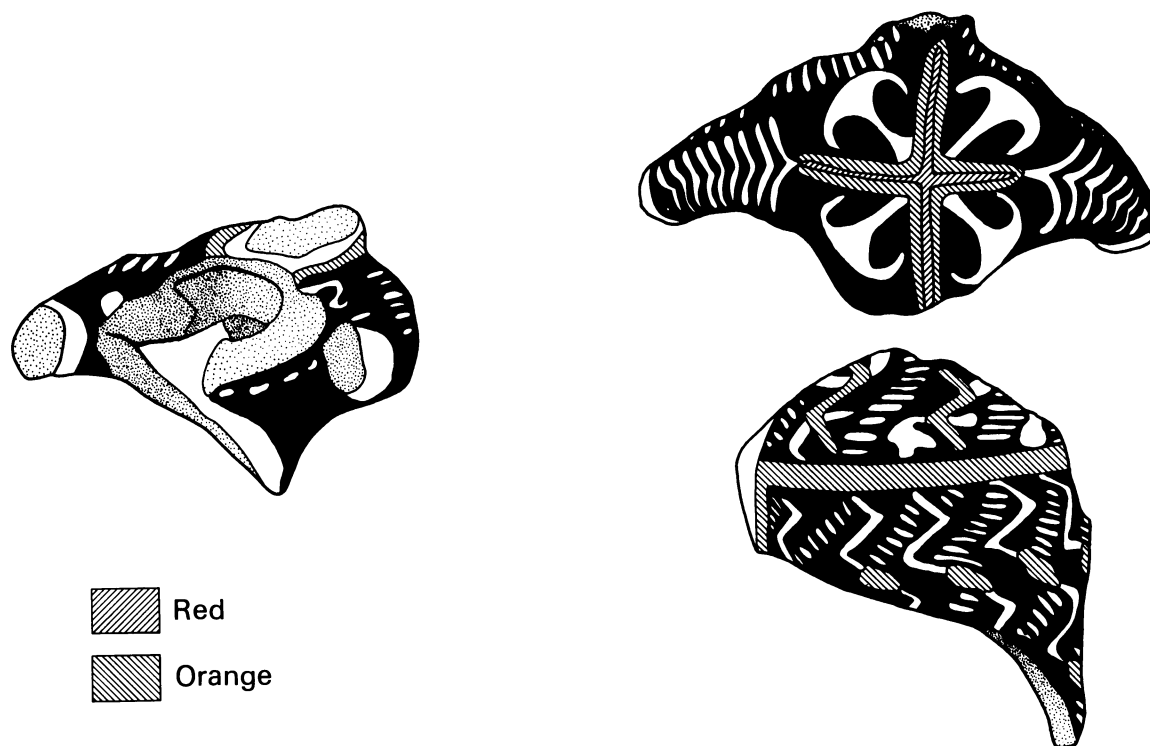


FIG. 9.2 Kamares ware figurine fragments from earlier excavations at Phylakopi. Scale c. 1:1

is unknown but together with the bovine figure, it is one of the few figurative pieces from the site from the period of Minoan influence (cf. Phylakopi 1904, 205, fig. 178 and 179) which is likely to have been used in the practice of cult. (The bronze figurine, Phylakopi 1904 pl. XXXVII, is possibly of later date and is briefly discussed in Chapter VIII.)

Our information about cult practice in the Third City of Phylakopi is thus very limited. The Minoan nature of the iconography (whether sacred or secular) may, however, be taken as established, and other finds such as the stone vases and the pottery lamps suggest that the cult equipment would have been of predominantly Minoan character. The horns of consecration on the (possibly imported) ivory ring, PLATE 55 *a*, constitute the only sacred symbol documented from the time.

It is also pertinent to ask what cult facilities there may have been on the site immediately following the end of the Third City. In Chapter III the date of inception of the Sanctuary was set around 1360 BC, and this may have been some 20 years after the end of the Third City. There are certainly no clear indications of a sanctuary elsewhere on the site, either then or later. Dr French has, however, listed in Chapter VI the known figure and figurine finds from other areas of the site (TABLE 6.1). No fewer than 106 fragments of figures and figurines are now known from other areas, taking into account both recent and previous excavations, as against 177, nearly twice that number, from our own sanctuary. (It is likely, however, that not all pieces from the earlier excavations were retained.) Most of these finds from elsewhere are sporadic occurrences: there is no discernible concentration. They may indicate domestic cult practice. Interestingly, eleven fragments of female figurines of Phi form were found elsewhere, as against only one in the sanctuary area. Dr French (1971, 109) has shown that the Phi form is chronologically prior to the Psi form, and it may be that some of the Phi figurines on the site were first used at a time before the sanctuary came into being. Beyond this there is at present little that can be said about cult practice at Phylakopi at the beginning of the Fourth City.

(b) Phase 1 of the Sanctuary

Phase 1 of the Sanctuary is represented by the construction (phase 1a) and early use (phase 1b) of the West Shrine. The internal arrangement at this time was much as in the succeeding phase 2, with platforms at the north-west and south-west corners of the main room. Initially, however, the door in the south side of the main room was in use, before being blocked, perhaps in phase 1c.

East of the shrine there was initially an open space. Traces of burning are found on the southern side of this area, against the outside of the east wall of the shrine, and it is quite possible that a fire was employed here for sacrifices, although a more mundane explanation is perfectly possible. Late in this period (phase 1c) the Extension Wall, Wall 661, was constructed, blocking off the southern part of this area, which was no longer accessible from the shrine once the doorway in its south wall was blocked.

The finds made near both the north-west and south-west platforms in the West Shrine include numerous beads and other small items. These were found not only on the earliest shrine floor, but under it on the south-west side. This suggests that the platform there may have been in use for cult before the floor was laid. There are no figurine finds whatever in these levels to give an indication as to whether the same distinction between male and female was already observed there which we have noted for the 2b phase. The male figurines in use at the time of the phase 2b collapse could, conceivably already have been in use during phase 1. They are all locally made, however, and they might all belong in the Late Helladic IIIC period, in distinction to the imported Lady of Phylakopi and to some of the accompanying animal figurines, which are undoubtedly earlier (see Chapter VI). Several figurine fragments found below the East Shrine, and in the street area to the south, may derive from this time.

The early contents of the small rooms A and B at the west of the West Shrine are of interest. Room A contained the arm of a female figure, with three beads and other small objects which may be regarded as offerings. Room B contained nine beads, a splendid rock-crystal sealstone (SF 2036) and other items, including 12 fragments of red or pink plaster. These last are interpreted as being perhaps from some moveable object rather than from mural decoration. Rooms A and B may therefore both have served as cult rooms at this time. Room B also contained six pots and two quern fragments.

The use may also be inferred, at this time or early in phase 2, of the three female figures which were found in incomplete condition in the collapse phase deposit of Room A and its niche. These are the very ugly head (SF 2691), the head of a figure of the same scale as the Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2672) and a headless body (SF 2661): all three have been identified by Dr French as of local manufacture. Where these figures were set up during their use cannot now be established, but the existence of small 'benches' against the west walls of Rooms A and B, namely Walls 823 and 741, should be borne in mind. They underlay the floors in use at the time of the collapse and may simply be structural features to strengthen the walls. It is just possible, however, that figures and figurines were set up and venerated or simply stored on these low benches during phase 1, as well as on the platforms of the main room.

(c) *Phase 2*

Phase 2a of the Sanctuary saw the building of the City Wall, Wall 100, and the construction and use of the East Shrine, as well as the paving of the courtyard and the setting up there of the baetyl. The use of the shrines at this time is best documented by the material preserved *in situ* following the phase 2b collapse, as discussed above.

The only area where the finds of phase 2a may clearly be distinguished from those of phase 1, as well as from the collapse deposits themselves, is in the street to the south of the East Shrine. The material simply amplifies that already discussed for the collapse itself: there are several pots from the courtyard near the baetyl, three of them kylikes, suggesting libations at this time, and a number of animal figurine fragments was found confirming the picture which we have of the use of the East Shrine from the collapse deposits themselves.

(d) *The Nature of the Collapse*

To demonstrate that the deposits in different parts of the sanctuary area which are here assigned to phase 2b were in fact all formed at the same time was no easy task. It was, of course, undertaken in Chapter II. Since there are no good and direct stratigraphic linkages between the East and the West shrines, much emphasis had to be placed on the joins between fragments of pottery and of figures and figurines found to link the two areas. These are discussed in detail in Appendix B. Such joins were useful too in establishing chronological linkages between the interior of the East Shrine and the street area to its south. It is, however, pertinent to ask by what processes this distribution of finds came about.

In the first place, the very large stones, found at the foot of the City Wall, Wall 100 and presumably fallen from it, undoubtedly crushed in their fall many of the pots in the Street area which constitute our Assemblage E. It seems likely that a similar fall of stones was responsible for the devastation in the southern part of the West Shrine. This area was subsequently closed off permanently by the construction of the Blocking Wall, Wall 626/733. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the roof of the West Shrine was brought down at this time. If the remaining part of the West Shrine was re-roofed subsequently, as seems likely, the timbers will have spanned only the gap between the Blocking Wall and the north wall of the West Shrine. It is not clear whether

the roof of the East Shrine was destroyed at the time of the collapse, but certainly its contents were seriously damaged.

Since many fragments of objects originating in the East Shrine were found in the phase 2b deposit in the street area to the south, it seems likely that there was a partial clear-out of the interior of the East Shrine after the collapse. But that this was not a very thorough operation is indicated by the quantities of material still found *in situ* within the shrine on Floor 3/5. (It should be noted that there are subsequent patterns of joins between the interior of the East Shrine and higher levels in the street to the south, which must be the result of subsequent partial clearances of a similar kind.)

The joins between the East Shrine and street on the one hand, and Room B and NLc North (to the north of the West Shrine) on the other are less easy to account for. They must, however, be an indicator of a series of operations of clearing and dumping. It is evident that the interior of the West Shrine, or at least its northern part, had to be cleared before the Blocking Wall could be built and the restricted area of the shrine re-used in phase 3b. As in the case of the East Shrine, the clearance was not a very thorough one. Had it been, the clearance down to the original floor level would have removed the material which we subsequently found *in situ* and designated Assemblage A. The cleaning of the East and West Shrines in this way into areas adjacent to them can account in a relatively simple way for many of the joins found, and the dumping may have been in more than one stage: first, perhaps upwards to the higher levels to the north of the shrines, and then (for some of the material) down into the street to the south of the East Shrine. This does not in itself indicate how potsherds originally from the street came to be found in the southern part of MLb. It may be, however, that stones and debris from the street area were used in the construction of the Blocking Wall, and that in this process some ceramic material was carried westward.

For the collapse itself there are two alternative explanations. The first is the natural agency of an earthquake, which could no doubt have dislodged stones from the City Wall, causing the damage observed. The second is deliberate human action, presumably by hostile forces. This could well have occurred in the process of attacking the fortifications, or perhaps later in slighting them: it is also possible that an enemy would have seen a positive merit in damaging the sanctuary of the town. It is in any case clear that the restoration of the sanctuary was soon undertaken with what would appear a continuity in the tradition of worship. As we have seen, several cult items were re-used in the process. It could be argued that the reduced area of the West Shrine in phase 3 indicates a commensurately reduced prosperity, hypothetically attributable to the hostilities in question. But had the fortunes of Phylakopi in any case been declining, the rebuilding of the sanctuary after an earthquake might likewise have been on a reduced scale. The similarities in the pottery between the phase 2b materials at Phylakopi and those at Koukounaries in Paros (Schilardi 1979) lead me to favour the hypothesis of enemy action, to be interpreted as the consequence of unrest in the Cyclades at that time.

(e) Phases 3a and 3b

Phase 3a represents the aftermath of the collapse, with the construction of the Blocking Wall in the West Shrine. This completely blocked off the south-west platform, which went entirely out of use. The doorway from the West Shrine to Room B (and Room A) was also blocked by it. The north-west platform continued in use, however, and it is probably to this period that the construction of a new platform in the north-east corner of the West Shrine should be ascribed. The platform in the East Shrine continued in service. In the East Shrine the phase 3a use may be recognised in the finds lying on Floor 4. The clearest impression is given, however, by the finds on

Floor 2 of the East Shrine (Phase 3b) which are probably, but not certainly, contemporary with the finds from the penultimate deposit in the West Shrine. Their fragmentary condition was very noticeable. The finds of phase 3b are summarised in TABLE 9.2. Only the substantial finds are listed, not small fragments.

Table 9.2
Principal finds of phase 3b

<i>Assemblage:</i>	<i>West Shrine</i>		<i>East Shrine</i>
	NW G	NE —	H
Female figure	0	0	0
Male figure	3	0	0
Female figurine	1	0	0
Bovine figure	0	0	0
Chariot group	0	0	0
Driven ox	0	0	0
Animal figurine	1	0	6
Sealstone	0	0	0
Double vase	0	0	0
Pedestal vase	0	0	0
Columnar lamp	0	0	0
Beads	14	1	1
Other metal	4	0	0

The north-west platform once again has three male figures, and its function may have been very similar to that in phase 2. One of the male figures was certainly re-used (SF 1527) minus the hand, which was found stratified in the phase 2b levels (SF 1550). It is likely that the two other figures were also re-used pieces (SF 1544 and 1520) since both are similar stylistically to the others, and the second is in very worn condition.

A notable addition to the assemblage is a female figurine of Late Psi form (SF 1521). She is a close match to one of those found in the phase 2b deposit on the south-west platform (SF 2007). This implies that both were made at the same time, and that this is therefore also a re-used piece. Where it was originally in use cannot now be determined. One relatively complete animal figurine suggests a further continuity with the practice of the previous period, and the absence of any bovine figures may simply reflect that those which were earlier at or near this platform were completely broken in the 2b collapse. The beads and metal objects reflect continuing cult practice.

With the north-east platform the matter is unfortunately less clear. A single assemblage was recognised in association with it, and this has been ascribed to the last use of the shrine, in phase 3c. The paucity of finds in phase 3b need not, however, indicate lack of use. It may imply rather the re-use of much of the material in the phase 3c period. It seems likely that this platform was constructed, after the collapse, to take the place of the south-west platform, now obscured by the Blocking Wall. In this case it may well have taken over the functions of that platform; certainly in the 3c phase it was associated with female figurines and not with males.

The finds in the East Shrine, like those near the north-west platform of the West Shrine, reflect much continuity with the preceding period. Once again there are numerous animal figurines, and no humans, either male or female. The absence of bovine figures may again represent their breakage during the collapse.

The overall impression at this time may be described as one of impoverished continuity. There are now no large female figures. Male figures continue at the north-west platform, and animals in the East Shrine, some of them even pre-phase 2b in style, while the role of the south-west platform may have been taken over by the north-east one. Although the evidence on this point is not adequate, it is possible therefore that the old north/male versus south/female dichotomy may have been replaced by one of west/male versus east/female. Some blurring of the former, clear bipolarity may however be indicated by the find of the female figurine amongst the males near the north-west platform. The relative role of the West as against the East Shrine was however unchanged.

Many, perhaps even all, the figures and figurines now in use had been salvaged from the preceding phase: some derive from before the 2b period. There were no longer any female figures in use. The street levels were now blocked with large stones, and the baetyl may no longer have been visible: certainly there are no more finds of pottery from its vicinity to suggest libations. Moreover, the Lady of Phylakopi no longer made her appearance in her now-observed niche, nor did any bovine figures remain in use.

(f) Phase 3c

During phase 3c, minor additions were made to both the East and the West Shrine. Wall 105 was inserted into the East Shrine, dividing it into two parts. It may be significant that finds were made on both sides of this wall (FIG. 4.17). The platform no longer functioned as such, being now at the same level as the floor. In the West Shrine, Wall 604 was added. Its purpose is unclear, but it certainly now re-defined the north side of what was formerly the niche.

In the West Shrine the finds were no longer focussed on the north-west corner in the same way as formerly (FIG. 4.15). One animal figurine and a pottery tray were found on the platform constituted by the niche itself. Other finds, including the columnar lamp, SF 2309, were at the south, against the blocking wall.

In the north-east corner (FIG. 4.16) the finds were on or near the platform.

The finds are summarised in TABLE 9.3. Once again, only substantial fragments are indicated.

The distinctions in function which were seen in phase 2b have now largely disappeared. There are no male figures at all in the north-west: there is instead a single, well-preserved animal figurine (SF 2348) accompanied by a pottery tray (P. 899 Cat. No. 315, PLATE 12 *b*), which has white painted decoration of rather late style and may be a new, rather than a re-used piece.

In the north-east corner of the West Shrine, the platform held a female figurine of Psi form with a striking painted decoration of squiggles. There was also a pedestal vase and a double vase.

In the East Shrine there are again several animal figurines, and some at least of these may be new at this time. But these are now accompanied, for the first time, by two female figurines. There was also a pedestal vase, a conch shell, the ostrich egg shell container, and the human head of gold leaf (SF 192). This last is an important find, and as discussed earlier, it may have covered the face of a figurine or figure of wood or even bronze. The specially valuable material opens the possibility that this was a cult figure, rather than a votive.

Once again it is likely that much of the material found from phase 3c was re-used from earlier phases. The tray, P. 899, and perhaps its accompanying animal figurine, SF 2348, are among the likely exceptions. Another is an animal figurine from the East Shrine (SF 168) which pairs with

Table 9.3
Principal finds of phase 3c

<i>Assemblage:</i>	<i>West Shrine</i>		<i>East Shrine</i>
	NW	NE	
	J	K	L
Female figure	0	0	0
Male figure	0	0	0
Female figurine	0	1	2
Bovine figure	0	0	0
Chariot group	0	0	0
Driven ox	0	0	0
Animal figurine	1	0	7
Double vase	0	1	0
Pedestal vase	0	0	1
Columnar lamp	1	0	0
Beads	0	4	0
Gold head	0	0	1
Other metal	2	0	1

SF 2348, and other animal figurines (e.g. SF 189) may also be new. Certainly the columnar lamp matches rather closely the columnar lamp, SF 2004, from phase 2b on the south-west platform and it is likely that they were both made and first used at the same time. There are many more animal figurine fragments in the East Shrine than are indicated in TABLE 9.3 (see the listing of Assemblage L in Chapter IV) and some of these show clear indications of re-use from earlier phases.

The important find was made of a bronze figurine (SF 1802) in the 'smiting God' position in debris levels in the courtyard area amongst the stonework of the Extension Wall, Wall 661. This and comparable SF 518 from phase 2b levels in square OLd are discussed further in Chapters VIII and X. Here it is their role within the sanctuary which interests us. Had they been found on the cult platforms, each on its own in a position of prominence, one would have been inclined to accept them as cult images. The attitude of smiting may be regarded as an indication of power, suitable for a representation of a deity, as suggested in Chapter II, but less so in a votive figure unless it was deliberately fashioned to take the form of the deity. It is curious, however, that each was found outside of the shrines themselves. Had they been larger, one might have imagined them set up on dominant positions on the outside of the structures. There is no need to argue that they were disturbed during looting, since other materials, including the gold head, were found *in situ*. And since they were found unbroken it cannot be suggested that they were thrown out of the shrines as discarded rubbish, an explanation which may be appropriate for some of the terracotta figurine fragments. It should be noted that SF 1802 is from levels which contained a drain channel fragment (SF 1010) and a piece of roof plaster with reed impressions (SF 2227).

The position of the first of these, at the east end of the East Shrine, suggests an association with the East rather than the West Shrine. The same may be true of the second, since the associations of the courtyard material in earlier levels were more strongly with the East than with the West Shrine. And it was noted that during the phase 2b period the cult offerings in the East Shrine

related more closely to those of the north-west platform in the West Shrine (male associations) than with the south-west (female associations), although the distinction is blurred in phases 3b and 3c.

At this point it is pertinent to refer to the bronze figurine found at Phylakopi during the early excavations there, (Phylakopi 1904, 186 and pl. XXXVII). It was found in square C5, Room 7 (Mackenzie 1963, entry for 12th May 1897; Smith 1897, pl. 1 and III) corresponding to Room 14 on plan II of the final publication (Phylakopi 1904). It was at a depth of 50 cm between two stones. The context would presumably be one of what is now termed the Fourth City (i.e. Late Bronze III), but if the area was subsequently eroded, a Late Bronze I context cannot be excluded. The rather scanty details of findspot hint that this, like the two 'Smiting God' figures, might be from a late context. There is no strong reason for regarding the find as relating to cult; nothing else is reported from the context to suggest this. At the same time, as discussed below, the practice of cult was not necessarily restricted to the sanctuary.

5. Other Aspects of the Use of the Sanctuary

Attention in the foregoing discussion has focussed upon the iconographic elements which can offer the best insight into the deities or powers venerated in the sanctuary through its successive phases. There are other materials however which give further information about the use of the shrines, and these must now be considered. Further data concerning the finds of obsidian and of animal bones are given in Appendices C and D, and other finds are summarised in TABLE 9.4.

(a) *Music in the Sanctuary*

Two complete conch shells were found (PLATE 62). One was in the assemblage of material, including three male figurines, found at the foot of the phase 3b platform in the north-west corner of the West Shrine. In other contexts such a find might be rated a mere curiosity, but there is no doubt that this was part of the cult equipment.

The same observations hold for the shell found in the phase 3c assemblage in the East Shrine. The significance of such finds, as discussed in Chapter VIII, has long been recognised (Evans 1901, 142; Montagu 1981), and is graphically illustrated on a rock crystal sealstone from the Idaean Cave (Her. Mus. no. 24), dated by Pendlebury (1939, 257) to the LM III period, but by Kenna (1960, 65 no. 9) to LM II (FIG. 9.3). A female figure, variously interpreted as a priestess or goddess is seen blowing such a conch, standing beside an altar or platform on which are seen the



FIG. 9.3 Person blowing conch-shell trumpet, on a sealstone from the Idaean Cave, Crete (after Evans). Not to scale.

'horns of consecration' and three fronds. The sacred association is therefore not in doubt.

It is very possible that the tortoise shells found in seven different contexts in the sanctuary were also concerned in the production of sounds to herald or accompany the cult (PLATE 63). One fragment was found already in a phase 1 context in Room B of the West Shrine, and another from phase 2b (Assemblage A) at the north-west platform. The other pieces came from the East Shrine in phase 2b, 3b and 3c levels, two (SF 195 and 825) being nearly complete after restoration. The most important, however are from phase 2b in the East Shrine (SF 814 and 815), showing several carefully drilled holes of between 0.1 and 0.3 cm diameter (PLATE 64 *d*).

As discussed in Chapter VIII, the only well-documented use of the tortoise shell involving the drilling of holes is as the soundbox of a lyre. The manufacture of such a lyre is graphically described in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (25–60; Evelyn-White 1936, 367). Roberts (1981) has described their use in detail, and her illustration of the Argos specimen (*ibid.*, 304, fig. 1) is comparable to our Phylakopi find (see Chapter VIII). Although no tortoise-shell lyre is depicted from the late bronze age, the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus shows a lyre of different form being played to accompany one of the two cult scenes there depicted. A lyre-player is also seen on one of the Pylos frescoes (Lang 1969, 79–80, pl. 27) and ivory lyres were found in the tholos tomb at Menidi and in the Zapher Papoura cemetery. A bronze lyre was recovered from the sanctuary at Amyklai (Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 53).

Lyre music was a feature of ritual in the sanctuary throughout its life.

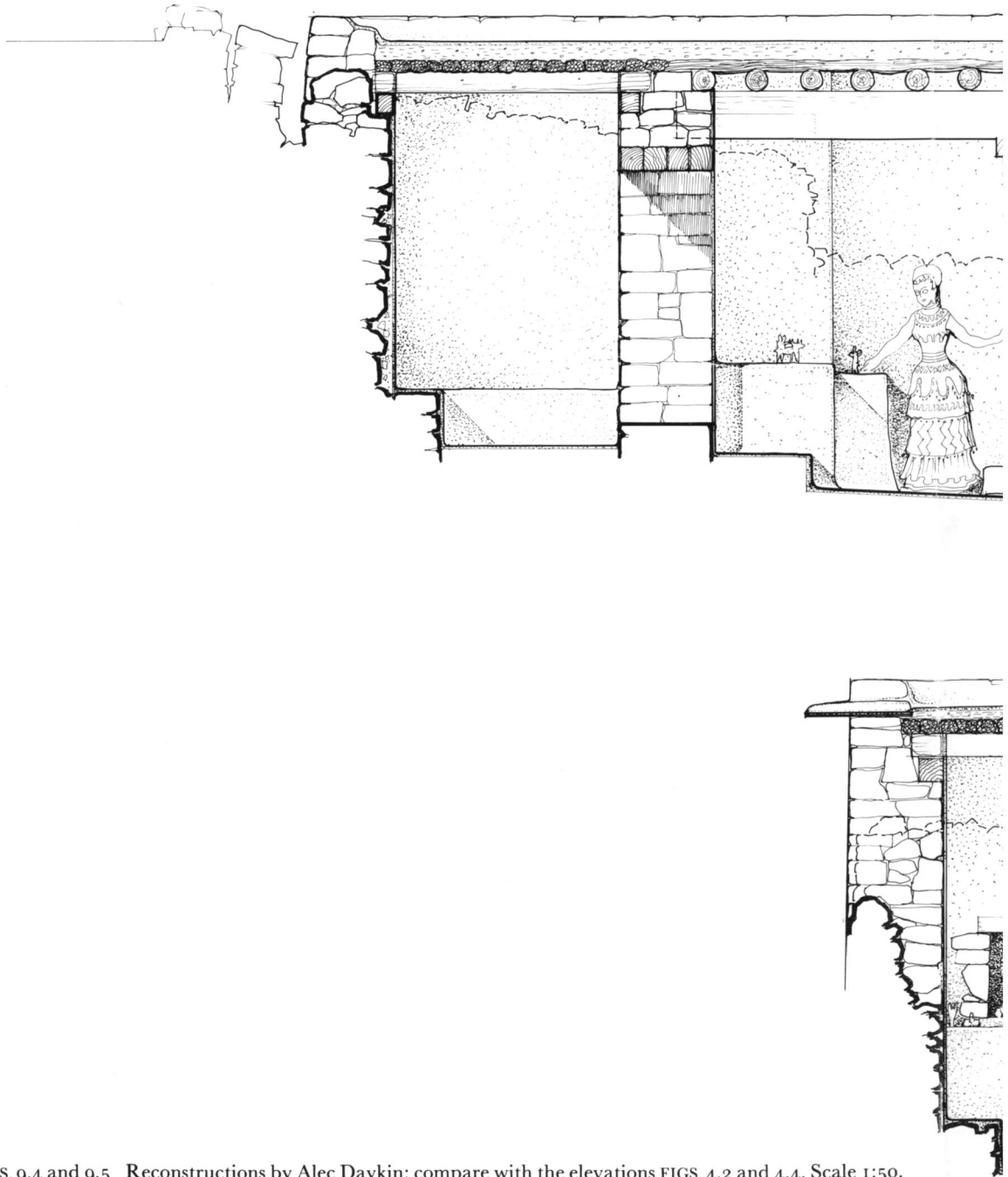
(b) *Cult Equipment*

The human figures and figurines naturally constitute the most important part of the cult equipment. They were accompanied by bovine figures. In two cases these had miniature vases on the back with apertures, so that the object could serve as a cult vessel. In the other cases, however, no such function was possible: these were simply figures to accompany the human cult figures.

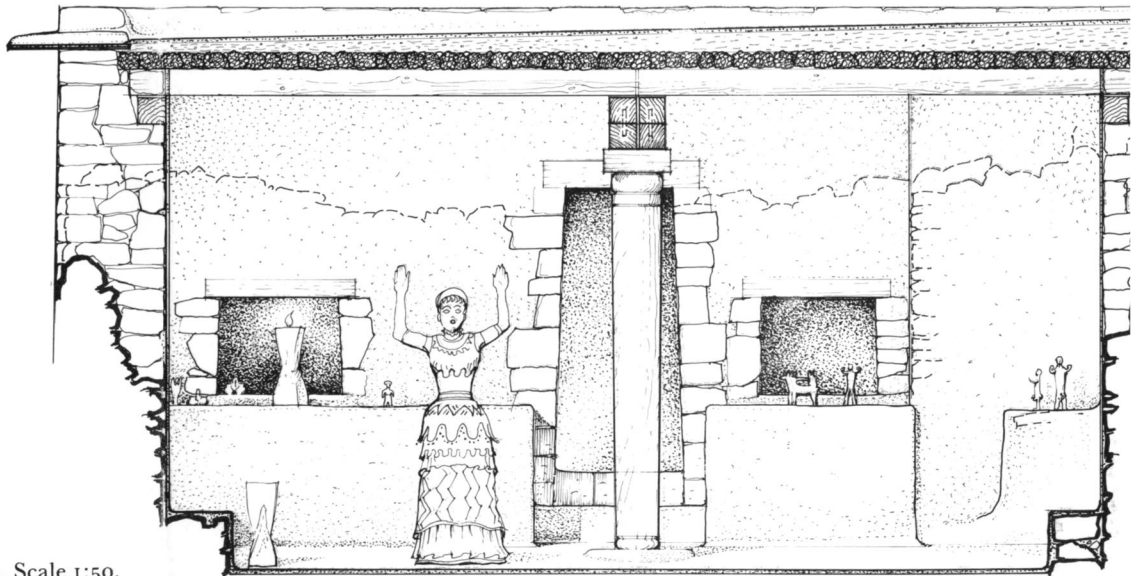
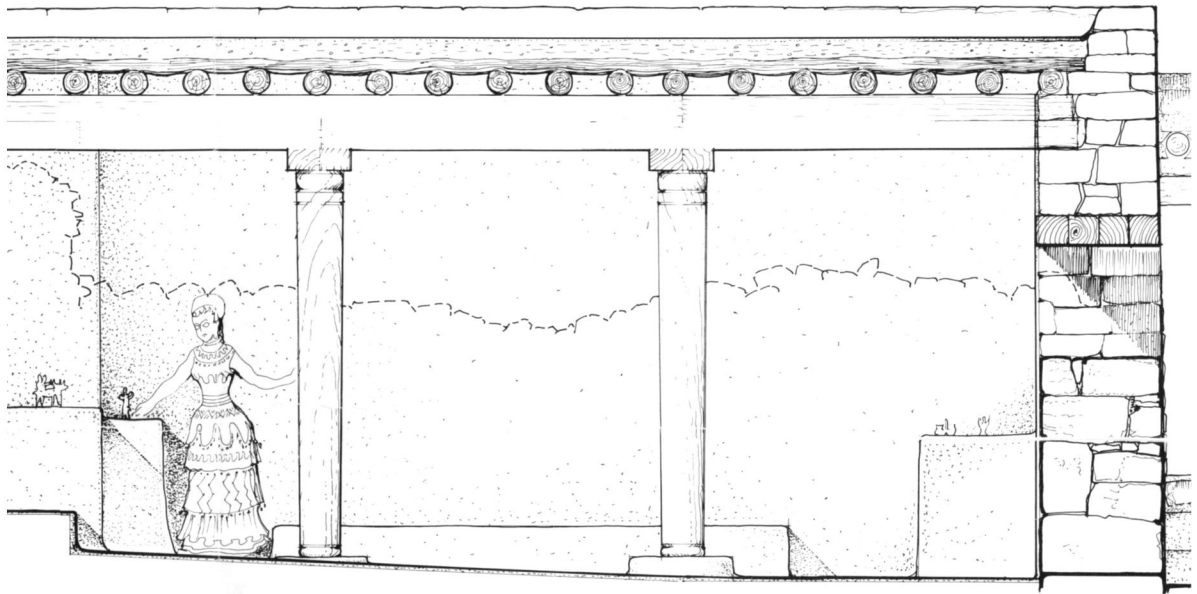
Two shapes are of note among the pottery. The first is the composite vase, a double vessel, found in phase 2b on the south-west platform of the West Shrine (Cat. Nos. 93 and 94; PLATE 20), and in phase 3c on the north-east platform which probably replaced it. A triple vessel of analogous form was found in the cult assemblage of House G at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, 299, fig. 306) and the whole question of more elaborate multiple vessels or *kernoi* is well discussed by Nilsson (1950, 133–140). Elaborate multiple vases are well known from the First City at Phylakopi (Phylakopi 1904, pl. VIII, 14; Bosanquet 1897), but this more simple, double form is different. Although not rare in Mycenaean pottery, the form is considered by Furumark (1941a, 70) to have ritual associations. Such is certainly the case here.

The second special ceramic form is the pedestal vase, represented by complete examples from the phase 2b deposit in Room A (Cat. No. 373), from the phase 3c assemblage in the East Shrine (Cat. No. 375), and from the phase 3c use of the north-east platform of the West Shrine (Cat. No. 374; PLATE 20). These were not given the smooth brown wash accorded to even the less distinguished local plain wares. Their contexts however indicate their special significance. A rather similar vessel was found in the earlier excavations (Phylakopi 1904, 158, fig. 147) and was then compared with the 'pedestal vases' from the western pillar-chamber of the Third City, which was taken to suggest a ceremonial character. Such must certainly be the conclusion here: they may have been lamps.

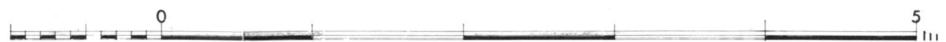
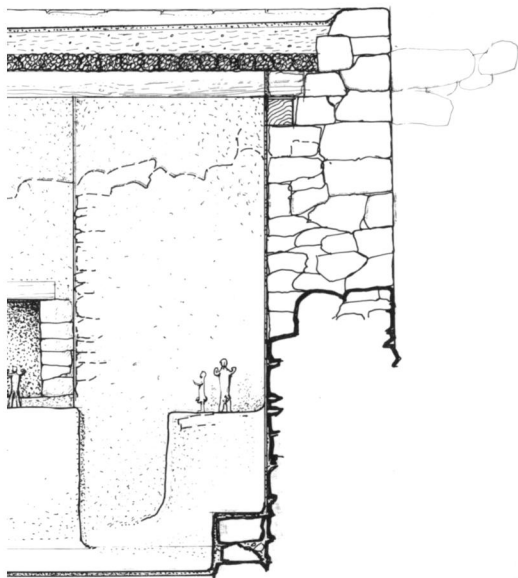
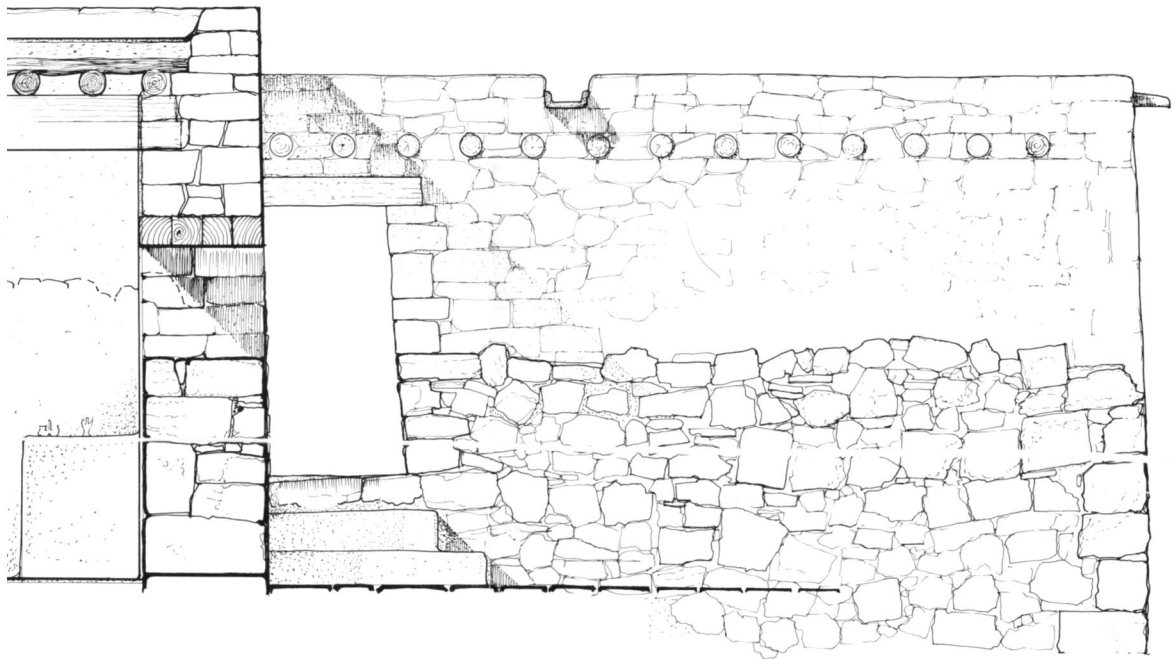
Several fragments of ostrich egg shell from the phase 3c deposit in the East Shrine belonged to a single vessel: the top of the egg had been worked to give a regular circular aperture (PLATE 64 *b*). It is possible that the stone handle (SF 194) found in the same level with plaster adhering to it

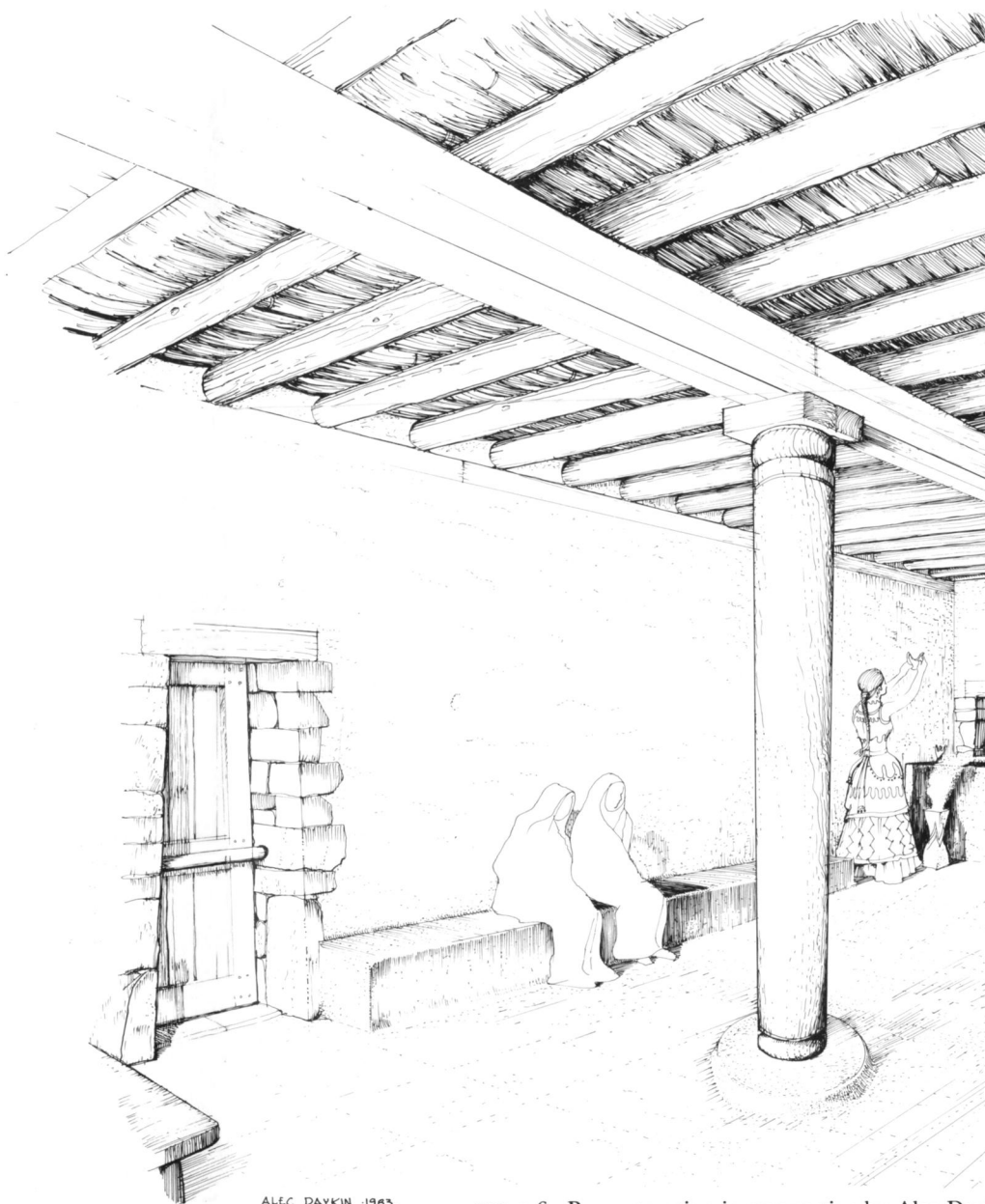


FIGS. 9.4 and 9.5 Reconstructions by Alec Daykin: compare with the elevations FIGS. 4.2 and 4.4. Scale 1:50.
 Above: the sanctuary looking north, in phase 2a (the north-east altar was added after the collapse).
 Below: the interior of the West Shrine, looking west, in phase 2a



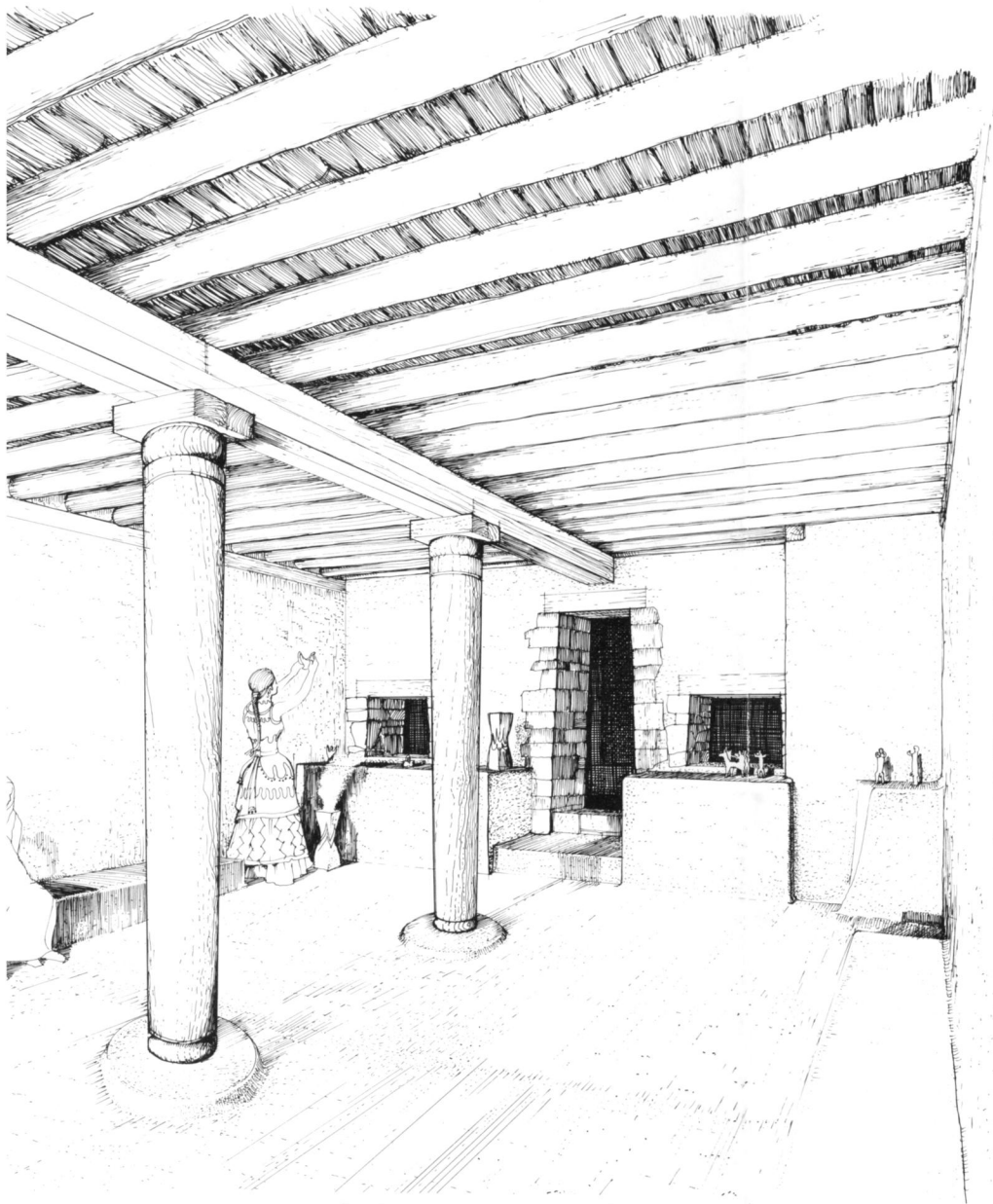
nd 4.4. Scale 1:50.
s added after the collapse).





ALEC DAYKIN 1965.

FIG. 9.6 Reconstruction in perspective by Alec Day



struction in perspective by Alec Daykin, showing the West Shrine in use during phase 1b.

belonged to this vessel. This was therefore a splendid and exotic piece, and again one which may first have been used in an earlier phase. On the other hand one of the 'Smiting God' figurines is from a late context and may indicate contact with the East Mediterranean at this late time: the ostrich egg vase could be a further reflection of such contact.

Several fragments from stone vases were also found within the sanctuary, but their condition was so fragmentary that they cannot with confidence be regarded as being in a primary context or associated with the sanctuary.

The other obviously special item of cult equipment is the stone columnar lamp (PLATE 66 *a–b*). The first of these (SF 2004) was found in the phase 2b assemblage on the south-west platform, the second (SF 2309) in the phase 3c material in the region of the north-west platform. That the second piece was re-used has already been suggested in view of their similarity. As noted in Chapter VIII, tall lamps of stone are well known from Minoan sites (e.g. Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, 138–40) and one from Mycenae, and a pottery version is already known from Phylakopi (Phylakopi 1904, 210, fig. 186). These two pieces are, however, of rough local conglomerate tuff, and perhaps for that reason, seem rather crudely carved. The chevron design is very distinctive. They certainly constitute the most monumental feature of the shrine assemblage. No other lamps were found (unless perhaps the pottery pedestal vases just mentioned), and if these lamps are correctly so identified they may have contributed the only artificial light within the sanctuary.

(c) Votive Offerings

Worship is the essential element in the practice of religion, and a frequent feature of worship, as in the establishing of purely human inter-personal relationships, both symmetrical and asymmetrical, is the giving of gifts. Gifts to the deity, that is to say offerings, take place in most sanctuaries. Very frequently gifts in the form of small objects are placed before or close to the image of the deity.

Many of the small objects discovered in the sanctuary are of a special character, being, in their minor way, valuables: that is to say of very good workmanship or of special material. Most of these were found on or near the platforms which have already been identified, by the presence of figures and figurines and of special equipment, as serving as a focus for cult practice. While a few of these objects might have served as adornment for some of the figures, and could thus have been introduced by those responsible for installing the figures, most may be regarded as offerings made by worshippers in the sanctuary.

Beads are the most frequent of these small objects, being found in almost all the assemblages. Often, no doubt, they were given in small groups as necklaces or bracelets, but in some cases, like the splendid carnelian bead (SF 861) found in the phase 2b deposit in the East Shrine, they were given singly. The same is probably true of the sealstones.

The sealstones have been discussed in detail in Chapter VII. It is of course very notable that ten of them were found together as offerings in the 2b phase of the East Shrine, particularly since none was found from that period in the West Shrine, and none was found at all from later periods in either building. Dr Younger's discussion shows that they are not unusual examples of glyptic art, and the motifs appear to have no special cult significance. There need be no suggestion, then, that they were specially made to be placed in the sanctuary. They fall, rather, in the category of valued personal possessions dedicated as offerings.

The splendid crystal sealstone from Room B of the West Shrine dates from phase 1. As noted earlier it helps to suggest that these rooms at the west of the West Shrine may originally have been connected with cult observance.

A single scarab (SF 776) was found in the sanctuary in the street to the south of the East Shrine. It was found in close association with figurine fragments all of which derived originally from the area of the north-east platform in phase 2b, and it too may originally have been an offering at that platform. Scarabs of Egyptian manufacture are not unusual in the Aegean, even at this late time (e.g. Iakovidis 1969, III, pl. 30, 37, 58 and 85). Several fine stone pendants, including one in the form of a couchant animal (SF 2008), probably an import from Egypt, complete the repertoire of finely carved stone.

Metal objects constitute the second most frequent class of offering. Gold (in the form of gold leaf), silver (a ring), tin, lead and bronze are found. The bronze objects include two rings, several pins, a few weapons and numerous scraps, as well as the votive bird (SF 1578) from the phase 2b deposit near the north-west platform of the West Shrine and the two 'Smiting God' figurines. The weapons are a spearhead (SF 1535) from the north-west platform in phase 2b, three arrowheads and two knives.

Several steatite dress-weights (or beads) were found, some handsome pendants, and other minor objects of stone. One (SF 891) resembles the stone axes commonly found in the neolithic period, although what should be the working edge is not at all sharp and probably never has been. The find does, however, recall the similar stone axe from the cult assemblage of House G at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, 299).

The votive offerings included two objects of ivory, as well as several scraps. One was a disc of diameter 3.2 cm (SF 2396), probably a dagger pommel, the other the handle of a bronze knife (SF 830) from the phase 2b deposit of the East Shrine. There are several pins of bone.

The occurrence of painted plaster in the sanctuary has already been discussed. The circumstances do not suggest mural decoration, and the plaster fragments may have been part of the decoration of moveable objects, although these were not themselves recovered.

A few small circular, baked clay objects were recovered, many of which may be classified as spindle whorls. They are listed in Chapter VIII. Obsidian blades may also have been included among the offerings: they are further discussed below.

This completes the list of the artifacts which may be regarded as offerings in the sanctuary. It is notable that all of them were objects of daily use, of greater or lesser value. Other than the figurines there appears to be none specially manufactured as offerings, which might for instance have been compared with the votive arms and feet and so on which have been recovered from the Peak Sanctuaries of Crete.

The total quantities of offerings recovered are not large, when one takes into account that the sanctuary may have been in use for a total of something like 270 years. About 100 beads were recovered altogether, and 35 animal figurines (with a further 44 fragments), and these were among the most numerous finds. Although of course the finds need not represent anything like the totality of what was originally offered in the sanctuary (and the possibility of looting should not be excluded), it is nonetheless of note that the deposition rate in each category of objects subsequently recovered during our excavations is well under one per year.

Offerings from Nature

The most important offerings in the course of worship often take the form of materials which humans need for their daily sustenance: food and drink. Thus the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus, for instance, depicts animals for sacrifice, and the pouring, presumably for a libation, of a liquid.

The presence in the sanctuary, notably in the courtyard area, of considerable quantities of pottery, some of it (including the kylikes) evidently associated with drinking, has already been used to suggest the possibility of libations in that area, presumably of wine. Unfortunately

evidence for offerings of food is harder to come by. No deposits of carbonised grain were found. It was rarely found elsewhere on the site, although flotation procedures were undertaken in a number of experiments, and conditions were evidently not favourable for preservation. It is of course conceivable that, if cereal products were offered, they were offered in the form of bread. The evidence for animal offerings is also weak. The question is considered by Dr Gamble in Appendix D. Certainly there were no strikingly frequent occurrences of the bones of a particular species, as found on some later sites. Indeed the bones recovered from the sanctuary did not differ significantly from those recovered on the other areas of the site.

Several isolated finds of sea shells may well be significant, quite apart from the conch shells already discussed (see Chapter VIII). Some of them are entirely unworked, and should probably be regarded as cult offerings. Finds of shells on archaeological sites are often overlooked, but there is clear evidence that a special significance was sometimes attached to them. Assemblages of shells, obviously deliberately collected and deposited, were found in several graves of the Perati cemetery (e.g. Iakovidis 1969, III, pl. 26, 56, 80, 88 etc.), and the contexts there do not suggest that these were collected for food. The shells from the Sanctuary were too few in number to have made any substantial dietary contribution, and they are interpreted here as offerings. A single boar's tusk (SF 1723) was found in levels below the East Shrine.

Attention should be drawn to a very handsome, but unworked piece of rock crystal, from the phase 2b deposit in the East Shrine (SF 1747; PLATE 61 *e*). This was 6.4 cm long, with six facets and tapering elegantly, and was clearly an offering.

(d) Secular or Everyday Activities in the Sanctuary

The East and West Shrines, it has been argued, were constructed and used for cult purposes. This does not, however, of necessity imply that other more mundane, and obviously functional activities were not carried out within them. The circumstances of excavation, with the careful recovery of all the artefactual material within the sanctuary, has allowed the investigation of this question more thoroughly than has hitherto been possible in the Aegean.

The distinction between cult offerings and discarded utilitarian objects is not an easy one, depending primarily on the intention of the original donor or user. It does not follow, for instance, that a bone point such as SF 1830 from phase 1 levels in the courtyard was not, in fact, a votive offering, although it looks instead like a very handy tool. And while the rather numerous querns and mortars found in the area may not be offerings, they could well have been used in the preparation of food, some of which could have been used in the celebration of the cult.

With any such analysis it is important to consider whether any of the finds should be dismissed as mere 'background noise', that is to say whether they were introduced into the area with building materials or with later rubbish and debris as part of a secondary infilling, rather than having their primary use in the area. This suggestion has already been made in relation to some of the stone vase fragments from the area, which are all single, rather small pieces.

These issues are both carefully considered in Appendices C and D in relation to the chipped stone, and to the (unworked) animal bone debris. In her consideration of the obsidian Dr Torrence finds that there is nothing special in the types of artefacts found in the sanctuary: there are no special artefact forms. In considering the quantities recovered, standardised by comparison with the volume of soil removed, she notes an increase by a factor of 2.5 from phase 1 to phase 2, followed by slight reduction in phase 3. This might, however, be the result of debris entering the sanctuary from outside at the time of the 2b collapse. On the other hand the high proportion of blades within the shrines as compared to waste material, which is more abundant

in street levels, suggests that the distribution is not a fortuitous one. A particularly high concentration was observed in the phase 2 deposits in Room B, to such an extent that its use for activities involving obsidian or as a store for obsidian tools was considered. The high proportion in Room A at the same time also suggested possible use as a store. These apparent concentrations may, however, be a consequence of more extensive sieving in this area during excavation. In phase 3, the East Shrine had the greatest concentration of obsidian. The most important factor, it is suggested, is that obsidian did indeed continue in use here in the Late Bronze III period. Some of the use may have been for special ritual purposes, while other uses may have been analogous to those elsewhere on the site.

The animal bone interpretation is likewise complicated by the question of rubbish disposal in the sanctuary area: an absence or scarcity of bones may be due as much to cleanliness as to any limited use of animals. That being said, the Phylakopi finds give no indication of animal sacrifice. This does not mean that sacrifices did not take place, but if they did the animals selected were in general those eaten domestically on the site—primarily sheep/goat—and no special concentrations of bones resulted. But animal bones *were* found in the sanctuary area.

The other major indication of what might be domestic activity comes from the coarse stone tools, mainly querns, mortars and rubbers. And significantly, perhaps, they do not correlate closely in their distribution with the main cult assemblages on the platforms, although the association does occur. Instead they are most frequent in the street and courtyard area south of the East Shrine (together with area OLd to the east) which seems an appropriate place for preparation activities, and also in Room B, which has already been noted for its high concentration of obsidian. The saddle querns found (see Chapter VIII) were very probably for the grinding of wheat or barley to yield flour. These two areas of concentration are precisely those which also show a considerable concentration of pottery. The same conjunction is found in the small room north of the West Shrine, which although destroyed at the time of the phase 2b collapse, is believed not to have formed part of the sanctuary complex as such.

The conclusion here must be that some areas of the sanctuary, particularly the courtyard and Room B, were sometimes used for activities which in other contexts would be regarded as purely domestic. These included the use of querns and mortars for grinding grain, and no doubt for other purposes, the use of pottery (mainly for handling liquids) and the manufacture and use of obsidian tools. Animal bones were also discarded, but not in notable numbers and without any unusual selection by species. These finds could be interpreted either as preparations for cult offerings, or very possibly as simple domestic activities by the priests or priestesses who may have looked after the sanctuary.

Clay loomweight fragments were found in the sanctuary, but their number is not such as to suggest the actual practice of weaving there: some of them might conceivably be votive objects.

There is one other activity, however, which must certainly be considered, namely bronze casting. A fragment of a clay mould for casting axes or chisels (SF 780) was found in the phase 3b material of the East Shrine (PLATE 65 *b*). Several fragments of slag were found (listed in Chapter VIII) and several small lumps of bronze. The largest of these shapeless pieces (SF 2302) is 5.7 cm long and appears to be a small puddle ingot. It is, of course, tempting to cite here the smiths on the Linear B tablet from Pylos who are designated by the deity-name of Potnia, (Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 354) which led Chadwick (*ibid.*, 413) to recall the suggestion that some of the Cretan caves, notably Arkalochori, were simultaneously smithies and cult centres. This seems to have been the case at Kition in Cyprus (Karageorghis 1976, 170). But we have no crucibles from our sanctuary, nor indications of fire on any industrial scale. Yet even if the sanctuary was not used for bronze casting, these finds, which may have been offerings, do perhaps suggest some connection between some of the smiths of Phylakopi and the sanctuary.

6. The Social Context of the Phylakopi Sanctuary

The foregoing sections have answered some of the questions posed at the end of Chapter I under the heading of 'What we wish to know'. These can now briefly be reviewed before the place of the cult in Melian society is examined.

(a) *The practice of the cult*

The cult was evidently practised in the sanctuary area at Phylakopi: there is absolutely no evidence for any sanctuaries on Melos outside the city, either in caves or at a peak-top location analogous to those of Crete (*contra* Bintliff 1977, 152 and 550). The extent to which sacred rituals were held elsewhere on the site is altogether unclear. The palace, with its megaron plan and central hearth must certainly rank as the principal building complex on the site, and was no doubt the locus of public ceremonies, such as have been hypothesised for Pylos and the principal megara of the other major Mycenaean centres (Hägg 1968, 41–4). But we have no cult equipment from the Phylakopi megaron, and no way of substantiating any suggestion that there were religious ceremonies here as opposed to largely secular ceremonial ones, relating as much to the maintenance of present earthly power as to the supernatural. The practice of some domestic ritual is entirely possible and is perhaps suggested by the bovine figure and female figurines found at different spots during earlier excavations (see Chapter VI and Phylakopi 1904, fig. 177, pl. XXXIX), as well as the arm of a human figure (*ibid.*, pl. XXXIX, 11). But these at present have the status of stray finds: there is no assemblage, however modest, to document domestic cult practice. Some cult practices in relation to the disposal of the dead may also be inferred from what we know both of earlier periods at Phylakopi and of other Late Bronze III sites in the Aegean, but we have so far only a couple of ill-documented Mycenaean burials from Melos (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, Appendix A, nos. 23 and 66).

The facilities and equipment for the practice of ritual in the sanctuary have been fully discussed above, along with the evidence for musical accompaniment, for animal sacrifice and for other offerings, including libations. We have suggested that the Lady of Phylakopi probably had the status of a cult image, and possibly one of the males also, but that the other male figures may have been votives, while the female figurines may certainly be regarded as votives. The finds offer no depictions of scenes, whether of cult or of deities; and the use of other well-defined symbols carrying a specific meaning within a coherent symbolic repertoire, such as the Minoan double axe and horns of consecration, was not observed.

(b) *Beliefs underlying the cult*

It is scarcely possible to document much of the underlying belief system represented in the ritual on the basis of the finds from a single site, particularly when these include no depictions which may be interpreted as of a mythical or religious nature. At the same time, we do have evidence that at least one deity, represented by the Lady of Phylakopi, had a human form, and the same is very possible for the deity revered on the north-west platform of the West Shrine. There are certainly no composite deities, like those of Egypt, nor any indication of mythical beasts.

The paramount role of bovine figures—without distinguishing sexual features—amongst the accompanying animals should be noted. All the large animal figures were bovine. This is probably true also of the individual terracotta animal figurines. (The animals in the terracotta chariot groups were, however, presumably horses.) The single bronze figure discovered within the West Shrine represented a bird. The sealstones may reflect similar concerns, depicting mainly bulls or goats (*agrimis*) and a bird, identified by Dr Younger as an eagle.

The baetyl certainly raises the possibility of aniconic representation of a deity, and it has been suggested above that, quite apart from this issue, two or perhaps three deities were revered in the sanctuary. The first deity (south-west platform) has been tentatively identified as female. The hypothetical second deity (north-west platform) was perhaps male.

Beyond this the Phylakopi finds, taken in isolation, cannot lead us. They are further considered in the next chapter in their wider Aegean context.

(c) *Place in Society*

There is no doubt that the excavation of the sanctuary at Phylakopi, with its finds discovered *in situ*, considerably expands our data for the Aegean religions in the Late Bronze Age. To the best of our present understanding it was the only complex of buildings in the town dedicated to the practice of cult at this time (although other discoveries always remain possible until the site is completely excavated). The existence of this special complex must clearly indicate a definite decision during the Late Helladic IIIA period, presumably by the ruling authority, that a sanctuary be constructed and furnished with suitable equipment and with a cult image, the Lady of Phylakopi, (which, as we have seen, was probably imported from mainland Greece). It may be inferred that specific individuals, whom we may designate 'priests' or 'priestesses', would be entrusted with the role of cleaning and maintaining the sanctuary in good order, and presumably with officiating in the practice of the cult. It does not, of course, follow that these were full-time specialists, although such may have been the case.

At the same time, there is perhaps the risk that our good fortune in discovering and excavating the town sanctuary at Phylakopi may lead us to exaggerate its importance in the life of the prehistoric community. Its scale is modest: the West Shrine is some six metres square, and could only with difficulty have accommodated a hundred or so people at a time, even if crammed closely together. The East Shrine has about one sixth the floor area, and the courtyard does not exceed the East Shrine in area. Estimates for the population of the town vary rather widely, but Cherry (1981, 261) has suggested a range of between 1400 and 2100 persons. Clearly then, the sanctuary could accommodate only a tiny proportion of the total population.

The position of the sanctuary on the site is as unassuming as is its scale. Located some way from the focus of administration, the palace, which is situated on higher ground, it lies at the extreme edge of the settlement, right against the fortification wall (during phases 2 and 3). Moreover it was entered at that time by a street (FIG. 4.12) which was itself in phase 2 and 3 internal to a complex of buildings whose entrance was apparently altogether un-monumental and indeed rather obscure.

The building was undoubtedly well constructed, the masonry rivalling that of any other structure on the site, other than the palace itself and the fortification walls. But the equipment within it was decidedly modest.

There is certainly no indication of any life-size or monumental cult image: the largest figure, the Lady of Phylakopi, being 45.0 cm in height. Nor was the cult equipment intrinsically rich (although it is of course possible that rich objects were removed after the phase 2b collapse and subsequently). There are no handsome stone vases (although the ostrich egg vase should be remembered), no vessels of precious metal. With the exception of the small gold head from the phase 3c deposit of the East Shrine and the two 'Smiting God' figurines, almost all the cult equipment is of pottery and terracotta. Even if Phylakopi was not a rich settlement at this time, the shrine could scarcely be accounted splendidly furnished, even in local terms.

Moreover the offerings, while individually attractive (notably the sealstones) are certainly not princely. No single votive object would unduly tax the resources of a modest middle-rank

inhabitant—a sealstone, an arrowhead, a couple of beads, a terracotta figurine. None of this would be considered conspicuously wealthy in any known Mycenaean cemetery. We may certainly infer that there is no evidence here of representative communal offerings, that is to say of conspicuous offerings made by the ruler on behalf of the community. We do not have here the prehistoric equivalent of the treasuries of Delphi, five hundred years later, nor indeed the equivalent of the approximately contemporary finds in the Cretan caves.

It is quite possible that votive offerings were made by individuals in their own right, and that the sanctuary as a whole functioned in this way, with relatively small-scale rituals which cannot have served a very conspicuous and publicly communal function.

This does not imply that it was not supported to some extent by the ruling authority: we have already suggested that the construction of the shrine may have been centrally organised, and perhaps that its priests or priestesses were centrally maintained. But with the phase 2b collapse, even this may have ended. For after that time, with the construction of the Blocking Wall, the sanctuary was further diminished in scale, with its former main cult image closed off and the courtyard and *baetyl* apparently buried. From now on, several elements of the cult equipment employed were re-used: votive figures and figurines first offered at an earlier period were now placed on the platforms. What was formerly modest now seems distinctly shabby and impoverished. It is tempting to link this definite decline with the destruction of the palace and the ending of strongly centralised rule on the island. But while it is perfectly possible that the cause of the phase 2b collapse was a military setback which also resulted in the destruction of the palace (and it is worth recalling again in this context that the destruction of the site of Koukounaries on Paros took place at about this time (see Schilardi 1979)), the Melian evidence alone cannot document this. There is unfortunately no material preserved from the excavation of the palace buildings themselves.

What is clear, however, is that after phase 2b the sanctuary was but a pale reflection of its former modest self. How this decline fits into the broader Aegean picture is a matter for consideration in the next chapter.

Chapter X

The Phylakopi Sanctuary and Cult Practice in the Aegean

We still have few clear procedures for the study of early religions from the archaeological remains. At the beginning of this work, that problem was reviewed, and criteria were established for identifying a site as a shrine—a location set aside for the practice of religious ritual. The problem of the recognition of a cult figure or figures was also reviewed. In Chapter IX it has proved possible to apply these criteria in some detail to the finds from Phylakopi. The area in question of the prehistoric town has indeed been identified as a shrine complex or sanctuary, but not without the necessity of reference to relevant sites in Crete. And certain figures have been recognised as cult images, although not with complete confidence. In a sense, then, Chapter IX was able to fulfill the objectives set out in Chapter I. The wider, and in some ways the more interesting task still lies ahead: to use these new data to give some fresh insights into the religious life of the late bronze age Aegean.

To seek to apply the same scepticism to the whole relevant material from the Aegean, the same methodological rigour that we have tried to apply to Phylakopi, would require a systematic work on at least the scale of those of Nilsson (1952) and of Rutkowski (1972). This is not the place for a review of the Aegean evidence as a whole. Instead I propose to highlight those aspects where the materials from Phylakopi offer some new insights, a new slant upon the problems. In doing so I shall again try to be sceptical, resisting the tradition of ready acceptance in these matters, where religious contexts have so frequently been identified without convincing associations. Often for example in the case of Megaron B at Eleusis, it has been the later significance of the site which provides the major argument for its earlier sanctity, and this seems at best an uncertain procedure. Rutkowski himself has offered more strict criteria: 'It is my contention that sacred objects and votive offerings are the only reliable indicators of Bronze Age cult places in Greece, and perhaps even in many other lands as well' (Rutkowski 1972, 303). This caution led him, for instance, 'to eliminate from the cult places a category of archaeological find that had usually been regarded as sanctuaries, that is the "sacred crypts"'. (We have followed him in this for the so-called pillar crypt at Phylakopi.)

In what follows, emphasis is placed primarily upon actual findspots within the Aegean where there are indications that cult observances may have been carried out. In Chapter IX the status as shrines of several Cretan sites was briefly discussed and established in outline. Comparable arguments, which need not be rehearsed in detail here, can be put forward for two mainland sites, and for one in the islands. The mainland shrines are, of course, those at Mycenae and Tiryns, to be further discussed below. At each, as in the case of Phylakopi, there are separate buildings containing terracotta human figures, and other finds which allow their status as shrines or temples to be established by the arguments developed in Chapter IX. The same holds for the important shrine at Aghia Irini on Kea.

Before moving on towards conclusions for the early Aegean however, it is necessary to consider some further points of method which the experience of analysing the Phylakopi materials has brought out. They are worth developing because they carry implications for the study of religious materials in other parts of the world. As stressed at the outset, we have no established rules of procedure for the study of early religions from the archaeological remains, and it is

necessary to establish them in outline as the argument develops. In the next section the notion of 'context' will be considered further, before the Aegean evidence is reviewed in outline, and some tentative conclusions offered.

1. Contextual Analysis in the Study of Early Cult Practice

In 1978 I wrote: 'Together with the recent finds from Mycenae and the important new discoveries from Tiryns, the findings at Phylakopi should open the way to a new appraisal of Mycenaean cult practice. In particular they offer the opportunity of a *contextual analysis*, where the significance of particular representations or symbols can first be studied on the basis of patterns of associations documented by their exact find contexts at the site in question' (Renfrew 1978, 14). But the notion of context goes beyond that of immediate juxtaposition, and contextual analysis means more than the thoroughgoing study of formation processes as they determine the archaeological record for a single site.

Context implies coherence and belonging together: it implies structural relationships, something more than mere fortuitous juxtaposition. This might be the starting point for an approach parallel to that of structuralist anthropologists, where the framework of meaning sometimes appears to be apprehended intuitively by the observer. I am firmly opposed to such intuitive leaps: the whole thrust of the methodology developed earlier is in the opposite direction. What is advocated here is the careful analysis of context, not its wholesale ingestion as 'experience' so as to enable the modern observer to 'relive' the past, as advocated in the 'anamnesia' approach discussed in Chapter I.

The whole notion of a 'Minoan-Mycenaean religion' (Nilsson 1950) still stands in need of critical re-evaluation. A number of writers on the religion of Mycenaean Greece (Mylonas 1966, 1977; Hooker 1977) have stressed that in fact it differed in many respects from that of Minoan Crete. I have earlier raised this question (Renfrew 1981, 27):

'Was there a Minoan-Mycenaean religion? That is to say, was there at any time in the Aegean late bronze age a sufficient degree of uniformity in cult practice in the southern Aegean to warrant our speaking of a single "religion"? . . .

1. What were the variations through time of cult practices *within* any given area during the Aegean bronze age?, and
2. What were the regional variations at any given time during the bronze age, of cult practices within the Aegean?"

To these questions may certainly be added the issue of social context: the evidence will clearly vary depending on whether one is looking at a rural or an urban shrine: whether at a palace centre, or a sanctuary, or at a domestic 'shrine' within a house. While the early assumption of a broad degree of religious uniformity within the Aegean no doubt once facilitated the identification of the main features of a 'Minoan-Mycenaean religion', that term is now much too generalised, and no longer has any usefulness or validity for serious analysis. This point will emerge from the discussion which follows. Although it is centered upon the Aegean case, the four aspects of contextual analysis which are briefly discussed are of relevance to the study of religious beliefs as approached from the archaeological data in any area of the world.

(a) *The Spatial Context*

What is the scale, in spatial terms, of the unit of analysis? This is always a crucial question for the archaeologist, and never more so than in considering the contexts within which symbols function. The essential point is that specific symbols can travel much more widely than the precise meanings associated with them at their place of origin. This point has already been met in

the case of the ivory ring found at Phylakopi (PLATE 55 *a*) showing a woman before a platform or altar surmounted by horns of consecration. At first one is tempted to see it as informing us about cult practice in Melos during the Late Bronze I period or shortly after. But if it is an import to Melos, as seems likely, it may rank as no more than a prestige object with an exotic decoration and does not imply the local veneration of a Minoan symbol. The same point will be made with equal force in section 3 below for many mainland finds.

The complete absence of any indication of horns of consecration or of the double axe symbol from the Phylakopi sanctuary suggests that practices and beliefs there may have differed considerably from those in Crete. The situation is more complicated in the mainland, where depictions of these two symbols, among others, were already reaching Mycenae and elsewhere in the Late Bronze I period. They were imitated locally. But it does not follow that their meaning in a Mycenaean context was identical to that in Crete, even when seen *in situ*, for instance in a fresco. It is not wise to take the distribution in space of the occurrence of a single symbol as a significant indicator of meaning. Instead it is necessary to think in terms of a coherent *assemblage* of symbols recurring at different locations. This is seen, for instance in Crete, with the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms and the cult equipment sometimes accompanying her. Strictly comparable figures are not in fact seen on the mainland (FIG. 10.1). Nor are double axes a consistent feature of the mainland assemblages, and the Minoan cult vessels in 'snake tube' form are lacking. There is an apparently consistent regional diversity here.

At the same time, underlying this regional diversity in the use of symbols, which certainly suggests that different beliefs may have been in operation, there is a certain basic community in the means of expression. Terracotta figures of less than life size were used both on the mainland and in Crete, and they are sometimes found in both areas in small buildings set apart from those of other function, often equipped with benches on which the figures were placed with other objects. It can be argued that the *range* of ritual expression in the two areas, and in the islands, was closely similar. It differed from that in Western Asia, with its very much larger temples, and from Cyprus, with its open-air or courtyard temples.

It was argued in Chapter IX that this degree of community in the means of expression could lead us in Melos to make a number of inferences by comparison with the Cretan case. This suggestion was made with specific acknowledgement that the precise religious practices and beliefs might not be the same. This phenomenon of a degree of community in expression within a region, which does not however amount to uniformity, is one of the features which accompany the process of peer polity interaction (Renfrew 1982, 286; Renfrew and Cherry, *in press*). This is a difficult general issue, which merits much more extensive treatment: it is as relevant to the Mesoamerican case (in discussing the distribution of Olmec symbolism, for instance: see Grove, *in press*) as to the Mediterranean.

For the Aegean, we may certainly recognise a world, already in the early bronze age, where interactions resulted in certain common elements. This is most clearly seen in the repertoire of bronze artefacts (Renfrew 1967, pl. 11). This world included the south Aegean, with the islands off the Anatolian coast, but excluded Macedonia, Thrace and much of Thessaly. Something of this is seen later in the distribution of Minoan (or Minoan-inspired) 'marine style' pottery in the Late Minoan IB period, and much the same area of contact and partial uniformity is reasserted in the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the LH IIIA2/B1 period, and reflected to some extent in that of the animal and human (Psi) figurines also (FIGS. 10.3 and 10.4). This then is the larger sphere, where fairly frequent interactions led to the sharing of various artefact forms, and to a number of common idioms of expression.

Real uniformity of material culture was, however, very much more restricted. It is possible to speak of 'Minoan' artefacts throughout the late bronze age, without doing much violence to the restricted degree of diversity of style still remaining within Crete. It is reasonable also to speak of a Mycenaean material culture in the late bronze age, although this applies only to central and southern Greece and not to the north. But a close examination of the distribution of human and animal figures illustrates how different at the detailed levels were the Minoan and Mycenaean cult assemblages. It is indeed open to discussion how much variation there was within the Mycenaean realm.

The case of Phylakopi is an interesting one, since its symbolic adherence, so to speak, changes. In the Late Bronze I period, as discussed in Chapter IX, those symbolic forms which we can recognise are predominantly Minoan. Since no shrine of that period has been recognised there, it would certainly be premature to suggest that cults of Minoan type were actually practised there. But this is not ruled out on our present knowledge, and certainly some Minoan symbols were adopted and used. The later sanctuary, on the other hand, shows a range of symbols which are more Mycenaean than Minoan, including the Lady of Phylakopi herself and the other terracotta figures and figurines. At the same time, there are local peculiarities, most notably the male figures, which appear at present to have been special to Phylakopi. We certainly cannot say that in the Late Bronze 3 period the cult practices at Phylakopi were the same as those in (or in part of) the Mycenaean world. Beneath the broader uniformity there is diversity.

The issue under discussion here certainly merits further analysis, since the data in question are relevant not only to matters of cult practice, but also to the difficult question of ethnic formation. There are underlying linguistic issues also. Only by very careful consideration of scale, and by a critical definition of the criteria for accepting uniformity,—whether in the religious field or in any other—can we use the data effectively.

(b) The Temporal Context

The issue of temporal diversity is likewise very clearly illustrated at Phylakopi, and by much the same evidence used above to document the varying relationships or affinities in spatial terms.

The position in the Late Minoan I period at Phylakopi is indicated by the pillar room with its accompanying frescoes (Phylakopi 1904, 18), since whatever their significance in terms of possible cult, they are certainly Minoan in appearance. That the cult practices at this time may have had similarities with those in Crete is also hinted by the pottery animal figure (FIG. 9.1) from the site (Phylakopi 1904, 204, fig. 176), which as remarked in Chapter IX resembles a number of Cretan examples of 'naturalistic' form from the same period: the distribution of these pieces is seen in FIG. 10.2. Mention has already been made of the ivory ring (PLATE 55) and also of the small terracotta figure in Kamarea, with polychrome decoration (FIG. 9.2). It must be an import from Crete, and may be compared with small figures, likewise with bell-shaped skirt, from the peak sanctuary at Petsofa (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 15). Were this in a peak sanctuary context it would certainly be regarded as a votive figure. It must rank as a piece of Minoan cult symbolism found already in Melos in the middle bronze age.

With the construction of the West Shrine during the Late Helladic IIIA period, as indicated above and as discussed in detail below, the symbolic pieces are related rather to those of Mainland Greece. Indeed the transition may have come rather earlier, to judge from the Mycenaean figurines, including those of Phi form which preceded the Psi, from other parts of the site (see TABLE 6.1). The temporal distinction is thus a very marked one at Phylakopi, and it would evidently be inappropriate to refer to cult practices at the site without specifying the period with care. There may also be relevant distinctions to draw between phases 1 and 2 of the

sanctuary on the one hand, and the post-collapse use in phase 3 on the other. As discussed in Chapter IX and again in section 4 below, there may by then have been a significant shift in social context.

The second very obvious instance of temporal diversity in cult practice is in Crete itself. There are, of course, strong indications of continuity, for instance in the peak sanctuaries. But the principal evidence for cult practice during the palace periods comes from the palaces themselves. Among the most striking objects for which cult significance has been claimed are the assemblages of rhyta (Koehl 1981), such as those of Zakro. Such hoards of stone vessels are not found after the palace period. Their absence later may, of course, represent a change in the social system rather than any underlying shift in belief, and this point is mentioned again below, but there is a variation in practice.

It is not, however, until after the fall of Knossos in the Late Minoan IIIA period that we see the emergence of what seems a new symbolic assemblage associated with the 'Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms' (Alexiou 1958). The evidence suggests that it is at this time that separate rooms or buildings were set aside, provided with benches on which to put cult images and equipment and used exclusively for the veneration of deities represented by (or perhaps served by votaries in the form of) a female figure with upraised arms. This figure is in pottery, a flattened upper body, which in larger examples is hollow, set into a bell-shaped skirt. It is characteristically Minoan (FIG. 10.1).

This assemblage is not seen during the life of the palaces: occurrences are securely dated to the Late Minoan IIIB or IIIC periods. Only at Gournia was a Late Bronze I occurrence originally suggested, and even there Hawes (1908, 47) wrote of the dating: 'We must admit, however, the inherent weakness of negative evidence, for the shrine yielded no pottery or other finds that could be easily dated', Marinatos (1937) and Russel (1979) have since argued convincingly that this is in fact a Late Minoan III assemblage. Recent excavations at the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos revealed a 'Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms' figure with an animal figure and a male figurine from a Late Minoan IIIB context (Popham 1973). Although Hood (1977) has usefully gathered together the evidence for town shrines at an earlier date, the particular concurrence of a separate building with this specific cult image and with the associated cult equipment is not seen earlier.

This then seems a further instance of a striking change, when one symbol complex emerges and another declines. To say this is not to deny the elements of continuity, as Warren (1979) has stressed. There are associations of snakes at Gournia and elsewhere in the Late Minoan IIIB period, which recall the 'goddess' figures from the earlier Temple Repositories at Knossos, and indeed the so-called 'Household Goddess' from Early Minoan II Myrtos and elsewhere. But it is clear that Late Minoan IIIB brought with it new forms of cult practice.

These chronological distinctions remind us that the evidence must be ordered within strict chronological categories, if it is to have any validity. At the very minimum, the following divisions must be observed:

- I. The Aegean neolithic. The evidence comes mostly from symbolic representations in the form of small figurines. The range of variation has been stressed by Ucko (1968) who refutes the idea of a single Great Earth Mother Goddess.
- II. The third millennium BC. It is at this time that evidence for shrines becomes significant (e.g. Myrtos—Phournou Koriphi). The gravegoods also raise questions about funerary ritual.

- III. Cretan First Palace period (*ca.* 2000 to 1600 BC). There is evidence for the conduct of ritual in the marked concentrations of symbolic materials within the palaces. A new class of site, the peak sanctuary is established. The evidence from the mainland is scanty. In the Cyclades the temple at Aghia Irini is first established.
- IV. Cretan Second Palace period (*ca.* 1600 to 1400 BC). Depictions in Crete relating to religious practices are now most abundant (including some from the time of apparent Mycenaean domination at Knossos). Most of the Minoan frescoes as well as most of the gold rings occur now. The finds from the mainland as well as the islands mainly reflect the symbolism of Crete. (From *ca.* 1450 to *ca.* 1380 BC in Crete falls the important sub-phase, which is clearly represented at present only at Knossos.)
- V. Fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC. In Crete this is the period of the emergence and *floruit* of the 'Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms' and her associated shrines. On the mainland our best evidence comes from the cult area at Mycenae. On the islands, the Kea temple continues, and the sanctuary at Phylakopi, predominantly of Mycenaean character, goes through its phase 1 and 2a.
- VI. Twelfth and eleventh centuries BC. In Crete, although the influence of the 'Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms' continues at such late sites as Karphi, at others such as Phaistos, Aghia Triadha and in the caves, new Mycenaean ideas are seen, together with other innovations. On the mainland the shrines at Tiryns give the best information, supplemented by other supposedly ritual deposits including the Amyklaion. On Melos the sanctuary suffers a setback (the phase 2b collapse) and survives in restricted form (phase 3). The Kea temple, after a period of lying rather dormant, sees some further activity late in this period.
- VII. Tenth and ninth centuries BC. With the notable exception of the heröon at Lefkandi, no temples are known from this period, and cult observances seem to have taken place in the open air. The Minoan peak shrine of Kato Syme was still venerated, and the caves of Ida and Dikte. Several significant bronze age sites, including Aghia Irini on Kea, Delos and Amyklai still received votive offerings, as did several sanctuaries soon to become great, such as Delphi, Olympia and the Heraion on Samos. Although the identifications are inevitably based largely on hindsight, these shrines are generally assumed to have been dedicated already at this time to the Olympian deities with which they were later associated.

(c) Context and Classes of Data

The basic archaeological problems of stratigraphic control and historic reconstruction at an excavated site are central to most archaeological undertakings, and do not require special treatment here. Indeed they were fully considered for Phylakopi in Chapters II, III and IV, where the interlocking evidence of stratigraphic succession, typological interpretation (mainly for pottery and figurines) and the complex patterns of joins were discussed. One of the clearest lessons of the past decade or so of field research is that 'contiguity does not prove continuity', and that associations of materials have to be interpreted in terms of formation processes rather than assumed to have validity on the basis of simple juxtaposition. Thus the interpretation of the cult figures in the shrines, for instance, depends very much upon our inferences as to how they made their way, or the fragments found their way, to the locations where they were found. The complexities are much greater when written records and depictions (classes 1 and 3 of the four classes of data discussed in Chapter I) are available to supplement the basic information from the material remains of cult practice (class 4). In the Aegean case they are seen with great clarity

when we consider the Linear B tablets from Knossos and the mainland (class 1), and the sealstone and rings (class 3).

For instance, most writers on Minoan or Mycenaean religion have made extensive use of the various depictions which may be related to cult practices seen on the sealstones, and especially on the gold rings found both in Crete and on the mainland (e.g. Nilsson 1950; Mylonas 1977; Rutkowski 1981). There are splendid examples of these rings from Mycenae, Tiryns, Vaphio, Prosymna, Pylos and other mainland sites, and from Isopata, Archanes, Sellopoulo and other sites of Crete. It should, however, be noted that the freedom of movement in many of the scenes, including those with a *sacra conversazione* subject, is more typical of Minoan than Mycenaean art (although the converse could be said for those rings with a heraldic subject, such as the magnificent ring from Pylos (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, no. 209)). I believe that these pieces have not yet had the critical consideration that they deserve, for it could certainly be argued that the majority of those showing elaborate cult scenes were produced before 1380 BC or even before 1450 BC. Moreover it is possible that these gold rings were actually made in Crete. As Vermeule (1974, 14) puts it: 'Stilistisch gehören sie eher nach Kreta, wo Abdrücke ihre Verwendung zum Siegeln bezeugen. Man hat angenommen, dass die griechischen Goldringe durch Frauen, die mykenische Fürsten heirateten, von Kreta nach Hellas gelangten.' Their Cretan character is well illustrated by the sealings of Late Minoan I date from Chania (Papapostolou 1977). On the other hand Sakellariou (1964, no. 313) has ingeniously identified a clay sealing from Room 98 at Pylos as from a gold ring and there is no reason to doubt their occasional use in the Mycenaean palaces during the Late Helladic IIIB period, although they are not likely to have been manufactured at so late a date. (Of the two gold rings from the Late Helladic IIIC Tomb 1 at Perati, one is very worn. The other represents animals, not a cult scene (Iakovides 1969, II, 323) and is regarded as of mainland manufacture, from the beginning of the Late Helladic III period.)

Younger (1981b) has indeed argued that the glyptic art was no longer practised in the Late Helladic IIIB period, and that the end of sealstone engraving as a whole is to be set around 1400 BC with the products of the Island Sanctuaries Group and the Mainland Popular Group, both represented in the Phylakopi sanctuary (see Chapter VII). But it is sufficient for the present to restrict the argument to the gold rings and specifically to those bearing cult scenes. It is my argument that in most cases they are to be assigned to the Cretan Second Palace period, and were probably made in Crete. They are of limited relevance, then, to religious observances in Crete in Late Minoan IIIB and later. On the mainland they belong to a period prior to the construction of the Late Helladic IIIB palaces as we know them. While their influence upon Mycenaean art and religion may have been considerable, it does not seem legitimate to use them as an illustration of specifically Mycenaean cult practice or iconography. This point is worth emphasis since until very recently these finds were, quite inappropriately, taken as a principal source of our information about the Mycenaean religion.

The objections to be levelled at the gold rings do not, however, hold for the frescoes which, in all known Mycenaean contexts, were painted directly on the wall. Perhaps the most useful account of this iconographic material is offered by Vermeule (1974, 42–56), who conveniently separates the discussion from that of the gold rings. The content of the Mycenae frescoes is briefly discussed below. They would appear to indicate strong elements of continuity between some of the observances of Late Minoan I Crete and those of Late Helladic III Greece, despite the various changes which may have occurred.

The difficulties in reconciling different classes of evidence are exacerbated when the written texts are taken into account. The difficulties in this field were well underlined by Gérard-

Rousseau (1968, 17) who defined as a 'mention religieuse': 'tout mot ou groupe de mots qui peut s'interpréter en grec alphabétique comme noms de divinité, de personnel du culte, de cérémonie religieuse, de rite etc'. This procedure 'manque de précision dans la mesure ou chaque mot mycénien est susceptible de voir appliquer plusieurs interprétations en grec alphabétique, et aussi dans la mesure où le sens des mots grecs a évolué au cours des générations'. It gains in conviction, however, when the tablet in question has several names which can be identified as of religious significance, and this is most satisfactory when the words in question are of several syllables. When they are of two or three syllables only: 'l'exégèse en devient plus aléatoire'. Chadwick (1976, 84–101) has reviewed this topic. The interpretation depends primarily in recognising among the names of recipients of various payments in kind, the Mycenaean equivalents of names, titles or epithets of deities from classical Greek times. The term *Potnia* (lady, mistress) occurs frequently. One famous tablet, Tn 316 from Pylos, is interpreted as recording offerings of thirteen gold vessels and ten human beings to three groups of deities, including Zeus, Hermes and Hera. Among the offerings are olive oil (sometimes perfumed), honey, grain and wool. Vermeule (1974, 65) has conveniently compared the occurrences of divine names at Knossos Pylos and Mycenae: among a total of 30 names listed, three occur at both Knossos and Pylos (*Diwia*, *Poseidon* and *Zeus*). At Knossos five out of ten names are male, at Pylos, five are male, thirteen female and two plural.

Among the points of interest here, if the generally accepted interpretations are followed (Hooker 1980, 151), is the very wide repertoire of divine persons accorded offerings in the records of each palace. The total of twenty different divine recipients at Pylos, which can hardly be a complete listing in view of the limited number of relevant tablets recovered, constitutes an impressive pantheon.

It is notable too that the system works in such a similar way at Knossos and at Pylos: divine recipients are listed along with details of the offerings in essentially the same recording system. Of course this point simply underlines the well-known similarity of the Knossos tablets to those of Pylos. Moreover the tablets at Knossos perhaps reflect there the organisation of an essentially Mycenaean regime. Whether at Knossos they are assimilating Minoan deities to their own system (e.g. *Eilythiya*) or importing Mycenaean deities to Crete (*Poseidon*, *Atana Potnia*, *Zeus*), they are listed together as recipients. We might then see at work here in the Knossos tablets that process of Mycenaeanising, no doubt with the adoption of other aspects of Mycenaean cult, which may have resulted in the development of the separate shrines housing terracotta images of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms.

The other feature to be underlined is the relative frequency of male recipients. Hitherto the lack of male representations among the cult figures to accompany the references in the tablets has been one of the most puzzling features of the Mycenaean cult: the find of male terracotta figures at Phylakopi is thus of particular importance.

In general, however, I believe that the Mycenaean tablets should at present be used with great caution to illuminate questions of cult. The identification of divine status in the tablets owes all too little to the context of the name within them, and is almost entirely based upon the supposed equivalence of a written name with that of a subsequent Greek deity. As already noted, if we likewise accept as divine the other recipients of 'offerings' on the tablets in question, the list becomes far longer than any acquaintance with the shrines and sanctuaries themselves would have predicted. One is left with the feeling that there is a degree of mismatch: something is wrong somewhere.

(d) The Social Context

Social context is as important as temporal and spatial context, if the relevant cult practices are to be properly understood. The most obvious social feature of the Aegean late bronze age is the centralised administration prevailing through much of its duration, most obviously expressed in the palaces themselves. I have suggested elsewhere (Renfrew 1981b, 29) that the collapse of the palace administration in Crete (at the end of Late Minoan IB in most areas, during Late Minoan IIIA at Knossos) and on the mainland at the end of Late Helladic IIIB (at least in some important cases) must have had a decisive effect. With the collapse of the palace must have come the end of a centrally-administered state religion. And with its demise one would predict (Renfrew 1979) the eclipse of many of the existing religious centres, and the emergence of new, local shrines. The emergence in Crete of small cult places dedicated to the 'Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms' could well be seen in those terms, and Popham's view of the re-occupation at Knossos harmonises well with the general picture suggested. In Crete it is necessary to see the cult of the Late Minoan I period as a palace-centered ritual, and that of Late Minoan IIIB and IIIC as a more local phenomenon without the sustaining central organisation.

The same generalisations ought to hold for the Greek mainland, but the situation there is less clear and the end of the palaces at Mycenae and Tiryns is not certain. The temple at Mycenae and the accompanying Room with the Idols and Room with the Fresco belong to the palace period of Late Helladic IIIB. They did not remain in use after the end of that period, although the cult area itself was not entirely abandoned (Mylonas 1982, 318; French 1981b, 48): the context of the late frescoes discovered by Mylonas in the Southwest Building near the citadel wall (Mylonas 1972, 28; 1982, 319) has now been fully described (Kritsele-Provide 1982). At Tiryns, on the other hand, the successive shrines in the Unterburg, with their effigies, belong to the period after the destruction of the megaron, although there are indications of earlier religious practice in the same area of the Unterburg. The distinction between palace and post-palace is not entirely clear. Here, of course, the question arises as to the extent to which the main room of the palace, the megaron, itself served as a cult place. To what extent do we imagine the major focus of Mycenaean cult practice during the palace period as being within the heart of the palace itself, as in Crete? The difference is, of course, that Mycenae had a major cult area within the settlement, but outside the palace proper, during the palace period. This was emphatically not the case for the Cretan palace centres, although the role of the sacred caves and especially of the peak sanctuaries should not be overlooked. Many scholars, Mylonas (1982, 320) prominent among them, have rightly criticised the assumption that the megaron of the Mycenaean palace was a major cult focus.

These questions are of considerable relevance to the interpretation of the Phylakopi sanctuary. We know that the megaron at Phylakopi was constructed during the Late Helladic IIIA period, and that the building complex there replaced the former Late Minoan I 'mansion' (Renfrew 1978), for which central administrative functions have been suggested. The West Shrine at Phylakopi was built shortly after that, and the East Shrine was added at about the same time as the Late Helladic IIIB fortification wall, evidently while the central administration was still strong.

What we lack, unfortunately, is any concrete evidence for the end of the megaron or 'palace' at Phylakopi. Was it perhaps destroyed at the time of the phase 2b collapse at the sanctuary? That is what will be suggested later in this chapter. But there is no decisive evidence, and a survival until the very end of the occupation of the site (the end of phase 3c) is perfectly possible. These questions are of great relevance for the interpretation of cult practices at the sanctuary itself.

This distinction between palace and non-palace is not the only significant social differentiation. In the preceding chapter, the existence and nature of domestic cult practices at Phylakopi was discussed. The same question may legitimately be posed within a rural context, as Hägg (1981a) has done for Mycenaean Greece, with his distinction between official and popular cults. We are in reality dealing with two cross-cutting classifications; summarised in TABLE 10.1.

Table 10.1
Social classification of cult locations

	Corporate Practice	Family/Individual Practice
Officially Administered	Official temple or cult place	Royal chapel
'Popular'	Popular shrine	Domestic/household cult

We should note that the official cult place may often be within the palace centre, as most writers have envisaged for the Cretan palaces, and some have suggested for the Mycenaean megaron. Or it can lie outside the palace, as most writers agree for the cult centre of Mycenae, and as may have been the case for the Phylakopi sanctuary, at least during the Late Helladic IIIB period and up to the phase 2b collapse. It is relevant also that what was, during a period of centralised administration, an official cult place may continue subsequently as a popular shrine. This is presumably so both for the grander Minoan peak sanctuaries (for most writers agree that the sanctuary on Mount Juktas at least was an official rather than a 'popular' centre during the palace period) and for the temple at Aghia Irini on Kea, whose use continued long after the site had ceased to have administrative functions. Such may have been the status of the Phylakopi sanctuary during phases 3b and 3c of its use.

These questions of temporal, spatial and social diversity, as well as of disparity in the classes of available evidence, cannot be considered thoroughly here. The careful examination of the Phylakopi finds does, however, underlie their importance if the analysis of the religions of the time is to proceed systematically. They are a necessary preliminary to any analysis which seeks to go beyond the now misleading simplicity of a unitary view of Aegean religious practices. To make this point is not to assume that cult practices necessarily and automatically change along with every social or administrative change. Nor is it to deny the strong elements of continuity which persisted, notably in Crete, even when the significant transformations in cult practice were taking place. The distinction between the different cult practices at different periods and in different regions is a crucial one if we hope to proceed to gain some insights into the transformations of belief which shaped them.

2. The Phylakopi Sanctuary in the Aegean World

The foregoing discussion of some questions of method, all relating to the notion of 'context' was a necessary one if comparisons were to be made within a meaningful framework. It is now possible to compare the Phylakopi finds with those relating to cult practice in different areas of the Aegean, in such a way as to bring out the differences and similarities more clearly. To do so it will first be convenient to summarise the sequence of events in Melos itself.

(a) SOCIETY AND CHANGE IN LATE BRONZE AGE MELOS

As discussed in the last section, the Late Bronze I period in Melos was clearly one where the contacts with Crete held great significance, just as they did for the island of Thera, until the great eruption around 1500 BC. This does not appear seriously to have disrupted life on Melos, and it is possible that the Third City continued its prosperous existence up to around 1380 BC. Certainly at about that time, at a date not far distant from that of the final demise of Knossos as a palatial centre, whatever remained of the Late Bronze I Mansion at Phylakopi was swept away, and the new organisational centre, the palace or megaron of the Fourth City, was constructed. Detail is still lacking for the historical events during the later period of the Third City, but it is clear that the new building was constructed in what seems a mainland architectural tradition. The West Shrine of the Sanctuary may have been constructed some 20 years later, in about 1360 BC, early in the Late Helladic IIIA₂ period (see TABLES 3.2 and 3).

As discussed in Chapter III, the Fortification Wall (Wall 100) and the East Shrine were built early in the Late Helladic IIIB period, around 1270 BC, and there followed a period when both shrines in their entirety were in use. The striking collapse episode which terminated this phase is set within the 'Developed' phase of Late Helladic IIIC, around 1120 BC. This means that the sanctuary had a long period of apparently peaceful use: nearly a century prior to the construction of the East Shrine, and a further 150 years up to the collapse. This covers the greater part of the post-palace period of Crete, including the 're-occupation' at Knossos, and the *floruit* of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms (see TABLE 10.2). It covers also the main period of stability upon the mainland, the Late Helladic IIIB period, as well as the end of the palace centres at Mycenae and Tiryns (and Pylos), and a very large part of the Late Helladic IIIC period. The Mycenae temple was destroyed at the end of the Late Helladic IIIB period, *ca.* 1190 BC. The shrine at Tiryns was begun at just that time, and continued in use even after the phase 2b collapse at Phylakopi.

One very striking feature of the ceramic assemblage in the Phylakopi sanctuary is that it shows remarkably few signs of contact with other major Mycenaean centres during the later part of this period. Not only are there very few imports from the mainland during the early part of the Late Helladic IIIC, but there are also rather few dating from the later part of Late Helladic IIIB. In particular, pottery from the later stages of Late Helladic IIIC is substantially lacking. It is not necessary here to recapitulate the evidence, set out by Miss Mountjoy in Chapter V for setting the Phylakopi collapse after the beginning of phase 2a of Lefkandi, and hence in the 'Entwickelt' stage at Tiryns. But what must be underlined is that there are no finds whatever in the Argive Close Style, nor of the Octopus Style, so well exemplified on stirrup jars not only from Perati in Attica and from the Dodecanese, but also from Aplomata in Naxos (Kardara 1977).

Our understanding of the Late Helladic IIIC period has been greatly advanced by the clearer recognition of its early phases (French 1969) when these innovations are not yet seen. Because of their absence it would at first have been tempting to set the Phylakopi collapse in this phase, or indeed even back into the Late Helladic IIIB period, had it not been for the various features, some of them at first sight unobtrusive, listed by Miss Mountjoy, as well as the late features

Table 10.2 Approximate comparative chronologies for Aegean cult in the later bronze age

Date BC	Argolid Phase	Phylakopi Phase	Crete	Mycenae	Tiryns	Kea Temple
1060	Late LH IIIC		↑ Dikte Ida	(Asine House G)		Room BB
1100	Mid LH IIIC	3c 3b 3a			R.110a	
1120		2b			R.110	
	Early LH IIIC		A. Triadha + Phaistos	Southwest Building frescoes	R.117 (R.119)	
1190		2a				
	LH IIIB		M. G. U. A.	Temple		
1270						
1300		I		?		
	LH IIIA ₂					
1360						
1370	LH IIIA ₁	?				
1400			Knossos Late Palace			
	LH II	(Mansion)				
1450			Neo-Palatial			

among the female figurines indicated by Dr French. But it is clear now that the collapse assemblage is not so early.

There was certainly on Melos nothing of that 'miniature Mycenaean *koine*' which Desborough (1964, 20) has recognised as linking Naxos with the Dodecanese and Perati during the Late Helladic IIIC period. The position seems much more akin to that observed on Paros, where the fortified site of Koukounaries suffered a destruction at about the same time as the Phylakopi collapse (Schilardi 1979). Initially the pottery there was provisionally assigned to Late Helladic IIIB, and only on closer examination did the Late Helladic IIIC features, resembling those of Phylakopi, become apparent. The chamber tombs of Naxos (Zapheiropoulos 1960) at Kamini are certainly a good deal later, perhaps at the end of the Late Helladic IIIC period (Desborough 1964, 151), and some of the Aegean contacts seen there are certainly from a period subsequent to the Phylakopi shrine.

The restricted area of the shrines at Phylakopi used during phase 3 were discussed in Chapter IX. They certainly reflect a substantial setback to the prosperity of the Sanctuary, and they might conceivably relate to the end of the palace centre at Phylakopi. Nothing is known of Melos in the later part of the Late Helladic IIIC period: Phylakopi appears to have been abandoned after the end of the shrine. Just two Protogeometric vases are at present known from Melos (Desborough 1972, 371), but without any precise provenance.

(b) PHYLAKOPI AND THE AEGEAN SANCTUARIES

When Nilsson published the second edition of his work on *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion* he was able to write (Nilsson 1950, 77): 'In the Minoan civilization no temples are found, if by temple we mean a separate building set apart to the abode of the deity and to shelter its image and paraphernalia.' On the evidence then available to him, with the exception of the shrine at Gournia, which he discussed in detail, this was a reasonable remark, and it certainly at that time applied to the Mycenaean civilisation also. Since then, however, with the finds at Mycenae and Tiryns on the mainland, at Aghia Irini on Kea and Phylakopi on Melos among the islands, and the reassessment of the later Cretan finds by Alexiou (1958), this position has been radically altered. It will be convenient here very briefly to review the evidence (see TABLE 10.2).

1. The Cretan Sanctuaries

Nilsson's remarks remain broadly true for the Minoan palace periods, although Hood (1977) has gathered the evidence for possible Minoan town shrines, and the evidence for the sanctuaries at Mallia has been persuasively presented by van Effenterre (1980). The absence of figures or figurines from these does mean, however, that they are not iconographically rich. The case for their being shrines thus rests, quite reasonably, upon the plan and on relatively minor finds of what may have been cult equipment. Within the palaces there is certainly evidence for the practice of ritual, both in the lustral basins and in the important series of special vessels relating to pouring (Koehl 1981) seen at several palace centres, most notably Zakro.

The most important category of cult place in post-palatial Crete was certainly the shrine of the Goddess with Upraised Arms. The examples at Gournia and Gazi were briefly discussed in Chapter IX, along with the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos. To these can be added the important finds from Kannia (Mitropolis) near Gortyn (Levi 1959). Another figure in the same stance was found at Prinias (Wide 1901), and two more at the important site of Karphi (Pendlebury *et al.*, 1938).

The chronology of these effigies was well discussed by Alexiou (1958) as noted above. He is surely correct in assigning a Late Minoan IIIB or IIIC date for the complex at Kannia, although

one or two finds may be earlier than LM IIIB (Levi 1959, fig. 25 and 30b). As we have stressed the form began in the Late Minoan IIIB period or perhaps a little earlier. It is definitely post-palatial.

In relation to the re-occupation of the palace at Knossos, Popham (1964, 8) has written: 'Much of the material was doubtless connected with the Shrine of the Double Axes and its cult, as Evans stated. Indeed it is tempting to believe that most, if not all the reoccupation was connected with the shrine.' This view has not been followed by all writers dealing with this period at Knossos. But it is perhaps supported by the find of a small figure of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms in the Late Minoan IIIB re-occupation of the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, which Popham (1970a, 93) regards as 'fresh evidence of the religious nature of much of the reoccupation of Knossos'. The pottery dating the end of the Knossos re-occupation period is placed late in the Late Minoan IIIB period.

That the cult represented by this figure persisted much longer, however, is very clearly shown by the site at Karphi (as well, probably, as Prinias). There the finds are predominantly Late Minoan IIIC, and the site continued in use into the Protogeometric period (Seiradaki 1960).

The information available about offerings found in the Cretan sites is unfortunately far from satisfactory. Evans in *The Palace of Minos* offers no more detail about beads or small objects than was available in his preliminary reports, yet that early publication and the original account of Gournia (Hawes 1908) give more circumstantial detail than is available for any of the Late Minoan shrines, with the possible exception of Karphi (Pendlebury *et al.*, 1938). One of the most important sites, Koumasa, is virtually unpublished (Xanthoudides 1924, 49), and nowhere is the detailed documentation available to permit systematic comparison with TABLE 9.4.

Despite these limitations it is legitimate to state the general impression that the Minoan shrines of the Late Minoan III period did not, in general, contain important objects of value which served as offerings, other than the cult figures themselves, and the figures and figurines which served as votaries or votives. In general it would appear that the range of metal types, for instance, that are found as offerings in some of the caves, such as Arkalochori, was not deposited in the Minoan shrines. At Phylakopi in contrast the principal finds were metal objects, beads, sealstones and a few objects of ivory, bone and other substances (including rock crystal), as well as a few other pieces of jewellery, including pendants or dressweights. Such finds have not been documented in detail in the Cretan shrines, although it is not altogether clear that they are in fact entirely lacking.

The significance of the Cretan finds for Phylakopi was already brought out in Chapter IX. The form of the figure is consistent in each of the Cretan shrines, clearly establishing a definite symbolic type. The figures were generally set up on a ledge or bench within a small room set aside for the purpose. Snakes are often associated with these images, and horns of consecration and sometimes the double axe motif also. The special vessels occurring with them include the so-called snake tubes. These finds are mostly contemporary with the Phylakopi sanctuary, and the general resemblances are obvious. But so are the differences. While one of the figures at Phylakopi was of Minoan form, and two more were similar, the better preserved pieces were not of this type. The snake, the horns of consecration and the double axe are lacking at Phylakopi, and the bovine figures found there as well as the animal and human terracotta figurines, are in general not found in Crete with the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms.

It is of considerable interest, therefore, that finds much more closely allied to those at Phylakopi are found at some Late Cretan sites, notably Phaistos and Aghia Triadha. In both cases the palaces at these sites were by that time long disused. The date is Late Minoan IIIC. The Phaistos finds (Pernier 1902) are not well published, and there is no coherent context which

would allow us to speak of a shrine. There is, however, a good Psi figurine (Pernier 1902, fig. 52.5) and an animal figure of Mycenaean appearance (*ibid.* fig. 54). Bovid figurines of Mycenaean type are also published from the site (Maraghiannis n.d., pl. XV, 3 and 5).

The finds from Aghia Triadha are much more interesting. They do not come from the shrine at the site, apparently built in the Late Minoan I period and rebuilt in Late Minoan III. (This building is itself of great interest, but unfortunately lacks accompanying symbolic finds.) The finds of Late Minoan IIIC date come instead from the Piazzale dei Sacelli area, apparently from a context in the open air. They include animal figures of Mycenaean type, notably a sphinx (Banti 1943, 55 fig. 43) and a human head resembling that from Asine (*ibid.* fig. 47) as well as some terracotta bovid figurines (*ibid.* fig. 37). The publication by Banti does not give any indication of human figurines of Psi form, but French (1971, 179) cites one of these (Perrier 1902, fig. 52,1; see Borda 1946, pl. 43,9).

The assemblage there is very rich: it includes painted terracotta horns of consecration and small double axes of terracotta and of bronze. The bronze finds from this deposit were not published by Banti and their significance has gone largely unrecognised, but many are illustrated in the publication by Naumann (1976). Without adequate publication of the whole assemblage of finds, and some indication of their context, there is not much that can be said of this deposit in its own right. It is of great interest as a source of comparanda for Phylakopi, containing several finds of Mycenaean type which are otherwise extremely rare in Crete.

Mention must also be made of several cave finds, which are generally and reasonably assumed to have a votive character. Votive offerings in caves are found in Crete from even before the palace period, and continue into classical times. The Dictaeon Cave above Psychro (Boardman 1961, 1) and the Idaean Cave (*ibid.* 79) are of particular interest in yielding finds which may indicate an almost continuous votive usage across the 'Dark Age': the male figurines from them are discussed in more detail below.

2. The Mainland Shrines

(i) Mycenae

The cult centre at Mycenae has been discussed in successive publications by Mylonas (1972; 1977; 1982). On the rather restrictive criteria followed here, most attention focusses upon the Temple and the adjoining room with the Idols and the neighbouring Room with the Fresco (Taylour 1969 and 1970; French 1981b); since these yielded finds of great symbolic interest. They belong to the later part of the Late Helladic IIIB period (see TABLE 10.2). The structures discussed by Mylonas (1982), including Building Gamma, are indeed suggestive of possible cult practice, and the case which he makes is an impressive one which I am personally inclined to accept. But they do not fulfill the criterion from Rutkowski set out at the beginning of this chapter. Likewise the frescoes which he unearthed in Late Helladic IIIC levels in the Southwest Building (Mylonas 1972, pl. XII–XIV), while conceivably relating in their subject matter to cult practices, are not in a context which can be established as religious. This *caveat* does not apply to the mural decoration of the Room with the Fresco (Taylour 1969, pl. X).

The Temple at Mycenae is a building of scale comparable to the West Shrine at Phylakopi. The general similarity in arrangement with a smaller room behind, the Room with the Idols, should be noted. Similarly, along the wall facing the entrance door was a cult bench, at one end of which stood a figure and a small table of offerings (Taylour 1970, pl. XLa). This arrangement of doorway leading directly to the principal room with a cult bench on the opposite wall is seen also at Tiryns. But we should note that at Mycenae the arrangement is not a symmetrical one, and the store room behind is entered by means of a stairway at one side (Taylour 1970, 273). No

doubt the location of this storeroom at a higher level was determined by the configuration of the natural rock, but this only serves to stress that the location of the Mycenae temple was constrained by the local topography: it was not sited in such a way as to dominate. We should note also that in the centre of the temple was a dais with a veneer of white clay, interpreted by the excavator as a hearth. No such installation was found at Phylakopi, although there may well have been one, subsequently masked by the Blocking Wall which was not removed by us.

It should be remembered also that at this time the West Shrine at Phylakopi also had a door on its southern side, subsequently blocked. Precisely where it led was not made clear in the course of our excavations, but it certainly disrupted the symmetry in plan.

The great quantity of terracotta human figures found within the store is impressive. It should be noted that while many of them lack definite indications of sex, as noted by Taylour, none can positively be identified as male in the light of the Phylakopi finds. There were no animal figures from the Temple or the Room with the Idols at Mycenae, and this is a point in marked contrast to the Phylakopi sanctuary. Human terracotta figurines, whether of Phi or Psi form were not found (although two of Proto-Phi form were present), and animal figurines were likewise lacking. This absence is all the more notable since such finds are relatively common on the site as a whole. The other rich finds from the Room with the Fresco and its adjoining room may be compared with some of the finer objects from Phylakopi. It is of particular note that in this adjoining room, Room 32, sometimes known as the 'Shrine', a single human figure was found in position on a small dais. French (1981, 45) lists this room under the heading 'Workshop areas/religious stores' and concludes 'I am inclined to think that the "Shrine" was more of a religious store than an actual "Shrine"'. It should be noted that there are analogies here with the position of Rooms A and B at Phylakopi: their location behind the West Shrine can be compared with that of Room 32 behind the Room with the Fresco and with that of the Room with the Idols behind the Temple. The location of the Lady of Phylakopi in Room A in a corner (PLATE 16 *a*) may be compared with that of the elegant figure from the corner of Room 32 (Taylour 1970, pl. XLII). The possibility that Room B may have served as a workshop was considered in Chapter IX, and the joint role of store and workshop is as plausible there as for Room 32 at Mycenae. The relationship between the Mycenae Temple and the Room with the Fresco as possibly constituting a pair of shrines, to be compared with the East and West Shrines at Phylakopi should not be overlooked (cf. van Leuven 1981).

Offerings are recorded from two contexts in the Mycenae cult centre. In the Room with the Idols was 'a small, two-handled bowl filled with a variety of objects: an ivory comb, a small figure in ivory, a scarab of Queen Tiye, a cowrie shell, beads of amber, rock crystal, lapis lazuli, carnelian and other stones . . . (and) ornaments and beads in glass paste' (Taylour 1969, 92). In the 'shrine' nearby (Room 32) were found several pieces of partly worked ivory, while in the Room with the Fresco, was a remarkable assemblage of pottery and objects, including a stone mace head, a stone vase, an ivory pommel and two beautiful ivories of a lion and a head of a man and an Egyptian faience plaque (Taylour 1969, 96; 1970, 275).

It is clear that objects of note were placed in these shrines, as at Phylakopi. Taylour (1962, 92) makes the interesting suggestion that the beads from the bowl in the Room with the Idols could have been used to adorn the idols, and this reminds us that clothing or drapery could also have been used.

The temple at Mycenae was in use at the same time as the palace there and was destroyed at the end of the Late Helladic IIIB period. Both at Phylakopi and Mycenae these religious structures take second place in their siting, in their scale and in their architectural modesty, to the principal buildings on the site which may have had an entirely secular status (see Mylonas

1982, 320). There is no suggestion here that the temple on a Mycenaean site was the centre of things, no spatial symbolism to permit the sort of talk of 'theocracy' which sometimes accompanies descriptions of Sumerian and Mesoamerican arrangements. Mylonas has described in some detail the access to the cult area in Mycenae in terms of a 'Processional Way' (Mylonas 1982, 315), but this cannot conceal the very secondary position which the complex held on the site.

(ii) *Tiryns*

The second entirely persuasive example of a mainland shrine is at Tiryns. There Kilian (1978; 1979; 1981) has revealed a series of shrines in the Lower Town. Their chronology in relation to the Phylakopi Sanctuary is summarised in TABLE 10.3.

At Tiryns as at Phylakopi, the latest shrine (Room 100a) and its immediate predecessor Room 110, were rectangular, symmetrically ordered rooms with the entry at the east, and a bench or cult bank against the facing wall, on which terracotta figures were placed (Kilian 1978, figs. 14 and 18). Beneath them lay the similarly organised Room 117, again with a cult bench at the west wall (Kilian 1979, 390). They were preceded by Room 119, from the period immediately following the major destruction at the end of Late Helladic IIIB₂ (Kilian 1981a, figs. 14 and 15): its precise form is not clear and no bench is preserved. It is described by Kilian (1981a, 162) as 'ein Provisorium', and the arguments for its status as a provisional shrine are its position, near to and preceding the subsequent Room 117, and the discovery there of several human and animal figurine fragments, and the arms of a human figure (Kilian 1981a, fig. 17). It was to the north and east of the later Room 110a (Kilian 1981a, fig. 5) which immediately overlay Room 110 and the earlier Room 117. Likewise the case for regarding Room 115, which lay immediately to the north of Room 110 (Kilian 1978, fig. 18) is not in itself particularly strong.

All of these date to the Late Helladic IIIC period, the time immediately after the destruction to the Temple at Mycenae. The construction and use of Room 117 fall within phase 2a at Phylakopi. The collapse and the re-use of our sanctuary in phase 3 fall within the use of Room 110 at Tiryns, so that Room 100a there served as a shrine after the abandonment of Phylakopi (see TABLE 10.3).

It should be recalled once again that these Tiryns shrines all follow the major destruction there at the end of the Late Helladic IIIB₂, which has generally been associated with the end of the palace as a major administrative centre, and with the accompanying loss of literacy. It may well be that Room 117 was built to serve special functions which were no longer served by the palace itself (or by other hypothetical sacred areas). There are however some indications of cult practice here, even during the Late Helladic IIIB period (Kilian 1981, 171, 403) and Kilian (in Renfrew 1981b, 33) has stressed the case for continuity between the pre-and post-destruction phases at Tiryns.

The most impressive finds are the human figures. A complete example was found in Room 110a (Kilian 1978, fig. 117). The arms are held upwards (although the general form is quite unlike the bell-shape of the Cretan figures). It is less elegant than the two complete figures from the preceding Room 110 (Kilian 1978, fig. 20 and 21) found along with fragments of five others. No human figurines are reported from these two shrines, and only one animal, from Room 110, although there were twelve Psi figurines from Room 115 to the north. The earlier Room 117 produced arm fragments of human figures and 22 human figurines as well as a concentration of animal figurines. Animal figures were, however, much less common than at Phylakopi: just one piece has been illustrated (from Room 117: Kilian 1978, fig. 22) which resembles SF 1032 from Phylakopi.

Table 10.3

The chronology of the Phylakopi and Tiryns shrines compared

Approx date BC	Argolid Phase	Lefkandi	Tiryns Phase	Tiryns Shrine	Phylakopi Sanctuary
1030					
1060					
1090	Late LH IIIC	3	Spät		
(1100)	Mid LH IIIC	2b	(Fortgeschrittenes Entwickelt)	R.110a	Abandoned
(1110)			Entwickelt	R.110 (+ R.115)	3c 3b 3a
(1120)		2a			2b Collapse
1130					
1150	Early LH IIIC	1b	3		
			Früh 2	R.117	2a
		1a	1		
1170		(LH IIIB)	Übergang	(R.119)	
1190					2a (cont.)

The Tiryns shrines are much smaller than the Phylakopi West Shrine: Room 110 measures about 3 metres by 2 metres. Each had a single bench at the west. The accompanying finds, as we have seen are closely similar, with the emphasis on human terracotta figures analogous to the Lady of Phylakopi, and with some accompanying human and animal figurines. Despite their modest dimensions, the Tiryns shrines constitute the closest point of comparison for the Phylakopi sanctuary.

(iii) *Asine*

The finds from the House G at Asine have recently been reviewed by Ha\$igg (1981b). He has concluded (*ibid.* 94): 'It is still an open question whether this is a private house with a small domestic altar or a complex of primarily religious function.' It merits inclusion here because of the association between architecture and symbolic finds. The latter include a large head, the 'Lord of Asine', whose 'beard', like that of the Lady of Phylakopi need no longer be identified as a male attribute, and four Psi figurines and another cruder figurine, as well as a triple vase

comparable to the Phylakopi double vases. The room is similar in its dimensions to the West Shrine at Phylakopi, and the two central column bases offer a suggestion about the roofing which has been followed here in the reconstruction, FIG. 9.6. The finds are, however, so few, that more recent sanctuary finds are likely to be of help in their interpretation, rather than vice versa.

3. The Island Sanctuaries

(i) *Aghia Irini, Kea*

The shrine or temple at Kea was a free-standing building, again entered at the narrow end (this time from the south-east). The eastern wall was no longer preserved, but the facing wall had a door at its centre, as in the Phylakopi West Shrine, flanked by platforms (Caskey 1971, pl. 79a). This first room, Room V, may thus certainly be compared with Phylakopi, although in the Late Helladic IIIC period a large, stone altar was built at its centre. At Kea the arrangements beyond, to the north-west, were more elaborate. Room IV and its two adjoining small rooms were situated between Room V and the two rooms right at the back (XI and XII) which appear as the counterparts of Room A and B at Phylakopi.

The Aghia Irini temple is older than any religious structure yet found in Crete or elsewhere in the Aegean. Its use began in the middle bronze age, with Rooms XI and XII (Caskey 1966, 369) as well as Rooms IV, VII (and XIII) (Caskey 1971, 385). It remained in use through the rest of the bronze age. At a date rather late in the Late Helladic IIIC period, when it was already no doubt in a ruinous condition, a small room BB was constructed in the north-west corner of Room V, disregarding the older entrance into Room IV (Caskey 1981, fig. 1). This late and rather scrappy construction may be compared with the alterations made to the Phylakopi shrines in phase 3c.

The most significant finds at Aghia Irini were the remarkable terracotta statues, up to 1.5 m in height, representing a standing woman with exposed breasts. Most of them were made in the Late Bronze I period, although at least one was manufactured later (Caskey 1981, 128). The hands are in general set upon the hips.

There was a number of offerings: in Room IV, along with Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB potsherds, 'a few tiny scraps of gold leaf, two bronze blades and parts of several small terracotta figurines' (Caskey 1966, 369). There was a single sealstone (Caskey 1962a, pl. 101, f). From Corridor VII from the Late Bronze I levels, came a model of a boat in bronze (recalling the scene on the Aghia Triadha sarcophagus, where a man carries a model boat of similar form) and the upper part of a bronze statuette of Minoan workmanship (Caskey 1964, pl. 56, a and c). A small bronze lion was also found (Caskey 1962a, pl. 102, c), assigned to the early twelfth century BC.

In general at Aghia Irini, the dominant impression is one of great continuity, with the Late Bronze I statues, or fragments of them, remaining in use as cult images throughout the duration of the shrine. There are few symbolic objects referable specifically to the late period, when the Phylakopi sanctuary was in use. Human figurines of Mycenaean form were found elsewhere on the site (Caskey 1962a, pl. 99). The general arrangement of the shrine, with low platforms and benches in use already in the middle bronze age, is of great significance when the origins of this building form are discussed (see below).

(ii) *The Artemision Deposit at Delos*

There is no really good evidence for a shrine of the Mycenaean period on Delos, since an association between an appropriate building and objects of symbolic significance is lacking. Mention should, however, certainly be made of the remarkable series of objects found beneath the Artemision (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1948). It contained numerous bronzes,

including arrowheads, and a bronze figurine in 'smiting god' form, discussed below. There were fine ivories and small objects of gold. Although it contained objects from as late as the seventh century BC, including an Egyptian scarab, the bulk of the material is of Mycenaean date. This has generally been regarded as a deposit arising from the burial of the contents of a shrine building. While there is no direct evidence of this, it remains the case that some of the Phylakopi finds have close parallels there. These include the bronze bird (SF 1578), the various bronze arrowheads, and of course the two bronze figurines in 'smiting god' pose. The Artemision finds underline the absence of ivories from the Phylakopi sanctuary, in marked contrast to Mycenae. There are only very few finds of great intrinsic value at any of these sites: no gold or silver vessels, for instance, as the Linear B texts might have led us to expect. But it should be remembered that each is likely to have been plundered before its abandonment, and objects of very obvious value are likely to have been removed.

(iii) *The Cypriote Sanctuaries*

At this point, although Cyprus lies outside the Aegean, it is relevant to refer to the several sites which have been identified as sanctuaries there, in view of the numerous Mycenaean connections. The most informative site is Kition, where temples were in use during the Late Cypriote IIB to IIIA periods, equivalent to Late Helladic IIIB and IIIC (French and Åström 1980). Temples 2 and 3 there were founded in the equivalent of Late Helladic IIIB (Karageorghis 1973; 1976, 54). Neither shows axial symmetry nor the cult bench along the end wall which are a feature of Phylakopi and other Aegean shrines, although each has a small room at the western end, interpreted as a 'holy of holies'. It is noteworthy that Karageorghis interprets the main room in both as a courtyard. The pillars in temple 2 are seen by him as sustaining a portico rather than as roof supports. Had these rooms been roofed, the span of the timbers would have been about 4.15 metres. In the succeeding period, equivalent to Late Helladic IIIC, three temples are known to have been in use at Kition (temples 1, 2 and 4). Again each is interpreted as of courtyard form, with a small room or rooms for the special cult functions. In the large enclosed 'temenos' areas lying adjacent to temples 1 and 2, two horns of consecration made from blocks of hard limestone were found (Karageorghis 1976, plates 48 and 51), recalling similar occurrences in the Minoan palace courtyards. But otherwise the Kition temples resemble Near Eastern parallels more closely than Aegean ones. It should be noted that in the earlier phase at Kition, Karageorghis (1976, 57) speaks of 'twin temples', and in the succeeding (Late Cypriote IIIA) phase he again recognises temples 1 and 2 as twin temples (Karageorghis 1975, 75). Certainly in the latter case they are adjacent, and cannot be considered independently. Van Leuven (1978; 1981) has endeavoured to show that several sanctuaries in the Aegean involve dual constructions, and certainly the East and West shrines at Phylakopi would fall within such a category. But I am not persuaded by most of Van Leuven's supposed pairs, some of which are not convincingly shown to be shrines at all. So that, while temples 1 and 2 at Kition may certainly be compared with the West and East shrines at Phylakopi in this respect, the point may not be of great significance.

The other Cypriote sites which have been claimed as sanctuaries in general consist of a rectangular enclosed area, with a small roofed *cella*, analogous to the pattern at Kition. This is certainly true for the 'Sanctuary of the Ingot God' at Enkomi (Courtois 1971), for Aghia Irini (Åström 1972, 1–11) and for other sites. Rutkowski (1979, 225) regards this form as the typical East Mediterranean sanctuary. They thus differ from the Aegean cases discussed above (see Symeonoglou 1975).

The symbolic finds from Cyprus have been discussed by a number of authors (Hadjioannou 1971; Masson 1973), but some of the most interesting pieces unfortunately lack a definite context

and will not be discussed here. The most striking pieces are the 'horned god', and the 'ingot god' from Enkomi, the latter from a convincing temple context. To the west of its temple enclosure, several human figurines of Psi form were found (Courtois 1971, figs. 141–154). Many of the supposed sanctuary sites (e.g. Idalion, Aghia Irini, Myrtou-Pigadhes) lacked finds of symbolic significance (Masson 1973), although horns of consecration are seen at Myrtou-Pigadhes.

In general, while there are several specific points of comparison between the Cypriote sites and the Aegean ones, taken as a whole they differ in a whole series of striking ways. The Cypriote temples are in general open courtyards, the Aegean ones roofed shrines. In the Aegean, terracotta human figures are generally seen as cult images, often set upon benches, while in the contemporary Cypriote temples, these are not found. Undoubtedly however, the use of small bronze figurines in religious contexts in Cyprus is of interest for the Aegean. The horns of consecration symbol, in view of its much earlier occurrence in Crete, may be considered an import to Cyprus from the Aegean world.

3. The Symbolism of the Sanctuaries

(a) *Female Representations*

(i) *Female figures*

The most characteristic feature of the Aegean sanctuaries is the central position taken within them by a female figure, either modelled in solid clay as in the Kea shrine, or more commonly in ceramic form (i.e. thin-walled, like pottery and often thrown on the wheel) like the figures of Phylakopi, Mycenae and Tiryns, as well as the examples of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms in Crete. This is at once one of the fundamental unifying features of the Aegean religions of the bronze age—thinking of the broader spatial context—and a criterion which allows regional diversity to be defined.

It should be noted, of course, that the presence of such symbolic figuration is one of the features which we have taken as a defining feature of our sanctuaries in the first place. There is a recursive relationship here between our concepts of 'sanctuary' and 'cult figure' which has to be examined with care (as indeed it has been earlier), and which does not imply circularity. French (1981a, 173) is right when she asserts: 'I shall stand firm in my view that figurines take their function from their context and not *vice-versa*, i.e. the same type of figurine has a discrete (though possibly related) function when found in a tomb, an outdoor altar site or a domestic context.' This does not prevent both figures and figurines making a contribution to our understanding of the nature of that context. The large female figures from Phylakopi with two exceptions fall into three groups discussed in Chapter VI. The best preserved (SF 2660) falls into the class with a cylindrical or conical stem, normally wheelmade but sometimes coilmade, surmounted by a rounded or pinched body and an elaborate head. Among the exceptions, SF 520, is fragmentary and may have been of the Minoan 'bell-skirted' form and there are two related pieces. Among the others one unusual piece, (SF 2658), is discussed below. They are considered in detail in Chapter VI. The better preserved pieces all come from Room A and its associated niche.

In considering comparisons, it is relevant to note first the long tradition of terracotta figures and figurines in Crete, from which the Aghia Irini sculptures, all the Mycenaean figures and the Phylakopi examples may ultimately have derived. At a more specific level, however, as emphasised above, the differences are pronounced. The Phylakopi figures have little in common with the Kea figures nor with the Minoan ones. Instead their affinities are with the mainland series, now splendidly documented by the finds at Mycenae and Tiryns. French (1981a, 173) has usefully distinguished two groups. The second, group *b*, with large monochrome bodies, is so far

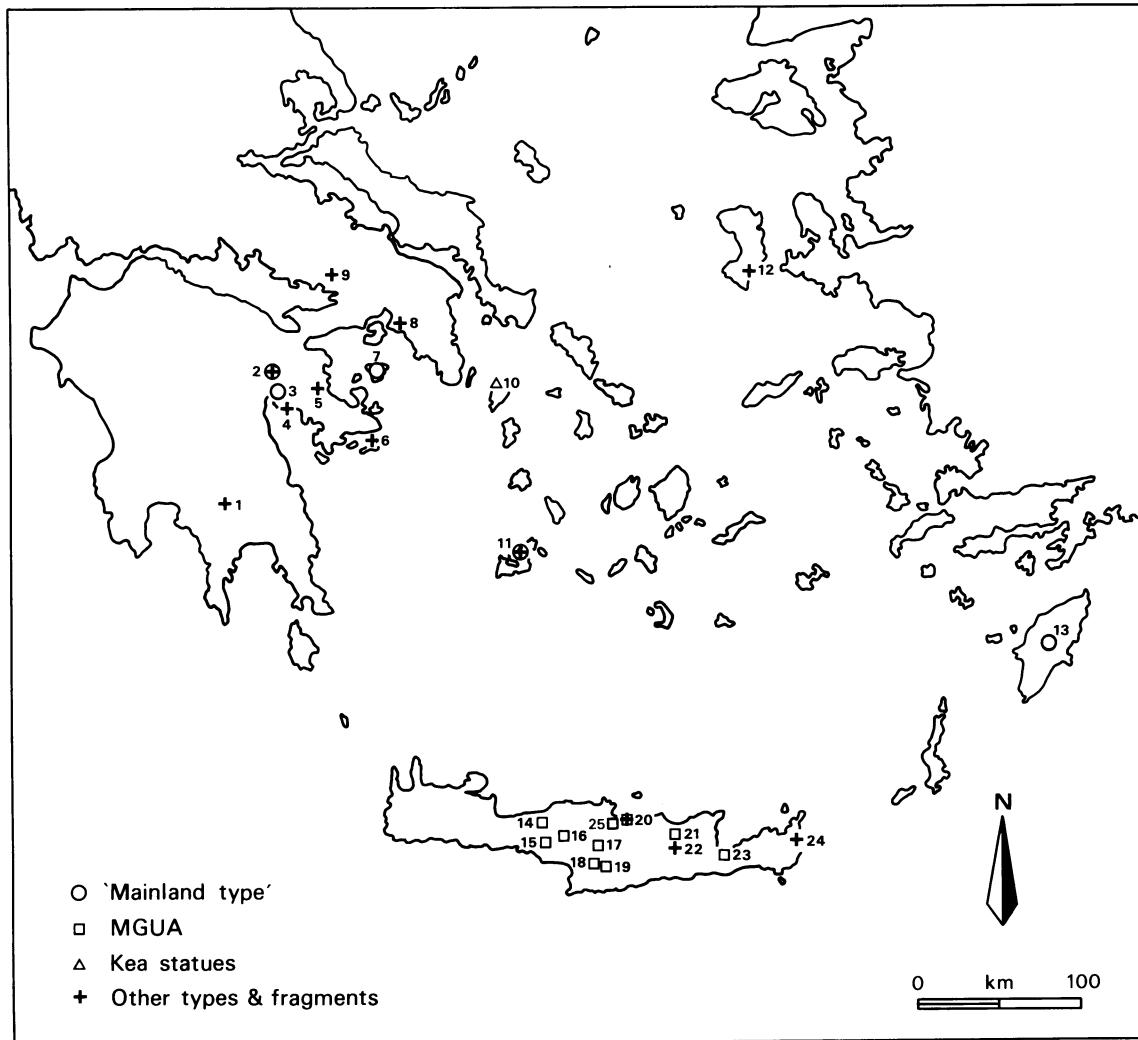


FIG. 10.1 Distribution of Aegean late bronze age female figures

1, Amyklai; 2, Mycenae; 3, Tiryns; 4, Asine; 5, Epidauros; 6, Hydra; 7, Aegina; 8, Athens; 9, Eutresis; 10, A. Irini; 11, Phylakopi; 12, Emporio; 13, 'Rhodes'; 14, Pangalochorion; 15, Sakhtouria; 16, Amari; 17, Prinias; 18, Kannia; 19, Gortyn; 20, Knossos; 21, Karphi; 22, Psychro; 23, Gournia; 24, Petsofa; 25, Gazi

known only from Mycenae. The first, group *a*, is represented at several sites, and several of the Phylakopi figures belong within it, as do the three well-preserved figures from Tiryns. The distribution of this form is seen in FIG. 10.1. Although the Room of the Idols at Mycenae is itself assigned to Late Helladic IIIB, at least two figures from it and the adjoining alcove are earlier (Taylour 1969, pl. 13c; 1970, pl. 39, c). These and the Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2660) may be assigned to the Late Helladic IIIA period, and are the earliest figures of this general class. Dr French regards the Lady as an import. The workmanship of the entire figure, especially the head, is finer than the two figures from Room 110 at Tiryns (Kilian 1978, figs. 20 and 21), which

are themselves much neater than the figure from the late context in Room 110a (*ibid.* fig. 17). She stands perhaps closer to the two neatest pieces from Mycenae (Taylour 1969, pl. XLIIc; Taylour 1970, pl. 42, b), and the modelling of the face is more subtle than either of these: she ranks, then, as a masterpiece of Mycenaean art.

It was suggested in Chapter IX that she served as a cult figure. Her position in the corner of the back room, Room A, is strikingly similar to that of the figure in the 'shrine' (Room 32) at Mycenae (Taylour 1970, pl. XLII, a). Moreover, her presence in Room A, with several other figures recalls also the well-filled storeroom at Mycenae, the Room with the Idols. The general circumstances at Mycenae, notably the single idol on the bench in the temple, and the figure in Room 32, might suggest that these figures were, at any rate on occasions, used singly as the principal cult figure. This is certainly supported by the single figure from Room 110a at Tiryns, found immediately below the cult bench, although it seems that in the preceding Room 110, the two figures may have been in use simultaneously.

It is also clear that the several incomplete figures from Room A and the niche at Phylakopi had been carefully placed there in their fragmentary condition. One should remember that breakages are well documented from Mycenae, where the body and head of one figure were recovered from separate areas (Taylour 1970, pl. XXXVIII, b). Presumably these fragmentary examples had all been broken in use, and one must imagine that during phases 1 and 2a of the Phylakopi shrine there were several female figures which could serve as cult images, whether separately or together.

At Asine, in House G, the large head, found along with various figurines, may have continued to serve as a cult figure even after breakage. It may be compared with the head from the niche, SF 2672. This, like the Lady of Phylakopi, has a pronounced chin accentuated with paint which in other circumstances would be taken to represent a beard.

It is indeed possible, in the light of the small number of female figures found on the mainland, and the high proportion of them (Mycenae, Tiryns, Asine) associated with shrines, that all the large female figures in the Aegean originally served as cult figures in shrines. If this were so it would distinguish them from the bovine figures discussed below, and from the animal and small human figurines.

Dr French regards this head (SF 2672) as well as the torso SF 2661 and the 'ugly' head, SF 2691, as of local manufacture. Indeed the Lady herself is the only substantial piece unequivocally identified by her as an import (together with the bovine figure SF 2689). The potters at Phylakopi, and no doubt at other analogous local centres, were evidently quite capable of making perfectly serviceable, indeed accomplished figures and figurines.

It is in this light that the solid and poorly fired figure SF 2658, found standing beside the Lady of Phylakopi (PLATE 56 a) is so remarkable. Dr French uses the inferior workmanship as a possible indication of early date, and rightly points out the presence of similarly crude pieces of solid clay from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos (Evans 1921, 52, fig. 14) and at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, 310, no. 6). It might be possible, alternatively to argue for a late date, but one at all events prior to the collapse of phase 2b. It is indeed notable that the female genitalia appear to be indicated on this piece, whereas the other female figures do not have pronounced sexual attributes. The indication of breasts, and the general impression of grace have served to identify them as female, perhaps not on very strong grounds. Only this figure, SF 2658, is explicitly female. On the other hand the male figures are certainly sexually explicit, and it is notable that they are associated with the platform at the north-west of the West Shrine, in contrast to females at the south-west.

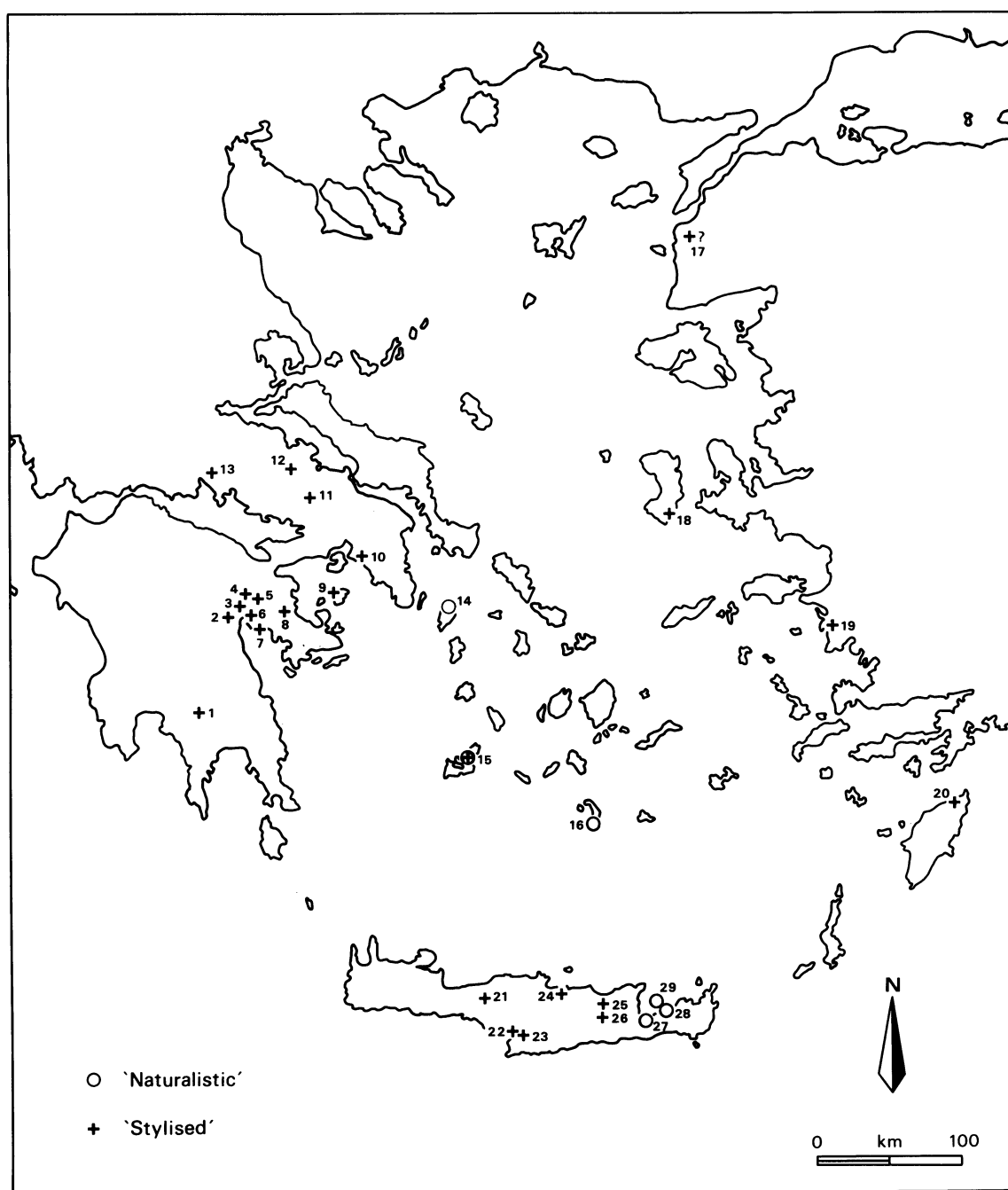


FIG. 10.2 Distribution of Aegean late bronze age animal figures

1, Amyklai; 2, Argos; 3, Prosymna; 4, Mycenae; 5, Berbati; 6, Tiryns; 7, Asine; 8, Epidauros; 9, Aegina (Aphaia Sanctuary); 10, Athens; 11, Thebes; 12, Kalapodi; 13, Delphi; 14, A. Irini; 15, Phylakopi; 16, Akrotiri; 17, Troy; 18, Emporio; 19, Miletos; 20, Ialysos; 21, Patsos; 22, A. Triadha; 23, Phaistos; 24, Knossos; 25, Karphi; 26, Psycho; 27, Gournia (mould); 28, Mochlos; 29, Pseira. Also Cyprus.

(ii) Female figurines

It is appropriate to discuss the occurrence of the smaller and solid female figurines alongside that of the larger figures. The female figurines from the Phylakopi sanctuary are all of the Late Psi form (French 1971), so widely seen throughout the Mycenaean world (FIG. 10.3), with the exception of the curious piece with flipper-like arms from Assemblage B (FIG. 6.9). Their sex is not explicitly shown, but most writers agree that they are indeed female. Certainly the position with arms raised conforms with that of the human figures just discussed. The lower part of the figurine often resembles a skirt, an abbreviated version of the skirts of some of the female figures, and we know from other representations that the skirt was normally a female dress form.

Dr French has stressed in Chapter VI that the absence from the sanctuary of figurine forms earlier than the Late Psi form is remarkable, given their frequency of occurrence in other areas at Phylakopi (see TABLE 6.1). This leads her to suggest that female figurines were not used within the sanctuary during its earlier years, but were introduced subsequently. (Their first use in the sanctuary would then be in phase 2a.) On the other hand the presence of earlier forms among the animal figurines ('linear' and 'wavy') suggests that this chronological distinction need not apply to all the figurines, but specifically to the human ones.

This interesting suggestion that the use of these small figurines may not correlate completely with that of the larger figures is confirmed when other areas are taken into consideration. In Crete no figurines of Mycenaean type have been found in the shrines of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms or in association with her effigies. Indeed Mycenaean figurines are rare in Crete (see FIG. 10.3). They are found in those interesting late deposits at Phaistos (Pernier 1902, 123) and at Aghia Triadha (Banti 1943; Borda 1946, pl. 43, 9; Kanta 1980, pl. 38, 9). Pendlebury (1939, 255) mentions figurines from a cemetery at Astipadhes which French (1971, 185) lists as of Phi form (see Kanta 1980, fig. 86, 1-3). The implications of these deficiencies are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

No figurines have yet been illustrated from the Kea temple, and although Mrs Caskey (1981, 132) mentions four, these are Cycladic not Mycenaean. There are a few figurines from elsewhere on the site (Caskey 1962a, pl. 99). Evidently they are much rarer there than at Phylakopi or the mainland sites.

It seems a remarkable circumstance that none has been reported from the various rooms excavated by Taylour at Mycenae, other than two of Proto-Phi form from the Temple. For these figurines are in general of relatively common occurrence at Mycenae in most deposits, albeit in fragmentary condition. As French (1981a, 173) remarks, 'fragmentary figurines . . . are found at Mycenae (in LH III levels) in more or less standard proportions to sherds in all contexts (as are fresco fragments, obsidian blades and spindle whorls)'. At Tiryns, where all the shrines discussed above are later than the Mycenae finds, figurines are numerous. Twenty-two are reported from Room 117, but none from Rooms 110 and 110a which succeeded it. Numerous examples came from within and near Rooms 119 and 115 which cannot, however (as discussed earlier) be accepted as shrines according to the criteria adopted here. At Asine there were four Psi figurines, some rather crude and perhaps late.

Against these sporadic and predominantly late occurrences within the Mycenaean shrines, should be set the widespread occurrence of these small human effigies at nearly all Mycenaean settlements, and in many cemeteries. In the East Shrine at Phylakopi and at the (post-collapse) north-east platform of the West Shrine they were the sole human representations, since the larger figures were lacking from those platforms. It may be suggested, then, that at this late period they could stand proxy, as it were, for the larger figures which earlier served as cult images in the shrines. From their great number and wide distribution in the Mycenaean world it is clear that

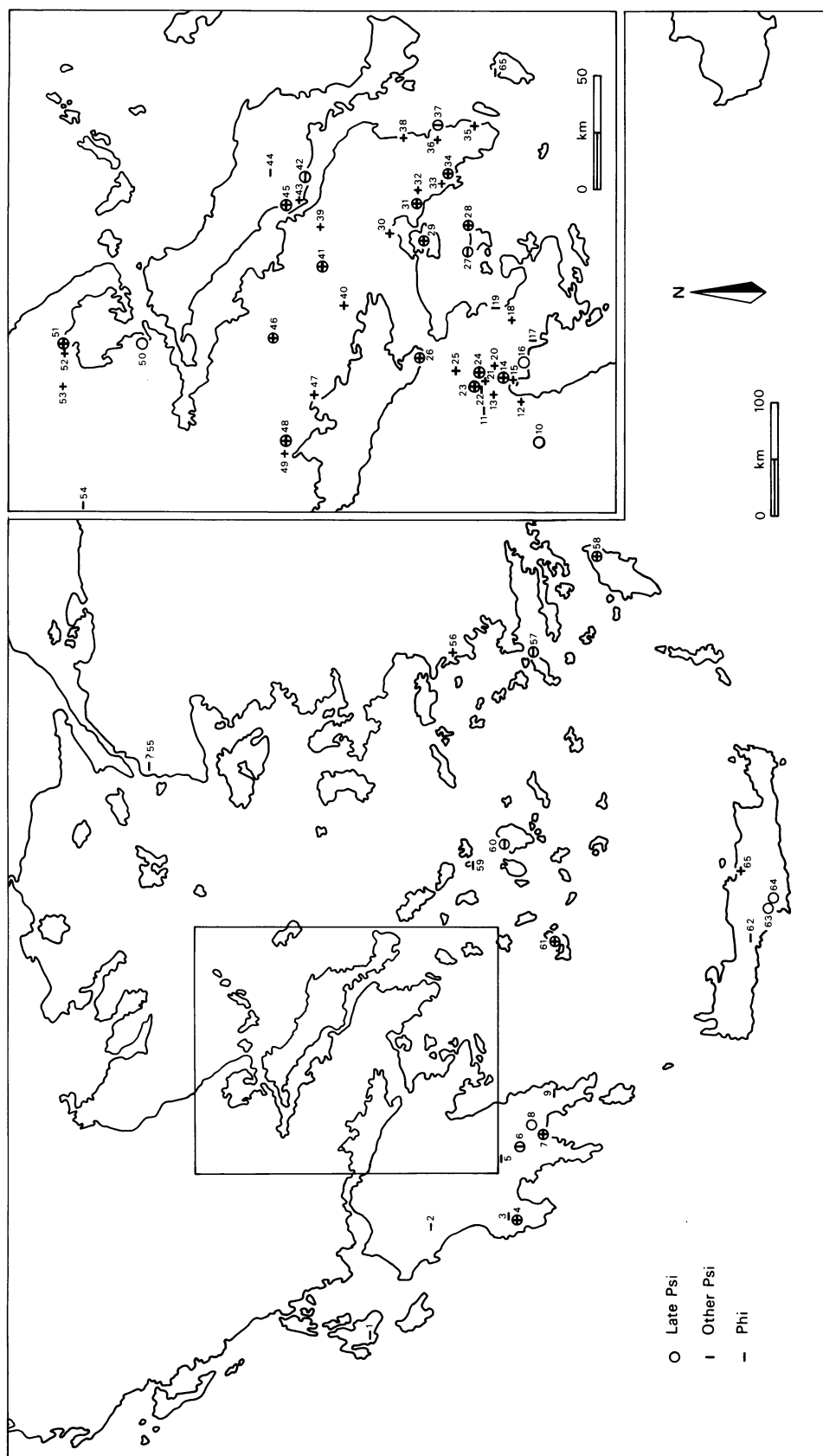


FIG. 10.3 Distribution of Mycenaean female figurines of Phi and Psi types
 1, Lakthra; 2, Trypes; 3, Volimithia; 4, Pylos and district; 5, Kalyvia; 6, Anyklai; 7, A. Stephanos; 8, Geraki; 9, Epidauros Limera; 10, Tegea; 11, Schoinochori; 12, Lerna; 13, Argos; 14, Tiryns; 15, Nauplia; 16, Asine; 17, Kandia; 18, Epidauros; 19, Palaia Epidauros; 20, Dendra; 21, Prosymna; 22, Vraserka; 23, Mycenae; 24, Berbati; 25, Zygouries; 26, Korakou; 27, Aegina (Aphrodite Sanctuary); 28, Aegina (Aphaia Sanctuary); 29, Salamis; 30, Eleusis; 31, Athens; 32, Kara Hymettos; 33, Voula; 34, Varkiza; 35, Thorikos; 36, Markopoulo; 37, Perati; 38, Raphina; 39, Tanagra; 40, Eutresis; 41, Thebes; 42, Eretria; 43, Lefkandi; 44, Mistros; 45, Chalkis; 46, Orchomenos; 47, A. Theodorii; 48, Delphi; 49, Krissa; 50, Preleion; 51, Iolchos; 52, Dhimini; 53, Velesino; 54, Philia; 55, Troy; 56, Miletos; 57, Kos; 58, Ialysos; 59, Delos; 60, Naxos; 61, Phylakopi; 62, Astipadhes; 63, A. Triadha; 64, Phaistos; 65, Knossos; 66, A. Irini

they did not automatically confer any great sanctity upon the context in which they found themselves. Indeed it seems likely that their principal use was not normally in the official and public sanctuaries, but elsewhere. They may have played a major role in domestic and popular cult, and perhaps also in funerary ceremonial.

The presence of a further figurine at Phylakopi, of comparable scale to the larger Psi figurines, but with down-turned rather than up-turned arms should be noted (SF 2015: FIG. 6.9). It is without close parallel.

Along with the human figurines of Psi form, it is appropriate to consider the chariot groups, and those of 'driven ox' form, since both include a human component. One impressive chariot group, restorable from many fragments, was found in Assemblage A at the north-west platform of the West Shrine (FIG. 6.25) along with much of another. The East Shrine yielded one substantial piece and fragments of three others. There were also driven oxen from both areas. Their absence from the south-west and north-east platforms of the West Shrine may be significant.

These forms are not recorded from Crete. Three chariots have been mentioned from the Kea temple (Caskey 1981, 132). They have not been reported from the excavations in the Mycenaean cult area, and none has been mentioned from the Tiryns shrines, although two horse figurines are indicated from Room 115. They were not found in House G at Asine. It is reasonable then, to see them as functioning primarily in the domestic cults suggested here in relation to the human figurines themselves. This did not prevent their forming suitable offerings in the Phylakopi sanctuary.

(iii) Other female representations

The Phylakopi sanctuary did not yield further female representations. But mention should be made of the important fresco decoration in the Room with the Fresco at Mycenae, as well as two interesting finds from Crete.

The paintings from the Room with the Fresco at Mycenae (Taylour 1969, 95 and pl. 10) rank as the only examples from the entire Aegean of mural decoration from what can be persuasively interpreted as a shrine on quite independent grounds. (Those grounds being principally the find of the female figure in the adjoining Room 32, and the proximity to the Temple.) The frescoes from the Southwest Building at Mycenae (Mylonas 1972, pl. XIII–XIV), while of great interest and possibly of religious significance, do not have the same compelling associations. The bench below the larger fresco in the Room with the Fresco is decorated with horns of consecration placed above a series of circles. These may represent the beams in the roof of a building, presumably a shrine. The principal figure of the larger fresco is identified as a standing woman or goddess. To the right is a further standing figure in a flounced dress, originally identified by the excavator as male on account of the red paint of the torso, perhaps 'in hieratic dress', but now more plausibly seen as female (E. French, pers. comm.). Between them is a smaller figure, again probably to be considered male on account of the colour, with arms raised towards the main goddess figure. On the adjacent wall is a seated female figure of a lady, claimed as a royal priestess, holding a sheaf of cereal, which she may be offering to the goddess figure. This is not the place for an extended analysis of these representations. Part of their interest arises from their resemblances with the much earlier depictions, notably on the gold rings found in the Mycenaean world, which as we have seen date mainly from the Late Bronze I period and may well be products of Minoan palatial workshops. The presence of the horns of consecration in what is undoubtedly a Mycenaean context of the Late Helladic IIIB period is particularly interesting.

Two important finds from Crete are also of relevance in supporting the view that the figures from the shrines have been correctly identified as cult images. The first of these comes from the Spring Chamber at Knossos (Evans 1928, 129 fig. 63), to be dated to the very end of the Late Minoan III period. It is a model of a circular hut, showing inside it the effigy of a female figure with upraised arms. The figure so dominates the hut that the impression that it is a cult figure, or indeed a goddess herself, is a very strong one. The second piece, reputedly from Archanes, is the famous shrine model from the Giamalakis collection (Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, fig. 139; Alexiou 1958, 277). The impression of a divine figure is again strong. Of course it should be added that the circular form of the hut in these two models does not at all tally with the rectangular shrine buildings known from Crete and the mainland. But both finds do support the arguments advanced here and in Chapter IX that these terracotta figures were in some cases the central images in a shrine devoted to the veneration of a divinity.

(b) Male Representations

(i) The terracotta figures

The five male terracotta figures from Phylakopi constitute a remarkable document for the Aegean religions of the late bronze age. They are almost without parallel among Mycenaean finds. (The possibility that a further fragment from the East Shrine is also male is discussed in Chapter VI). The comparanda from Crete are not well understood, coming mainly from rather mixed contexts. This striking dearth of male representations has for long been a matter of note, and the paradox was heightened by the decipherment of the Linear B tablets and the recognition of the names of male deities among them. For the contrast between the Greek religion as reflected in Homer and Hesiod and in the art of the geometric period on the one hand, with its strong emphasis upon male deities, and the late bronze age on the other, has always been a striking one. The male element is also reflected in the tablets from Knossos and Pylos but has not hitherto been recognised from the sanctuaries.

In Chapter IX it was argued that the largest of these figures, SF 1550, could reasonably be regarded as a cult image, with the other four perhaps as votaries. The distinction between the cult assemblage at the north-west platform, where all the males were found, and the other two platforms of the sanctuary complex, does however seem very clear-cut. The inference is a very strong one that a male deity was revered in the ceremonies carried out at that platform (although even here one cannot altogether exclude the possibility of a different female deity who, unlike her counterparts, would have been appropriately served by male and not by female votaries). Such an assemblage has not been found at any other Aegean bronze age shrine.

Male figurines, notably in bronze, are quite a common feature of Crete in the palace periods. Already there are terracotta figurines, undoubtedly male, of Middle Minoan date from the peak sanctuary at Petsofa (Myres 1903, pl. X), and indeed there are male figurines of Early Minoan date. But in the Second Palace period the most common form in bronze is the standing male, wearing the Minoan codpiece, with one hand at the forehead in what is generally regarded as a gesture of obeisance or adoration (Biesantz 1954, 169). The gesture is also depicted in scenes which serve to confirm that view. These figurines do occur as offerings in caves (e.g. Boardman 1961, no. 1) and in other contexts where a religious interpretation seems appropriate. The form is found in the Kea temple in a Late Bronze I context (Caskey 1956, pl. 56a) and it undoubtedly survives through the rest of the bronze age in Crete, being found in a rather emaciated form which is generally dated to the Subminoan or protogeometric period (Naumann 1976, 51 and 52). But this form has not been found in any of the shrines associated with the terracotta effigy of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms, nor can any of its findspots in the palaces or in domestic sites be positively identified, on other criteria, as shrines.

Such observations led Picard (1948, 80), in considering 'le probleme du dieu mâle' to conclude: 'Si l'on tenait très strictement à la documentation qui nous a été jusqu'ici livrée par les fouilles, on devrait admettre que nous n'avons aucune preuve, encore, pour l'existence d'un dieu mâle adulte en Crete.' Certainly the same comments could be made for the early Mycenaean period at the time when the Minoan palaces were still flourishing. Indeed in the mainland at the time, male representations are almost entirely lacking. A rare exception, clearly an import from Crete, is offered by the lead figurine from Kampos tomb (Bossert 1923, fig. 250) resembling contemporary Minoan bronze figures.

For the succeeding palace period in the mainland, Late Helladic IIIB, when the Minoan palaces already were in ruins (or in the case of Knossos perhaps in decline), the situation is very little different. Apart from the possible male figures on the fresco in the Room of the Fresco at Mycenae there are no clear male representations with religious connotations. It is of course the case that the terracotta figures from Mycenae, classed by French (1981, 173) in her group *b*, were in some instances regarded by Taylour (1969, 92; 1970, 271) as male, mainly on the grounds of the absence of breasts and of the baldness of the head. But Dr French has argued that these are simply figures without indication of sex (sexless/unisex). Certainly they lack any indication of male genitalia or of distinctive male dress or gear (for instance swords). They may well, as she suggests, have been adorned with drapery and given attributes made of organic materials, and it would then have been quite possible for them to have represented male persons or divinities. But there is no direct evidence for this, and they can hardly be classed within the repertoire of male plastic figuration.

Similar observations apply to the succeeding Late Helladic IIIC period. Dr French in her discussion in Chapter VI has illustrated a penis from a large terracotta figure at Tiryns (FIG. 6.10), and cites a male figurine from the Acropolis at Athens (French 1971, 148), of which Dr Nicholls has kindly shown me an illustration, but these unusual occurrences simply serve to underline the general absence of male figurines amongst the very numerous female examples. The large head from Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, 229, fig. 206), originally hailed as the 'Lord of Asine', was long ago re-interpreted as female (e.g. Picard 1948, 236). Indeed, other than the Tiryns penis the only important male representations from this time are the finds of the bronze smiting god discussed in Chapter VIII. These bronzes from Mycenae and Tiryns are certainly of interest, and a Late Helladic IIIC date is certainly likely for them. But they lack any religious context at those sites and they are in any case imported pieces.

At this point we must return to Crete, where in the post-palace period, there are several important finds. Two of them may be assigned to the Late Minoan IIIB period, and were found in association with the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms. The first of these is the well known votary carrying a dove from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos (Evans 1928, 340, fig. 192). He is shown clothed, and the figurine is small, but the absence of comparable finds in Crete or indeed mainland Greece does make the find a significant one. Very much more remarkable is the standing 'warrior' from the villa at Kannia (Mitropolis) near Gortyn (Levi 1959, fig. 6.6). The figure is 38.5 cm high, and thus some 3 cm taller than the largest Phylakopi male. He stands on a plinth, and the left arm comes forward in much the same gesture as the Phylakopi males (the right arm and the head are missing). He wears a tunic whose lower edge is shown in relief as frilled below the waist. The genitalia are not shown and the male identification depends partly on the absence of breasts, partly on the general shape of the body and partly on the dress: it does however seem entirely plausible. In several respects this figure compares most closely with SF 1513 from Phylakopi, which likewise probably stood on a plinth, and which also wears a tunic, although painted. On this Melian piece the genitals are clearly modelled. There is also a male figurine of Late Minoan IIIB date from the Unexplored Mansion (Popham 1973, 60).

The date of the Kannia finds, which include several impressive figures of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms, has been a matter of dispute. The excavator (Levi 1959, 250) considered that all the finds were buried in a single destruction, at the same time in Late Minoan I as the palaces of Phaistos and Aghia Triadha. But although the finds certainly do contain Late Minoan I material, Alexiou (1958) must be correct in drawing attention to later finds, including a stirrup jar (Levi 1959, fig. 37a), which led him to assign the principal finds to the Late Minoan IIIB period. Some of the small figurines (*ibid.* figs. 31 and 32) could well be Late Minoan IIIC, and Nicholls (1970, 10) would assign a bovine figure to that period. So although we can follow Alexiou in regarding the 'goddess' figures as of Late Minoan IIIB date, the male 'warrior' might conceivably belong to the following period. Room V, where this figure was found, had two benches and it is possible that the objects found there may have originally been used there, rather than deriving from the floor above.

At this point it is worth considering further precisely what objects the Phylakopi male figures originally held in their hands. Dr French observed indications that some of them did originally carry objects or emblems of some kind, likewise made of terracotta, and stresses that the arm position is different for each (see Chapter VI). But the gesture with both hands held forward, serves to call into question the suggestion made by Levi (1959, 246) that his Kannia figure originally held a shield. For if the right arm of that figure was held forward in the same manner as the left, as comparison with the Phylakopi pieces would now suggest, a shield seems less plausible. The left arm is in any case rather high if a shield were to be held in the hand. It would seem to be upon the basis of this feature that the identification as a 'warrior' principally rests, a suggestion taken up by Vermeule (1974, 22).

It is possible, however, that quite different arguments may ultimately lead to the same conclusion. For in the Near East as in Crete (as will be argued below), the closest comparanda for the Phylakopi terracotta figures are found not in clay but in bronze. In the Levant, among the bronze figurines a comparable gesture is seen, with both hands held forward at roughly shoulder level, although unevenly: this is what Negbi (1976, 8) terms the 'Anatolian Pose', where the closest comparisons are in her 'Syrian group'. In each case both arms are held forward, with the hands inturned, usually without clear indication of the elbow, and in some cases (e.g. Negbi 1976, 8 figs. 8. and 9) they are set fairly high, at shoulder level, often with a spear held vertically in one hand, and a dagger or sword or club in the other. It may be significant that whereas the figures in other standard poses (i.e. 'Egyptian', 'Smiting', 'Benedictory', 'Enthroned') are normally shown clothed, many of these clearly show the genitals, sometimes indicating also a dagger at the belt (e.g. Negbi 1976, 11, fig. 13) recalling the one seen in paint on Phylakopi SF 2340. Some of them wear rather short conical helmets or headdress, again like that Phylakopi example.

The indication of a possible Near Eastern prototype for the Phylakopi males carries with it some difficulties. For why should we find five terracotta imitations at Phylakopi of the Near Eastern male in 'Anatolian pose' with no corresponding bronze prototypes in the Aegean, when we have no terracotta versions of the smiting figure and yet several Near Eastern imports in bronze, including two from Phylakopi? The resemblances are probably not sufficiently close to lead us to conclude that the Phylakopi figures are a direct imitation of the 'Anatolian pose' bronze figurines of the Levant. (The term 'Anatolian' is itself something of a misnomer.) But the suggestion is highly plausible that they were carrying weapons in their hands, like the well-known (but probably very much earlier) group from Tell Judeideh (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960, pl. 56–9), which were found with spears and maces, the first of them again naked but for a belt, and wearing a conical cap. On the basis of this analysis, therefore, although it is not likely

that the Phylakopi male figures (or the example from Kannia) carried a shield, they did possibly hold weapons in their hands, and the designation 'warrior' is at least a plausible one. The alternative suggestion, made in Chapter VI, that they held some object laid across both arms, is equally possible.

Although we have so far been able to find only a single relevant comparison for them in Crete up to the end of the Late Minoan IIIB period, the material is much richer, although less well understood, in the succeeding phase. The most significant finds, other than those from caves, come from the sites of Aghia Triadha and Phaistos, where there is an important series of figurines not only in terracotta but in bronze. The site at Aghia Triadha was excavated early in the development of Cretan studies (Paribeni 1903), and the complicated history of its shrines is not entirely clear. An early (LM I) shrine, with snake tubes, was possibly superseded in the Late Minoan IIIB period by a shrine to the 'Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms', and subsequently abandoned (Alexiou 1958, 217; Banti 1943, 52). During the Late Minoan IIIC period a new area came into ritual use, the Piazzale dei Sacelli, apparently in the open air, from which important votive deposits have come. Many of the finds were lucidly published by Banti (1943), but unfortunately not the bronzes, which have never been comprehensively documented (but see Borda 1946; Zervos 1956; Naumann 1976). This is the only context in Crete, widely regarded as a sanctuary, from which a number of male representations, both in terracotta and in bronze have come.

The terracotta figurines from the site include several which have reasonably been regarded as males (e.g. Banti 1943, fig. 49, inv. nos. 3056 and 3063). Inv. no. 3063 has an appliqué dot indicating the penis, and it is possible that the arms were in the forward position, reminiscent of the Phylakopi figures (see also Borda 1946, pl. XLII, 6 and 12, and pl. XLIV, 5). There is also a figurine in a cloak (Banti 1943, fig. 50) generally taken to represent a male, and two figurine legs (Banti 1943, fig. 53). The first goes up to a square skirt or loin cloth, and the second is broken above the knee: its foot has a painted sandal, and the style of the paintwork is reminiscent of SF 1553 from Phylakopi. One feature of interest in the assemblage from the Piazzale dei Sacelli is the occurrence of animal figurines there (and of larger animal figures) along with male representations, but in the absence of any clear cult figure (although there is a large terracotta head (Banti 1943, fig. 47)). There are no signs of Psi figurines, and the arms illustrated from two human figures (Banti 1943, fig. 30) are from a different part of the site. The assemblage thus has points of resemblance more with the finds from the north-west altar of the Phylakopi West Shrine than with the south-west altar or the finds of Room A. The distinction here is not clear-cut, but there is perhaps the hint that different cult assemblages do have a different character, which may reflect the nature of the cult practices and perhaps of the divinity honoured. Thus, in the same way, the distinctions between the assemblage from the Piazzale dei Sacelli and that from the Amyklaion (Demakopoulou 1982), which must be of about the same date, may not be so much conditioned by the different regional context as by a different supernatural focus to the observances.

At this point it is necessary to bring into discussion some of the figurines of bronze from Crete which are generally classed as 'Subminoan' or protogeometric (Naumann 1976). None of them is from a good stratigraphic context, and many are from caves. Naumann however publishes eight from Aghia Triadha. The figures wearing a Minoan-style codpiece in this series (Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1971) and those saluting in the Minoan manner, are all classified by Naumann as 'Subminoan', while those which are naked and which are not so saluting are instead termed protogeometric. Boardman (1961, 7) in the absence of reliable stratigraphic information was likewise obliged to classify the bronze figurines from the Dictaeon Cave on stylistic grounds, and

again those saluting are generally classed as Minoan, while Boardman relegates to the Intermediate Period those further bronze figures with 'the knees often bent, the legs shorter and quite separate, the necks longer, and complete nudity'. It is immediately very striking that the Phylakopi terracotta figurines, despite their late bronze age date, show several of these characteristics. Indeed their closest parallels are found among the bronze figurines of Crete of this class (e.g. Naumann 1976, P7, P20 and P2, and S28; Boardman 1961, no. 21). Moreover, the Cretan bronzes in turn likewise find their closest well-stratified point of comparison in the Phylakopi terracotta figurines. It seems likely that had these been available when the Cretan bronzes were being studied, an earlier date might have been found acceptable for some of the latter. The Phylakopi male figurines, which may just as readily have been made in the Late Helladic IIIB period as in (early) IIIC, thus provide respectable late bronze age antecedents for this series of figurations from Aghia Triadha and the Cretan caves. This is doubly interesting in that the Cretan figurines are generally, and rightly taken as indicating a continuity in bronzeworking traditions from the late bronze age to the geometric period, a continuity apparently lacking in mainland Greece. It has been suggested that the Olympia bronze figurines, for instance, which stand at the head of so many later developments, may be linked with the metalworking and iconographic traditions reflected in the Cretan bronzes of the Intermediate period (Boardman 1961, 1 and 118). The stance, the near nudity (at least in the modelling) and the style of many of these is anticipated at Phylakopi. There may thus be a thread of continuity linking these first late bronze age nude plastic representations of the male figure with those of geometric Greece. The claim for nudity should, however, at once be modified, for the Phylakopi terracottas. Although they show anatomical details (particularly the genitals) which would normally be obscured by clothing, they do in fact bear undoubted painted indications of clothes. In three cases the genitals themselves have traces of paint to suggest that they were covered by clothing. There is here, then, a curious mixing of artistic conventions, giving a rather odd effect.

The discovery of male figures at Phylakopi, in a well-defined sanctuary context of the late bronze age thus has a number of significant implications for our understanding of the Aegean religions. In particular it highlights the problem which has always puzzled scholars, namely the very striking differences between the prehistoric religions of Crete and the mainland (including their emphasis on female beings) and those of the Greek iron age, where we first seem to meet the largely male-dominated pantheon of Ancient Greece. That these figures should have been used in Melos at a date certainly earlier than the middle of the Late Helladic IIIC period, and perhaps as early as Late Helladic IIIB gives for the first time from the material record, a measure of support to the relative frequency of occurrence of the names identified as of male divinities in the Linear B tablets.

(ii) *The bronze male figurines in smiting pose; the gold head*

The Aegean and Near Eastern comparisons for the two bronze figurines from the Phylakopi sanctuary have been considered at some length in Chapter VIII. Here it is their function within the context of the Aegean cults which primarily interest us. As noted in Chapter IX, they were not found inside either shrine. One (SF 518) was found some way to the east of the East Shrine, and the other (SF 1802) immediately to the south of the courtyard between the two shrines. The latter is in very late levels, although both figurines may originally have come to the sanctuary much earlier.

As noted in Chapter VIII, only two other examples from the Aegean come from undoubted prehistoric contexts. While secure chronologically, neither of these (at Mycenae and Tiryns) has

any definite cult associations. Four come from contexts where both prehistoric and geometric finds occur, and two of these are of religious significance. One is from the Artemision deposit on Delos, discussed earlier (Gallet de Santerre and Tréheux 1948, pl. 39) where the other finds could well be offerings originally within a shrine and later buried. The second is from the Patsos cave (Boardman 1961, pl. 25). The objects within many of these Cretan cave deposits seem mainly of votive character.

These finds, although hardly conclusive, suggest that they were often votive offerings, and the same could conceivably be the case for the Phylakopi figurines also. They are interesting mainly, perhaps, on account of their Near Eastern origin. They are only indirectly a part of the Aegean iconographic repertoire until the very end of the bronze age, when pieces such as those from Delphi, listed in Chapter VIII, were made in the Aegean. As indicated in the discussion of the terracotta male figures above, there are now grounds for thinking that some of the related bronze figurines may have been made before the end of the bronze age. There is no reason why the first locally produced figurines in smiting pose should not have been made at the same time.

The head in sheet gold (SF 192) should also be noted here. Its sex, however, is undetermined. Its possible use was discussed in Chapter VIII: it may have embellished a small cult figure whose form would be of the greatest interest to us. But unfortunately at present there are few relevant comparisons, other than the sheet gold coverings seen on some of the Near Eastern figurines of bronze.

(c) Animal Representations

(i) The bovine figures

Beyond the human figures and figurines, by far the most striking feature of the finds from the Phylakopi sanctuary was the large number of terracotta representations of bovids. It may be that bulls are often depicted, but the term bovid has consistently been used here to stress that the sex of the bull or cow is not indicated. As indicated in Chapter VI, there are two quite distinct groups. The larger ceramic (i.e. hollow-bodied) bovid figures and the small, solid figurines are as well contrasted as the large, human figures and the smaller human figurines already discussed.

Phylakopi is an altogether remarkable site for the number of large bovine figures found: ten in all. In the West Shrine, as described in Chapter IX, they are found with human figures in a manner consistent with their serving as supporters, as it were, accompanying the human figures and figurines found there. Most of them were not rhyta, that is to say furnished with apertures to allow the pouring of liquids, so that they cannot be regarded as cult vessels. In the East Shrine in phase 2b there are bovids without humans. But the general association within the sanctuary is clear enough.

A distinction should certainly be drawn between the animals in this class, which one may term 'stylised', and the Minoan terracotta vessels in the form of a complete bull, the kind of animal rhyton which Koehl (1981) terms 'animal askoid'. On the map (FIG. 10.2) these are designated 'naturalistic'. The latter belong mainly to the Late Bronze I period, although there are earlier precursors. The stylised wheelmade Mycenaean form has been usefully discussed by Nicholls (1970). Only one or two examples may be dated earlier than the Late Bronze III period. There can be little doubt, as Nicholls and French (Chapter VI) agree, that the 'stylised' form developed from the 'naturalistic' one. The transition may well have taken place in the Cyclades, where the earlier naturalistic form is found (e.g. FIG. 9.1 from Phylakopi). The two clover-decorated figures from the sanctuary may be among the earliest 'stylised' examples from the site. Indeed while nine of the Phylakopi sanctuary examples were from deposits from the phase 2b collapse, datable to the Late Helladic IIIC period, they do not show decorative features typical of that time, and may all have been manufactured during the Late Helladic IIIB period.

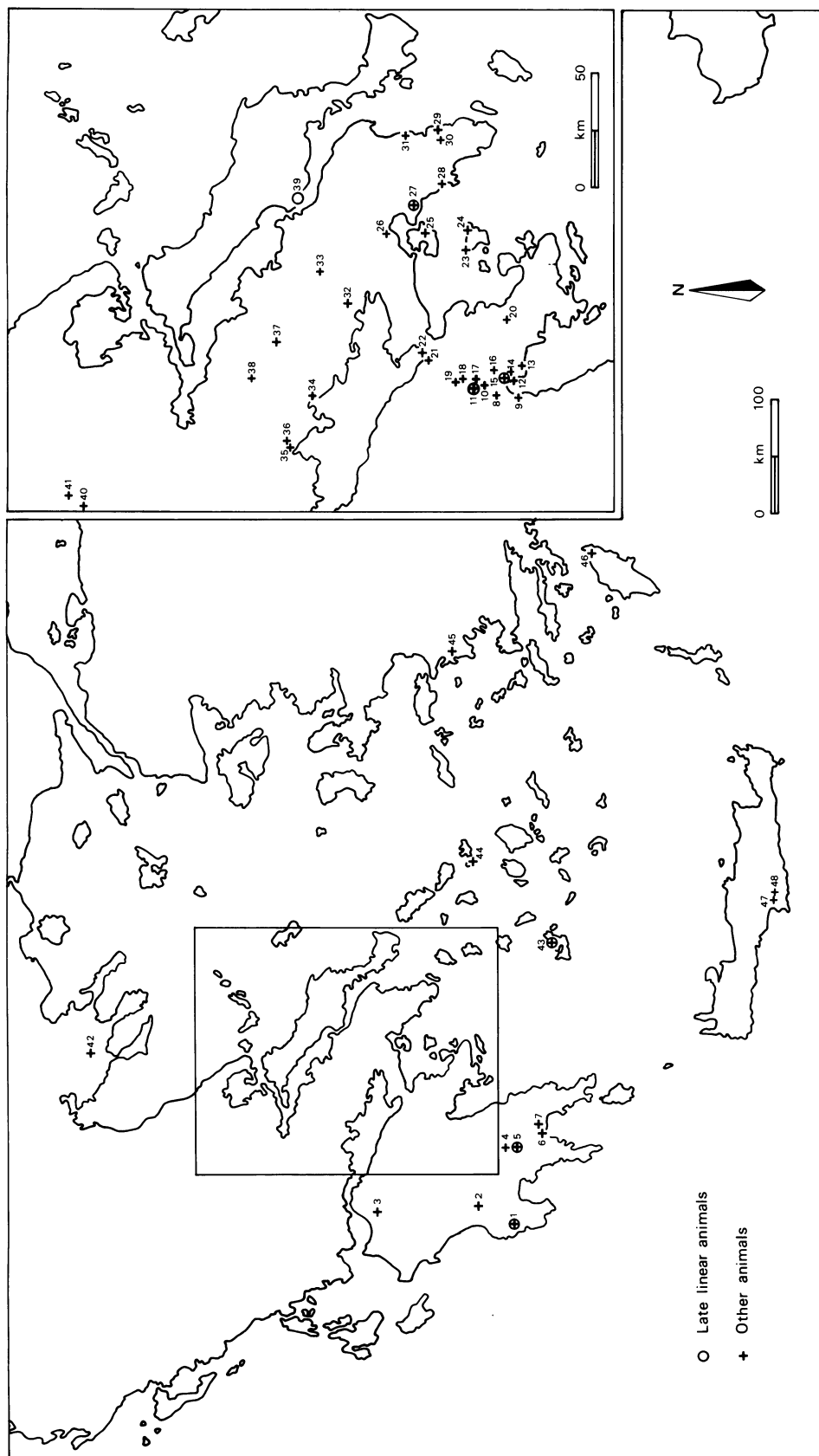


FIG. 10.4 Distribution of Mycenaean terracotta animal figurines
 1, Pylos and district; 2, Malthi; 3, Khalandritsa; 4, Menelaion; 5, Amyklai; 6, A. Stephanos; 7, Asteri; 8, Argos; 9, Lerna; 10, Prosymna; 11, Mycenae; 12, Nauplia; 13, Asine; 14, Aria; 15, Tiryns; 16, Dendra; 17, Berbati; 18, A. Triadha; 19, Zygouries; 20, Epidauros; 21, Corinthia west; 22, Korakou; 23, Aegina (Aphrodite Sanctuary); 24, Aegina (Aphaia Sanctuary); 25, Salamis; 26, Eleusis; 27, Athens; 28, Voula; 29, Perati; 30, Markopoulo; 31, Raphina; 32, Eutresis; 33, Thebes; 34, A. Theodori; 35, Krisa; 36, Delphi; 37, Orchomenos; 38, Drachmani; 39, Lefkandi; 40, Philia; 41, Sofadhes district; 42, A. Mamas; 43, Phylakopi; 44, Delos; 45, Mileto; 46, Ialysos; 47, A. Triadha; 48, Phaistos

It is only when we compare Phylakopi with other Aegean sites that the exceptional nature of their occurrence becomes clear. In Crete, bovine figures are not in general found in the shrines of the Late Minoan III period. The horse from Karphi (Pendlebury *et al.* 1938, 92 and pl. 32, 1) is not from the shrine there, and the bull head from Prinias (Heraklion Museum 1715; Nicholls 1972, 12) is not documented as associated with the human figures found there (Wide 1901). Only in the 'Unexplored Mansion' at Knossos is a figure with upraised arms of Cretan type found with a bovine figure, and the installation here is not in the same category as the recognised shrines of the time.

The occurrences in Crete seem in general late. At Aghia Triadha and Phaistos they are in what seem to be Late Minoan IIIC assemblages, accompanied by animal figurines at Aghia Triadha (Banti 1943, 53) and by a Psi figurine at Phaistos (Pernier 1902, 123).

Animal figures seem very rare at the Kea temple. Mrs Caskey (1981, 132) has reported a wheelmade bovid and further unspecified pieces. There is also a pottery dolphin (Caskey 1962a, pl. 101, e) whose fabric has been compared (Chapter VI) to that of a horn from Phylakopi (SF 1713).

It is of great interest that the Mycenae temple and its associated rooms entirely lack animal figures of this kind. And only a single animal has so far been reported from the Tiryns shrines in the Unterburg. It comes from Room 117 (Kilian 1978, 465, fig. 22), and as noted in Chapter VI, resembles Phylakopi SF 1032, which likewise has a large hole at the rear and very similar legs.

This dearth of finds at the main Mycenaean shrines contrasts with their occurrence at a number of sites which do not have buildings like the shrines themselves, and which often lack the human terracotta figures. Here the distinction made by Hägg (1968, 52) between built sanctuaries and those in the open air, without buildings, may be relevant. This distinction, based on Hägg's survey of the surviving archaeological remains, is matched by that made by students of scenes depicted on the gold rings and other representations (e.g. Mylonas 1977, 55) between temples and hypaethral sanctuaries. It should of course be borne in mind that most of these depictions relate to a somewhat earlier period, but the distinction may well have persisted. Bovine figures are, in fact, a feature at many of the proposed open-air sanctuaries, amongst them the Amyklaion (Tsountas 1892; Buschor and von Marrow 1926; Demakopoulou 1982).

Some caution is needed at this point, since these sites are claimed as of religious significance precisely because bovine figures and other symbolic forms are found at them. Their operation as the locus of religious ritual would be difficult to document, were it not that some of the symbolic finds were already identified as of religious significance from the shrines already discussed. This is not the place for the careful and detailed analysis which would be needed to establish the validity of the class of hypaethral sanctuaries. It certainly appears a plausible suggestion. And if it is accepted for the mainland, the relevant findspots at Aghia Triadha and Phaistos might add two Cretan cases.

We should remember, however, that at Ialysos in Rhodes a fine terracotta figure of a horse, belonging to this general class, occurs in a tomb (Jacopi 1931, pl. XXII). It would be dangerous then to claim as an authenticated religious site every location where terracotta animal figures and figurines have been found. The observation remains valid, however, that these figures are not a usual feature of the Mycenaean shrines and do not occur at the Cretan ones. Their abundance at Phylakopi is thus all the more notable.

(ii) *The animal figurines*

With the small animal figurines of terracotta at Phylakopi, we are dealing with a form which, like its human counterparts of Phi and Psi form, has been a frequent and familiar feature since

the first excavations at Mycenaean settlements. Yet it is only with the excavations of the Phylakopi and Tiryns shrines that we see these smaller figurines in a clear religious context. All ten of the large bovids from Phylakopi came from the collapse phase (phase 2b) or earlier, while only three fairly complete animal figurines came from this phase, as against five from phase 3b and nine from phase 3c as well as numerous fragmentary examples. (The precise numbers depend on the criteria adopted for 'completeness', but the pattern is clear.) Typologically, however, some of the animal figurines were of quite early forms, as noted above, and were probably first used in earlier contexts. No animal figurines were found at the south-west platform of the West Shrine. In the West Shrine, the few occurrences were at the north-west platform, along with the male figures. None was found in Room A or the niche. In contrast, they were particularly frequent in the East Shrine. These occurrences were examined in greater detail in Chapter IX.

Animal figurines of this kind do not form part of the Minoan cult tradition. Their occurrence in Crete is thus rare (FIG. 10.4) and the finds notably late. To the best of my knowledge they do not occur at any of the shrines where the larger human figures are found. This virtual absence in Crete is all the more marked since the form is well established in the mainland in the later Late Helladic IIIA period (French 1971, 151).

No animal figurines of this class have been illustrated from the temple at Kea, (although fragments are mentioned by Mrs Caskey (1981, 132)), and none has been cited from Taylour's excavations in the temple and adjoining rooms at Mycenae, although the final report must be awaited in each case for a definitive statement. Animal figurines are, however, a consistent feature of the Tiryns shrines. Already, before the destruction of the site at the end of Late Helladic IIIB there seems to have been a chamber within the city wall for which Kilian (1981a 171) has claimed a cult function, mainly on the basis of debris swept from it, which included two Psi figurines and two of Tau and two of Phi form respectively, six animal figurines and two chariots. But the status as a shrine of this room, like the 'provisional' Room 119, constructed soon after the destruction (Kilian 1981a, 162) must be evaluated when the finds are published in full. Room 119 contained six animal figurines altogether along with other finds.

It is with the shrine itself at Tiryns, Room 117 followed by 110 then 110a that we are on surer ground. No animal figurine was found within Room 117; there was a fragment in Room 110 (Kilian 1978, 465) and none in Room 110a. This suggests to me a possible pattern of dissociation: it is perhaps possible to say that finds of animal figurines and indeed of Psi figurines tend to be more numerous in contexts lacking the large human female figures than they are in contexts containing them. This is certainly true for Phylakopi, where the dissociation is almost complete. But this is at present only a suggestion prompted by the finds at these two sites and at Mycenae.

The essential point should here be made that such animal figurines are frequently found at many Mycenaean sites (although they are less common than human Phi and Psi figurines (French 1971, 151)): there is again absolutely no suggestion that all the contexts are shrines. They are, indeed, quite commonly found in tombs, most notably at Prosymna, and there has been much speculation about their function. Their occurrence at the shrines at Tiryns and especially Phylakopi certainly documents that they could, in appropriate circumstances, be part of the assemblage at a shrine. The case is very similar to that of the human figurines discussed earlier, which may often have been used in the context of domestic or house cult. Just as a study of the large animal figures may one day lead to some distinction between official cult places (for instance shrines versus hypaethral sanctuaries), so a more complete analysis of the contexts of these small animal figurines may illuminate the difference between public and private observances.

(iii) Other animal representations

The other animal representations from Phylakopi are very few. The absence of any symbolism relating to snakes is notable. Snakes are fairly frequently found in contexts in Crete relating to cult (Nilsson 1950, 320), although rarely seen in representations on rings or gems. They are particularly well documented in the Gournia shrine (Hawes 1908, pl. XI). Although there is no indication of them from the Kea temple or the Tiryns shrines, and Mylonas (1966, 152) is highly sceptical about the suggestion of a Mycenaean snake goddess such as has been claimed in Crete, the Room with the Idols at Mycenae (Taylour 1969, pl. IX) has yielded remarkable terracotta models of coiled snakes. Fragments of seventeen snakes have been recovered. It should be noted that this coiled form has not been found in Crete, and once again we have an indication of pronounced regional variation.

As indicated in Chapter VIII, there are few Aegean comparisons for our bronze bird (SF 1578). The mounting suggests that this small piece of bronzework served to decorate a larger object. Birds did of course play a significant role in the Minoan religions, from the palace period right through to Late Minoan III, when they are seen (along with poppies and horns of consecration) on the heads of some of the effigies of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms (Nilsson 1950 330–41). Bronze animal representations are in general very unusual finds in the Aegean late bronze age, and it is interesting that one of the few comparisons, a bronze lion, comes from late levels at the Aghia Irini temple (Caskey 1962a, pl. 101, *f*).

The sealstones in the sanctuary are to be regarded as valuable offerings: the subjects depicted upon them may not, for this purpose have been considered particularly relevant. As Dr Younger shows in Chapter VII, they fall naturally within the canon of late bronze age glyptic.

*(d) Other Symbolic Forms**(i) Horns of consecration, double axe*

Perhaps the most prominent feature of the Minoan religious repertoire is the shape termed by Evans the 'horns of consecration'. It is found in numerous Cretan contexts of the palace period, and is a prominent feature in the shrines of Late Minoan IIIB and C. There were, for instance, horns of consecration on the cult bench in the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos. Whether the significance was always a religious one is a matter for discussion (see Nilsson 1950, 184): as in the case of the double axe, one may wonder whether it may not have been civic or royal in some cases. But the frequent occurrence in religious contexts is undoubted, and the horns are found on, or portrayed on, altars.

It is noteworthy, then, that there is absolutely no sign of the horns of consecration in the Phylakopi sanctuary, whether in clay or plaster, or in association with any of the figures. Moreover this impression, once noted, is reinforced by other sites outside of Crete. Despite various Minoan features of the Kea temple, this symbol is not found there.

In Mycenaean contexts we first see this motif on the small temple model in gold leaf from the Shaft Graves at Mycenae (Nilsson 1950, 173), but here, as in the rather frequent appearances on the gold rings, we are dealing with portable objects, many of which may have been made in Crete. Very few actual horns of consecration have been found, although there are occurrences at Pylos and Gla (Mylonas 1966, 162). The most significant context is undoubtedly the fresco in the Room with the Fresco (Taylour 1969, pl. Xa), which has already been discussed. The motif has not been reported from the Tiryns shrines, however, nor in House G at Asine.

The other principal Cretan emblem is the double axe, which occurs in many Cretan representations. A magnificent reduplicated example in bronze was found in the palace at Zakro, and the form is found in gold at the Arkalochori cave. It does not occur so often in shrines

of the Late Minoan IIIB—C periods, but a miniature example in steatite was found on the cult bench in the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos. Again it is noteworthy that this form is not seen at all in the Phylakopi sanctuary, or indeed elsewhere on the site. Nor is it reported from the Kea temple. Mylonas (1977, 121) has usefully enumerated the mainland occurrences of depictions, which are relatively few, all of them prior to Late Helladic III. He concludes: 'the Double Axe was not used as a symbol or emblem of Mycenaean religion, at least from the end of the 15th century B.C. to the end of the Mycenaean age'. This remark is borne out by the absence of the double axe from the cult area at Mycenae, from the Tiryns shrines and from House G at Asine. The only mainland examples of the decorative and flat ceremonial form of the double axe actually made in bronze, apart from possibly Geometric period examples from Amyklai (Demakopoulou 1982, 77), are from the remarkable sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas near Epidauros (Lambrinoudakis 1981), an altogether exceptional site with many Minoan features. The finds there are very much those which one would expect in a Minoan peak sanctuary. The find pattern thus emphasises the distinction between Minoan and Mycenaean religious conventions: here Phylakopi goes with the mainland, while the Epidauros finds have a distinctive and exceptional Cretan character.

Amongst the other features of Minoan religious symbolism entirely lacking at Phylakopi are the 'sacral knot', and the figure-of-eight shield.

(ii) *The possible stone baetyl*

The stone found outside the doorway of the West Shrine (PLATE 7) is neither very large nor impressive, nor was it shaped with any great care to give a perfectly circular plan. The possibility should certainly be considered that it might simply be one of the stones fallen from the Late Helladic IIIB defensive wall, of which there were many in this area. A supporting argument would be that it was not set into the floor, but sat on a thin layer of soil above the uppermost level of paving. But, on the other hand, this stone did indeed seem to have been deliberately shaped to give a somewhat regular impression, and it sat stably on a flattened surface. It may be that had Sir Arthur Evans not raised the notion of baetylic stones in his early essay on the Aegean religions (Evans 1901), the suggestion would not have sprung so readily to mind. I now feel that taken in isolation the find was not altogether conclusive. Certainly caution is in order in view of the re-assessment of a supposed baetyl at Mallia (Nilsson 1950, 106). But on the other hand there are sufficient supporting documents from the prehistoric Aegean to make the suggestion plausible.

Although some of the stones cited in the literature are of columnar form, much taller and more slender than the Phylakopi case (e.g. Nilsson 1950, 259, fig. 127), the stalagmites which give its name to the 'Fetish Shrine' of the Little Palace at Knossos are very plausibly interpreted as having a cult significance (Evans 1928, 346 and 519). These are the most notable instance of the actual find of such stones in cult context. Most of the other evidence comes from depictions, primarily on gold rings. The ring from the Late Minoan IIIA tomb 4 at Sellopoulo in Crete (Popham *et al* 1974, fig. 14, D) is the most convincing, showing a man on his knees before a rock. Other instances are considered by Mylonas (1966, 140–8), who in discussing the religion of the Mycenaeans makes the interesting comment (*ibid.*, 161): '...their important and ancestral male deities remained without representation. Perhaps in the baetyls and free-standing columns they may have found their aniconic representations'. Certainly a firm distinction should be drawn between the columns—like that in the tympanum of the Lion Gate at Mycenae—and the lower, more rounded baetyls, like that on the Sellopoulo ring and perhaps the Phylakopi example. Evans, (1928, 838) in discussing the possible Minoan antecedents of the cult of Delphian Apollo, mentions the resemblance of the *omphalos* form, as illustrated by the marble example at Delphi

(*ibid.* fig. 556), to stalagmitic pillars such as those in the Cave of Psychro and the Eileithya Cave. The resemblance here to the Delphi examples is undoubted, but the identification of our stone as a baetyl or omphalos is not a certain one.

(iii) *Cult equipment*

Apart from the terracotta figures and figurines and the bronzes already discussed, the repertoire of cult equipment at Phylakopi is not impressively large.

In the first place it should again be stressed that there was here none of the fine stone vessels such as one would expect to find within the cult assemblage from a Minoan palace. But, as noted above, this is hardly surprising in a context outside the Minoan palatial milieu.

A second notable absence is any portable 'table of offerings'. Many Minoan shrines, such as the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, had such a low table, often of tripod form, in a central position, where it was clearly used for cult purposes. A comparable practice is sometimes seen on the mainland, where at Mycenae a clay altar was found beside the idol set on the cult bench in the Temple (French 1981b, 45). On the other hand the pedestal vase is a special form which was particularly prominent at Phylakopi as the only pottery vessel in Assemblage L (East Shrine, phase 3c): it occurs also in Assemblage A (Room A, phase 2b) and at the north-east altar (Phase 3b or 3c) in the West Shrine (PLATE 20). Although in shape this is close to Furumark's stands (Furumark 1941, 71) it could have served many of the functions of a table of offerings, and some analogous use may be suspected. The shape is already known from Phylakopi (Phylakopi 1904, 158, fig. 157), where a ceremonial use was already suggested. It has antecedents at Phylakopi in the Late Bronze I period (Phylakopi 1904, 138 fig. 110), where the inspiration evidently comes from Late Minoan Ia pottery.

The most obvious ceramic form associated with cult assemblages in Crete is the pottery tube, sometimes termed a 'snake tube'. These are well represented, for instance, at the shrine at Gournia (Hawes 1908, pl. XI) where they were found in association with a table of offerings and one of the usual figures with upraised arms. Others are known from Koumasa and Prinias, and from the villa at Pyrgos-Myrtos (Cadogan 1973). Its absence from the Phylakopi sanctuary is therefore noteworthy.

There is only one further ceramic form at Phylakopi, which is associated especially with the sanctuary: the composite or double container (PLATE 20) of which three examples were found, two on the cult bench in the south-west corner of the West Shrine, and one in Assemblage K, on the platform in the north-east corner which replaced it. As Miss Mountjoy points out in Chapter V, these are forms 325 and 330 of Furumark (1941, 69). Once again such vessels are known to occur in cult contexts. There is a very similar triple vessel from the cult assemblage in House G at Asine (Frödin and Persson 1938, 298). The pottery tray (PLATE 20) found in Assemblage J should also be noted.

The other items of cult equipment have been discussed in Chapter VIII. Notable among them are the two stone pedestal vases, the tortoise shell lyres and the conch shells. Otherwise the objects from the sanctuary included many offerings, but little else that was evidently intended for use in the cult.

4. Transformations

In this chapter so far it has been possible to use the evidence from Phylakopi and from the other shrines to clarify a number of different aspects of the cult practices of the bronze age, and to make a number of necessary social, spatial and temporal distinctions. It is appropriate now to conclude on a more speculative note, and to consider the successive changes, the transformations in cult practice and in belief structure, through which these different aspects were produced.

(a) The Problem of Meaning

The emphasis so far has been a deliberately pragmatic and material one: on cult practice rather than on meaning, on what people did rather than on what they believed. The reasons for this are, of course, methodological, and distinguish the procedure followed here from the 'empathy' approach discussed in Chapter I, and from much 'structuralist' writing in anthropology and now in archaeology, where 'meaning' is often claimed without any very clear account of how it is derived or validated.

I do not doubt that a careful analysis of depictions of what may be recognised as cult scenes, when these are sufficiently abundant, can lead to some valid conclusions. Obviously, however, the analysis will need to make the contextual distinctions outlined at the beginning of this chapter if it is to be sensitive to the patterns latent within the material, rather than impose upon it some of the modern myths which have grown up since the last century. The depictions in question are available primarily from the Second Palace period in Crete, and it is there that such an approach might, I think, make the most headway. The Phylakopi sanctuary finds are all much later than this, and I want instead to ask two questions here.

(i) One Goddess or many?

The main common feature linking the Aegean shrines together is the presence within them of images of a female figure. The three principal classes are seen on FIG. 10.1. The earliest, found so far only at Aghia Irini on Kea, is the very large, solid terracotta figure of the standing woman with bare breasts and with hands on hips. The second is the Mycenaean figure, divided into two classes at Mycenae, the second of them seen also at Phylakopi and Tiryns. The third is the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms, from the post-palatial period in Crete.

The question 'One goddess or many?' is in fact a two-fold one. In the first place, at a single site, do the effigies found there represent a single deity, or a series of distinct deities who together might constitute a pantheon? And secondly, taking the various sites into account, can we regard this as the same deity (or the same pantheon) represented at them? Or do different sites have distinctive deities of their own?

At this stage we are of course accepting the views advanced earlier that the large human figures did indeed serve as cult images. The possibility that the images in question are not in fact representations of the deity, but rather votaries, has not been fully explored here. This is indeed the argument advanced by Mrs Caskey (1981) for the Kea temple, and she cites the very large number of figures found there, of the order of fifty-five. In the case of Aghia Irini she may well be right. But the interpretation is conspicuously different at Mycenae. There a single figure was found set up on a bench in the Temple, and another in Room 32. The remaining pieces, about 20 in all, were found in the Room with the idols (and an adjoining alcove), which has very understandably been regarded as a store of some kind. Now the pertinent question is: why was it necessary to have so many?

The interesting suggestion has been made that they were adorned in various ways—perhaps in cloth, and given attributes no longer preserved—perhaps flower garlands or other organic materials. In such a case it would be possible for a whole series of different deities to be represented on successive occasions.

Using this argument, it would be possible to see the upraised arm position, in both its Mycenaean and Minoan variants, and the various other recurrent features of these images, not as the unique attribute of a specific deity, (for example the Great Mother which some writers have too hastily assumed), but as the more general attribute of holiness and sanctity. A ready parallel which comes to mind is the image of the patriarch saint in the Byzantine church. In icon and in fresco

we can often unhesitatingly recognise that we are looking, for instance, at a male saint, a father of the church. Only with much greater difficulty and after a careful study of whatever attributes he may be carrying, or after a reading of the accompanying inscription, are we able to determine precisely *which* saint: sometimes indeed individual saints have no distinguishing features.

This problem is posed by the very large number of human figures at Mycenae. It is set even more concretely by such finds as those of Gazi where a much smaller number of images is found. Are we to see in the five figures from that site, with their different attributes, five different deities, or simply five alternative images of the same deity, shown with different and interchangeable attributes?

At Phylakopi, we have already a minimum of two deities, the female and the male, (if the figures are regarded as cult images rather than votaries). But it would be perfectly possible, as van Leuven (1978) has suggested, to think in terms of a group of several distinct divine personages.

This problem is made more acute by the interpretations offered for some of the Mycenaean tablets discussed earlier. If the identification of certain texts as lists of offerings made to a whole series of divine recipients is correct (and I believe that caution is still appropriate in that regard), then there was at that time a very wide range of divinities. This might lead one to accept the notion of several goddesses rather than one. It is relevant here to quote the words of Sir Arthur Evans (Hutchinson 1962, 207; see also Furumark 1965, 89):

'I have always in mind the possibility that the goddess who appears in so many relations in Minoan scenes and impersonations may cover what was really regarded as separate deities with separate names equivalent to Artemis, Rhea, Athena, Aphrodite etc. But as a provisional procedure it is convenient, in default of more definite knowledge, to treat the goddess as essentially the same great Nature Goddess under various aspects—celestial with the dove, chthonic with the snake etc. etc.'

The epithet Potnia occurs quite frequently in the tablets, clearly relating to a series of different deities. It would be perfectly possible to see the image of the goddess with upraised arms, both in her Mycenaean and Minoan variants, as the visual representation, the iconic image of Potnia. The form would indicate a *class* of divine personage, whose individual identity would have to be signified by other means. In some cases the image might be given specific visual attributes. In others, her identity might be made clear by the prayers and ritual observances held in her honour.

(ii) *Projecting Back From Known to Unknown*

When religious beliefs have undergone a series of transformations over a long time period, it is commonly the case that we are much better informed about the most recent of them. The question then arises as to how far our insights into that more recent stage can be carried back into earlier phases of development.

In the Aegean case we do of course have a great deal of information about the religious practices and beliefs of the Greeks in the later first millennium BC. How far can we use these to illuminate our understanding of the religions of the bronze age?

On the one hand it is entirely plausible that many of the beliefs and practices of the classical Greeks had bronze age roots and origins. Time and again we can spot details in the archaeological record of the bronze age which rather neatly match what we already know about classical Greek times. But I believe that this practice is a dangerous one, which all too easily leads us to project our picture for the more recent period back onto an earlier period which may have been profoundly different.

The risks are greater when we bring to the discussion some preconceived notion about the nature of the changes. It is common, for instance, to consider the religion of the Greeks as an instance of an Indo-European religion, and to view those of the bronze age (or some of them) as non- or pre-Indo-European. On this model those particular aspects of Greek religion which can be identified as typically 'Indo-European', notably the person and name of Zeus himself, are to be viewed as importations, implanted upon the indigenous, pre-Indo-European matrix. From a fusion of the two, the religion of the Greeks would have emerged.

It is important to see that this view rests upon a series of assumptions about language and language origins in the Aegean (since the term 'Indo-European' is primarily a linguistic one), and then on further assumptions about supposedly Indo-European belief systems resting upon these. If one doubts whether the Indo-European character of the Greek language is to be explained by an immigration of new peoples into Greece during the bronze age (see Renfrew 1973b) the whole framework of assumptions collapses.

Criticism of this position might well incline one to seek the roots of the subsequent Greek pantheon in the bronze age of the Aegean, rather than in some external source of religious inspiration. The possibility that the Mycenae figures, and perhaps the Phylakopi ones also, might represent a whole range of deities would facilitate such interpretations. But these will not have any value unless the necessary distinctions emerge from patterns actually discernible within the bronze age material: a series of plausible 'matches', of accommodative *post hoc* arguments by which the prehistoric material is made to conform to later religious categories, is not enough.

(b) *Beyond the Minoan Palaces*

The first significant transformation, relevant to the cult practices of Melos in the late bronze age, is the development there and elsewhere in the Aegean, at the beginning of that phase, of practices resembling those of Minoan Crete. The range of depictions in Late Minoan I Crete is particularly rich. Moreover, from the time of the Shaft Graves, and perhaps before, aspects of Minoan religious symbolism are seen in the mainland, for instance the small temple model in gold leaf with horns of consecration, found at Mycenae (Nilsson 1950, 173). The *Cretoiserie* of this period has been variously interpreted. Was it simply that the external symbols of the prestigious and more sophisticated palace civilisation were being adopted by the Mycenaeans without any fundamental restructuring in their beliefs, in what Malcolm Wiener (1984) has aptly termed a 'Versailles effect'? Or were fundamental features of the Minoan religion adopted at that time in the mainland?

This is a question which we shall not be able to answer until we have a clearer picture, on the basis of new discoveries, both of mainland cult practices in the Late Bronze I period, and of their predecessors. The remarkable series of finds, some of them of undoubtedly Minoan characters, at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas near Epidaurus (Lambrinoudakis 1981) hint at one of the mechanisms of contact, although one that is as yet little understood. It certainly appears to have entailed more than a superficial imitation of Minoan symbolism.

The evidence relating to cult practices at Phylakopi in Late Bronze I times was discussed in Chapter IX. It is too scanty to allow of many conclusions, but, as in Thera there would seem to be some conformity with Minoan customs.

This makes the finds at Aghia Irini on Kea all the more remarkable. The temple there began its life already in the middle bronze age, and most of the terracotta figures were made during the Late Bronze I period. Now although the figure of a lady in a long skirt and with bare breasts can certainly be derived from Minoan precursors, the temple itself does not so far have persuasive Cretan antecedents. There are possible shrines during the Second Palace period (see Hood

1977). The shrine at Gournia was probably constructed at that time. And at Aghia Triadha there is a symmetrically arranged room with cult bench opposite the entrance which was apparently built during the Late Minoan I period and destroyed by fire, and rebuilt in Late Minoan III (Banti 1943, 28 and 52). None of these is as old as the Kea temple. But although precursors may yet be found in Crete for the Aghia Irini shrine, which might then be represented as a direct offshoot of Cretan cult practice, the picture could be represented very differently in the light of our current knowledge.

At present the Aghia Triadha temple has no known Cretan precursor. The issue of the use of large scale images in Crete has recently been discussed by Marinatos and Hägg (1983), and certainly the image chosen at Kea is familiar at a smaller scale in Crete. But the possibility of local Cycladic antecedents for built shrines containing cult figures should not be overlooked. I have recently argued (Renfrew, in press) that the larger marble figures of the Early Cycladic period can best be regarded as cult images, and that they may have been used during cult practices in shrines, none of which has yet been properly excavated. This is at present hypothetical. But we should recognise that the built sanctuary with large female cult image could well, in the Aegean, have a Cycladic origin. On this view, the Kea example would reflect Minoan ideas only in the form given to the cult image itself, and in some of the offerings made (e.g. Caskey 1964, pl. 56a). The cult itself would not necessarily be a Minoan one.

(c) The Origins of the Phylakopi Sanctuary

In the last section, the first of the fundamental transitions under review was discussed. This was the development in the rest of the Aegean, prior to and during the Late Bronze I period, of cult practices reflecting in some respects those of Crete.

The sanctuary built at Phylakopi during the Late Helladic IIIA period represents a new departure, in terms of our present knowledge, for the prehistoric Melians. Whatever may have preceded it elsewhere, at Phylakopi, it has no satisfactory Minoan predecessor among the town shrines proposed by Hood (1977). A good case has been made out for a Middle Minoan sanctuary at Mallia (van Effenterre 1980, 443), but it is irregular in form. Architecturally the most relevant building is probably the Late Minoan I 'shrine' at Aghia Triadha already discussed (Nilsson 1950, 130).

The discussion in the preceding section highlights the possible significance of the Kea temple as a precursor, but the bold symmetry of the West Shrine is not seen there.

It would, of course, be possible to look further afield, perhaps to Cyprus, where there are important finds, notably from Kition and Enkomi. The finds from the sanctuary of the ingot god (Courtois 1971) show several Mycenaean affinities, not least in the two wheel-made centaurs and the numerous figurines of approximately Psi form. But it is dated to the twelfth and eleventh centuries, and is thus not early enough to serve as a precursor. Temples 2 and 3 at Kition, the earliest in the series excavated there (Karageorghis 1973; 1976, 55) are of interest, although their inception was certainly rather later than the construction of the West Shrine at Phylakopi. The main area or room is, in each case, regarded as an open courtyard by the excavator, and indeed this is a feature of the Cypriote temples in general (Åström 1972; Masson 1973). It may be remarked in passing however that the conventional view that the Cypriote sanctuaries were all hypaethral while the town shrines of the Aegean were roofed may in part be a tradition of interpretation: the pillars in the courtyard of temple 2 at Kition (Karageorghis 1976, 54) might have sustained a roof rather than merely a portico: alternatively, a case could be made for regarding the main room of the West Shrine at Phylakopi as a courtyard, although that is not the interpretation offered here. There are, however, severe chronological objections to any Cypriote

precursor for the Phylakopi West Shrine. Apart from the Kition temples, the Cypriote sanctuaries are mainly of Late Cypriote IIC date which places them effectively in the Late Helladic IIIC period (French and Åstrom 1980). The exceptions are mainly open air sanctuaries with less impressive buildings, such as Myrtou-Pigadhes; only at Vounari are there solid structures of earlier date (Symeonoglou 1975) and the status of that site as a temple is far from clear. Cyprus does not emerge as a likely source of religious inspiration at the time of this transformation, and later the influences seem very much the other way, with many Mycenaean features reflected in the Cypriote cults of the twelfth and eleventh centuries.

Instead it is to the mainland that one naturally turns. It is of course the symbolic materials which lead one in this direction. There is no doubt that the female figures on Melos are Mycenaean in character, and the Lady of Phylakopi has been identified by Dr French as an import, probably from the Argolid. The bovine figures, although not necessarily as early as the foundation of the sanctuary, are Mycenaean in character. So too are the human and animal figurines, some of the latter being of early forms. The absence of double axes and of horns of consecration, while odd in a Minoan context, is perfectly acceptable for a Mycenaean one.

Architecturally there is of course a problem, since the West Shrine is earlier than the most obvious comparison, the Temple (with the Room with the Idols) at Mycenae. But here it should again be stressed that we know very little about the cult practices on the mainland during the Cretan Second Palace period and in the succeeding couple of centuries. The severe symmetry of the Mycenaean megaron, which we see also in aspects of the West Shrine at Phylakopi, is anticipated already in the Early Helladic period by the House of the Tiles in Lerna.

At present, then, I am inclined to see in the West Shrine at Phylakopi the adoption of mainland cult practices, which were conducted in a building having possible mainland predecessors. The West Shrine was, of course, constructed a couple of decades after the megaron at Phylakopi, which is very probably of mainland inspiration.

If we are to see at Phylakopi at that time, about 1360 BC, the adoption of what were effectively mainland religious practices, the origin of those practices themselves is all the more relevant to us. That transformation, which we have already touched on in the previous section, is still not clear to us. But I think it is likely that the development of the Mycenaean image with raised arms in the Late Helladic IIIA period may owe much to Minoan precursors (see French 1981a, 173).

(d) The Aftermath of Collapse in Crete

With the collapse of centralised administration in Crete and the destruction of the palaces, followed half a century or more later by that of Knossos, radical transformations took place in religious practice. As I have argued elsewhere (Renfrew 1981b, 30), such a system collapse, and the disappearance of central support for a state religion, is generally followed by 'the survival of religious elements as "folk" cults and beliefs'. It was at this time that the shrines containing the images of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms made their appearance. Their chronology has been reviewed earlier, and it would appear that in many cases shrine and image made their appearance together.

It is pertinent to ask here what were the effects in Crete of the Mycenaean occupation at Knossos. The Linear B tablets, if the usual interpretation of them is followed, indicate some close affinities in cult practice between Knossos at this time and Pylos. (The Pylos tablets are dated rather later, but they and the Knossos ones presumably reflect what was basically Mycenaean cult practice.)

It may thus be suggested that the adoption in Crete at this time, probably after the fall of Knossos, of the custom of revering an image of a goddess with Upraised arms, set within a built

shrine, reflects the acceptance of what were fundamentally Mycenaean cult practices. This would, so far as the iconography goes, represent a *reflux* from the mainland to Crete, where a mainland image itself ultimately of Cretan inspiration, was adopted and modified to become the 'Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms' (Renfrew 1981b, 32; see Furumark 1965, 89; French 1981a, 178).

There are, however difficulties with this view which arise from our lack of knowledge of cult images in Crete and the Mainland in the century following the fall of the Cretan palaces in around 1450 BC. As indicated above, the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms has not yet been found in secure contexts dated earlier than Late Minoan IIIB, of which the recent excavations at the 'Unexplored Mansion' at Knossos furnish a good example (Popham 1973, fig. 48). Bell-skirted figurines are of course known from various earlier contexts, including an interesting Late Minoan II example from the same site (*ibid.* fig. 47).

The existing repertoire of Mycenaean figures is not large, and the earliest form may be the vessel-shaped figure, followed in Late Helladic IIIA2 by conical figures such as the Lady of Phylakopi. The gesture with raised arms is not attested before this time, when it is first seen in the small Psi figurines (during the late A2 phase).

The possibility of continuous evolution at Knossos from the traditional bell-skirted form to the Goddess with Upraised Arms cannot be excluded. But the construction of a separate shrine, with effigies set upon benches is seen earlier at Phylakopi than in Crete and the case for a Mainland origin for it there was argued above. The lack of a clear predecessor on the Mainland for both shrine and effigy is a present difficulty, which only future discoveries can resolve.

These suggestions for radical change after the palaces arise naturally from the consideration of social context set at the beginning of this chapter. For the cult in question no longer operated in the context of a centralised society. And although many features of the earlier Minoan palace religion remained, for instance the use of horns of consecration as a religious emblem, others, such as the reliance on a range of cult equipment including handsome stone vessels, disappeared entirely.

(e) *Male and Female*

The most significant of the innovations seen at the Phylakopi sanctuary is undoubtedly the introduction there of the male terracotta figures. At least three of these were in use at the time of the collapse (phase 2b). One of them was re-used in phase 3b, along with the two remaining pieces. It is of course possible that these two were also first used before the collapse and re-used subsequently. The date of manufacture of these figures is uncertain. From the stratigraphic standpoint they could have been introduced into the West Shrine at its outset, in the Late Helladic IIIA2 period, or during the Late Helladic IIIB period, or early in Late Helladic IIIC, sometime prior to the collapse. (Two pieces could of course have been made after the collapse, but I incline toward the view that they were in fact made before it, at the same time as the others.)

Those few points of comparison which exist, reviewed above and in Chapter VI, notably the resemblances between the most elaborately painted figure (SF 1553) and the front part of the centaur from Lefkandi, might lead one to set their introduction to the shrine during the Late Helladic IIIC period, not long before the collapse. Certainly that would fit in with the indications from Crete that male figures were being made towards the end of the bronze age. That is the clear indication of the Aghia Triadha finds, discussed above, and of the bronze finds from the caves also. It may well be that the male figure from Kannia, discussed above, is of Late Minoan IIIC date, although a date in Late Minoan IIIB is equally possible. The ivory head from the cult area at Mycenae (Taylour 1970, 275 and pl. XLI) may also be male.

The finding of these figures highlights the astonishing dearth of male cult images from the Aegean bronze age. (The very limited further evidence is reviewed above and in Chapter VI.) While this would not be surprising, were the only deity or deities revered in fact female, it runs entirely counter to the occurrence of male names, interpreted as those of deities, on the Linear B tablets. It is of course possible that the sexless human figures, notably those from Mycenae, served sometimes to represent males, but that does not cover the deficiency for other sites.

The possibility should of course be considered as to whether there are any local antecedents for such male figures. It is certainly permissible to refer to the Early Cycladic marble figurines and figures which as mentioned above, may have served as cult images. A number of these are undoubtedly male. The earlier ones, probably made within the time span of the Grotta-Pelos culture (Early Cycladic I) in three cases wear *polos* caps (Getz-Preziosi 1981, 9 nos. 6 to 8). These undoubtedly resemble those on two of the shrine terracottas (SF 2340 and 1544). The distance in time is great—well over a millennium. But it is of interest that what may be the earliest Aegean occurrence of this feature is seen in the Cyclades. The later male figurines of the Early Cycladic series are mainly of the hunter/warrior class (Getz-Preziosi 1981, 26), often with a dagger at the waist (like SF 2340 from the sanctuary) and with a baldric across the chest. While these examples may be thought far too early to be of direct relevance for the sanctuary, their occurrence in an idiom which was predominantly a female one is of interest.

It is, however, in relation to the transition to the religious cults of the first millennium BC that these figures seem especially relevant. This point is discussed further below.

(f) The Aftermath of Collapse in Melos and the Mainland

It was stressed earlier that the collapse of the Minoan palaces must have been of fundamental significance for the practice of the Minoan cults. It is not surprising, then, that there were notable changes after that time. The same observations might also hold for the mainland, since the palaces there are thought to have ceased to function as major organising centres after the end of Late Helladic IIIB. It ought likewise to hold for Phylakopi, although the date of the demise of the megaron there is not known. It was suggested earlier that it may have come to an end at the same time as the phase 2b collapse of the shrine, since this was clearly a cataclysm of some significance for the site as a whole.

Certainly, as reviewed in Chapter IX, the phase after the collapse seems at Phylakopi to have been a time of impoverishment. No female figures were in use. All three of the male figures used in phase 3b may have been re-used: certainly one was. No bovine figures were in use either. During phase 3b, the female contribution was offered by a single Psi figurine. In phase 3c the curious structural additions were made which gave both the East and the West Shrines a distinctly mean appearance. As noted earlier the construction of Room BB within the Kea temple in the very last phase of its use is distinctly analogous. There are at this time no human or animal figures at all, but a single human figurine and an animal figurine in the West Shrine, and two human (Psi) figurines with seven bovine figurines in the East Shrine. The stone columnar lamp now seen in the West Shrine was clearly re-used, and the same might possibly be true of the head of sheet gold found in the East Shrine.

I would argue, then, that the transformation from phase 2 to phase 3 at the Phylakopi sanctuary can well be seen as a transition from a prosperous, centrally supported cult centre to an impoverished minor shrine. There are no iconographic innovations whatever at the time (unless the gold head was new then). And as noted earlier, the small human and animal figurines effectively replace the larger and more impressive figures.

Turning to the mainland, it would certainly be possible to paint an equally dire picture of the consequences of system collapse for Mycenae itself. The Temple and its associated rooms came to an end, and although there are continued indications of possible cult practice in the area in the form of an altar, there are no more finds of symbolic representations. (The frescoes from the Southwest Building cannot be identified with certainty as coming from a shrine, as noted earlier.)

At Tiryns this is, of course, a time of profound changes, leading to the construction of the successive shrines there in the Unterburg. Kilian (1980, 183) has stressed that this was a period of relative prosperity there. However the very modest dimensions of the Tiryns shrine are certainly more appropriate to a 'folk' than to a palace-style cult practice. The finds are correspondingly modest; although the two cult images from Room 110 are admittedly very accomplished and in good style. The same cannot be said of the image from the last phase of Room 110a.

(g) *The Emergence of Common Elements during the Late Helladic IIIC Period*

Among the religious developments of the bronze age, one of the less well documented occurs late in the Late Helladic IIIC period. Again the Phylakopi finds and the distinctions made here, help us to see it in clearer perspective. Until this phase of the bronze age, the regional diversity discussed at the beginning of this chapter seems fairly well marked. The human figures seen in FIG. 10.1 show a distinction, for instance, between those of Crete and of the mainland. During the Late Helladic IIIC period such distinctions become blurred.

We have already seen that the wheel-made stylised animal figures of Mycenaean type occur also in Crete at a number of sites (FIG. 10.2). The very wide distribution throughout the Aegean of the Late Psi figurines (FIG. 10.3) and to a lesser extent of Late Linear animal figurines also (FIG. 10.4), is of note. As indicated earlier, the late finds from Phaistos and those from the Piazzale dei Saccelli at Aghia Triadha are of particular interest.

To these forms we may perhaps add the bronze figurines in smiting pose. As discussed earlier those from Phylakopi, from Delos and from Patsos are certainly from contexts near the end of the bronze age, and the same may hold for the Tiryns and Mycenae examples.

The evidence admittedly does not add up to much yet. It may be too early to claim a complete breakdown in the earlier regional diversity in cult practice. Moreover there is no doubt that the cult of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms persisted until a very late date at such Cretan sites as Karphi and Prinias, perhaps into the protogeometric period. Elsewhere, however, it may have been superseded by something closer to the practices of the very late, post-palatial period in the mainland. And there it could be suggested that the *floruit* of some of the so-called open-air sanctuaries mentioned earlier, such as the Amyklaion, was likewise very late, after the demise of the mainland palaces.

It would be wrong to over-complicate the picture by claiming a significant and widespread transformation in cult practice during the mid- to late eleventh century BC. But it is not inaccurate to note that the *floruit* of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms came in Crete after the end of the Cretan palaces yet at a time when the Mycenaean palaces were still functioning. The female figures of Mycenaean form were in use at the same time on the Mainland, although they perhaps began earlier and at Tiryns at least were used later. The human and animal figurines however may initially have been used largely in domestic cult, while the shrines had the larger human figures, so that it is only later that the smaller figurines, predominantly of Late Psi form for the humans and Late Linear for the animals, are seen in more public contexts, in shrines and open air sanctuaries.

Something of this general picture was certainly glimpsed by Nicholls (1970) in his penetrating study. And we catch further echoes in the interesting resemblances between the terracotta male figures from Phylakopi and the similar bronze representations from the Cretan caves. As discussed above, these have generally been set on purely typological grounds to a date after the Late Minoan IIIC period: that dating can now be questioned.

It is too early yet to obtain a clear picture of this pattern, let alone to interpret it. But it is likely that the interpretation will need to be in part in social terms. For this was the first time for close on a thousand years that no palace centres whatever were to be found in the Aegean.

(h) Across the Dark Age

In discussing the transformations in culture, including religion, which occurred between the time of the Minoan and Mycenaean palaces and that of archaic Greece, it is tempting to assume that the major changes took place during the gap in our knowledge which has sometimes been termed the Dark Age. At one time the agent of change was thought to have been new peoples, who would have arrived during this period with new ways, new customs and new beliefs, so that the world after the gap in the evidence would have been very different from the world before it.

That there is a gap in the evidence remains the case: we have very little information from settlements or cemeteries around 1050 BC. In Chapter III it has been suggested that the 'gap' is shorter than has sometimes been thought, but it is still there.

It is now clear, however, that the major discontinuity is no longer represented by the end of the palaces either of Crete or the mainland, since the Late Helladic and Minoan IIIC periods are increasingly well understood. The theory of a substantial influx of population at this time seems increasingly unlikely.

I believe that the religious evidence can now be used to indicate a rather different picture. For while it is true that our evidence does fade out for a time, it no longer appears that everything after the gap was radically different from what went before. In particular the religious changes then may have been no more fundamental than those which we have already discussed, or than those which followed later. It is all too easy to assume that the significant changes occurred in this relatively brief period of which we know little, rather than as innovations before and after it. The pattern of development may well have been more complicated, with a whole series of significant transformations. It may be possible to develop a 'gradualist' view for the transition from Mycenaean to Greek religion, in place of the 'catastrophist' one, where the big changes happened during the Dark Age.

This is not the place for a detailed development of this idea, which is already inherent in the paper by Nicholls (1970), and in a certain sense indeed in the great work of Nilsson (1950). The Phylakopi finds do, however, allow us to make a few more links across the Dark Age, as it were, and so to emphasise that the moment when our knowledge is still most deficient was not necessarily also the period when all the significant changes occurred.

This point had already been made in relation to the wheelmade animals by Nicholls. The Keramaikos stag and the Lefkandi centaur clearly follow in the tradition represented also by the Phylakopi bovinds, and by the later examples seen, for instance at Phaistos and Aghia Triadha. It has been well made also by Professor Coldstream (1977) in his Inaugural Lecture. To these observations we can now add the undoubted resemblance between the Lefkandi centaur and one of the male figures from the West Shrine (SF 1553) noted above.

The early origin of the pose of the Smiting Zeus has long been recognised (Smith 1962), and the point is emphasised by the two Phylakopi finds. Of perhaps greater significance is the recognition, discussed earlier, that some of the bronze figurines from the Cretan caves and from

Aghia Triadha should now be dated to the Late Helladic IIIC period, thus underlining a continuity in the production of bronze figurines for cult purposes. Even the bronze bird from Phylakopi, in its modest way, heralds the comparable products of the geometric period. The beaten gold head from the East Shrine, likewise foreshadows the hammered technique of the bronze *sphyrrelata* of archaic Crete. The shrine form itself, with its benches, anticipates the early bench temples of early Greek times.

These are not entirely new ideas, and to enlarge the discussion beyond the Phylakopi finds themselves would be unduly lengthy. But I believe that it is now possible to seek a shift in perspective. We need no longer see these things as a few fragile strands of continuity across a great divide when nearly everything else changed. The process now seems one of transformation rather than of substitution. We might indeed view the passage from the Mycenaean to the Greek religion as a whole series of smaller transformations. The change across the Dark Age itself, in the eleventh century BC need not be more radical than any other: it simply happens to be accompanied by a temporary eclipse in the visibility of the evidence.

5. Prospect: The Dynamics of Cult

At the beginning of this volume the central problem was raised of the difficulty of recognising unequivocal indications of cult practice and religious belief from the archaeological record. This question has been examined in some detail here for the prehistoric Aegean, and in particular for that part of the site at Phylakopi which we have identified as the Sanctuary of the town. The finds from the Sanctuary have been presented in some considerable detail, with a systematic review of their stratigraphic contexts, so that the rather complex question of the internal chronology of the area can be documented. It might seem that these are rather modest achievements for so large a volume, but I think that the discussion may in fact have accomplished something rather more than this.

(a) *The Hierarchy of Contexts*

In Chapter IX and X it was found that the religious nature of the Sanctuary at Phylakopi was not easy to establish on the basis solely of a careful analysis of the finds from the site itself. It was found that the patterning among the finds from the site—for instance in the various assemblages of objects recovered in different parts of the East and West Shrines—might be open to various interpretations, not all of them religious. It was only when these finds were considered within a wider spatial context that a clearer picture was seen to emerge.

This for us raises the whole question of the *scale*, in spatial terms, of the field of analysis. Obviously it is possible to consider simply one corner of one room (e.g. Assemblage A), or the entire contents of a single room or building (e.g. the West Shrine), or the contents of a complete complex such as the Sanctuary itself, or of an entire site, such as Phylakopi. The hierarchy obviously continues upwards, to the entire island (e.g. Melos), the larger region (e.g. the Cyclades, or Crete), the whole Aegean basin, or the larger dimensions of the East Mediterranean. There is nothing new in asserting this rather simple hierarchy: it was indeed represented graphically (Renfrew and Wagstaff 1982, fig. 1.4) in considering the development of early settlement in Melos.

The discussion here has showed, however, that this notion of the spatial unit of context and of interaction is a surprisingly complex and subtle one. The notion of 'interaction sphere' has been a familiar one for many years, and the process of 'peer polity interaction' has been mentioned in Chapter X. But it is clear from the discussion there that a very much more thoroughgoing analysis is needed of the spatial context not only of symbolic artefacts but of the cult practices and

indeed the belief systems which underlay their distribution. The consideration of context in Chapter X is thus an important one, not so much for what it achieves (which is modest enough) but for establishing a framework within which further research will have to be conducted.

At this point it is necessary to enter a plea for the full publication of the relevant find assemblages. The discoveries at Phylakopi are of considerable intrinsic interest in themselves. But I would argue that their worth is greatly increased by their full documentation, as undertaken in Chapter IV, with the detailed description accorded to them in the succeeding chapters. If only we had detailed reports, for instance of all the shrines devoted to the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms, we would have a formidable body of material relating to the conduct of what appears to be one specific cult, whose practice was restricted to Crete in the three centuries or so following the demise of the Minoan Palaces. We can already glimpse something of its nature, thanks to the careful study by Alexiou (1958), but without that full publication the highly significant negative evidence is nearly always lost. What is not found can, in favourable circumstances, be as interesting as what *is* in fact found, and only very full analysis and publication can reveal it.

When we have such publications from Crete, from the Mainland and from the islands, a much more subtle analysis will be possible of the local variations and of the local consistency in cult practice. Only from an investigation at that sort of detailed level can meaningful synthesis be undertaken.

(b) The Evolution of Cult and Religion

One lesson which emerges from the experience of preparing the Sanctuary finds for publication has thus been a sharpened awareness of the need for the systematic analysis of spatial context. Another, set out in the last section, has been that it is possible and useful to think in diachronic terms, and to try to consider the changes which have taken place in the cult practices and beliefs within the relevant areas. To do this effectively, it is necessary to avoid projecting the practices documented for one period onto either its predecessors or its successors where the relevant evidence may be lacking.

A coherent study of the development of cult in the early Aegean remains to be written. The great achievement of Nilsson (1950) was to gather together the available material and so to establish a field of study which, as he showed, could be approached primarily from the archaeological finds. He was thus the great pioneer in this area, but with the material at his disposal it was difficult for him to lay stress upon the chronological distinctions which we can discern today. In consequence, no serious attempt at reviewing early historical developments could be undertaken.

With the much richer material now available, something approaching a dynamical approach is now becoming possible. We can certainly see a series of transformations in many areas, and I have suggested above that these may be relevant to the understanding of the religion of the early Greeks in the first millennium BC as any appeal to supposed Indo-European myths and beliefs of external origin. Of course Greece has always been open to influences from a variety of directions—the two bronze ‘Smiting God’ figures from the Sanctuary make this point very graphically. But it should nonetheless be possible to follow the local developments in local terms, while noting where appropriate the effects of foreign ideas. With the material available to us from recent discoveries, this now begins to seem a practical objective.

(c) Symbol, Ethnos, Language

The study of early religion has not yet effectively been integrated by archaeologists into the larger pattern of their thinking on the nature and development of early societies. That the cults of the Minoan civilisation in its heyday were principally palace-based has long been understood, for instance, although the clearer significance of the peak sanctuaries has only more recently emerged. That the Mycenaean religion was less securely palace-oriented only became clear to us with the finds at Mycenae (although the cult area there was nonetheless within the citadel, and very possibly under direct palace control).

Yet there has as yet been no systematic analysis, in a systematic manner, of the iconography of Crete and of Mycenae taken in comparison with that of the other great civilisations of the world. It is evident that rules and sanctions of social order based upon religious beliefs were not exploited publicly, with the same degree of propagandist grandiloquence as in Mesoamerica for instance. But the possibility of examining, on the basis of the means of visual communication adopted by these societies themselves, the degree to which the prevailing religion was in fact used to legitimise the existing social system, has not yet been seized upon. This is an obvious enough line of approach in a world where much scholarly writing is couched in neo-Marxist terms, but it has yet to be effectively utilised.

Underlying these various questions of religious unity and religious change are those two other big questions, once so fashionable in the archaeological literature, but now often avoided. The first is the matter of ethnic affiliation. This is not a racial question—I am sceptical of the claims, still made by some physical anthropologists, for consistent regional differences in the human physical constitution at the times in question. The issue rather is how people came to belong to larger groupings than their own political and administrative ones, of how they came to belong to, and ultimately to *be*, something collectively identifiable and distinctive.

This ethnic question is of course closely allied to the issue of language. How did the linguistic unities and differences, observable from the time when written records first became available, establish themselves? The movements of peoples must naturally constitute one part of the answer. But ultimately the solution will have to be given in terms of a model of linguistic formation and differentiation, in which migratory arguments will probably have to take a subsidiary (if nonetheless significant) position.

Both these questions relate to the formation and perpetuation of spatially extensive systems of symbolic interaction. These are not, of course, the same systems of symbolic interaction which we have been studying in our examination of cult practices. But they must interrelate with these, and often correlate with them, although no doubt sometimes cross-cutting them. It seems to me, therefore, that one of the most promising avenues for the exploration of these large, and hitherto unmanageable, questions may well be through the study of religious symbolism. Once again it will have to be conducted on the basis of the analysis of well-published assemblages, set out with the complete contexts of their discovery.

These arguments give me reason to think that in setting out the finds from the Phylakopi Sanctuary in sometimes almost exhaustive detail we are not presenting the trivial minutiae of something that might better be relegated to an unregarded data archive. One can readily sense that there still remain possibilities within these data, as yet unexploited by us, for much broader and more illuminating interpretations. These will be difficult to develop effectively until we have the materials from other Aegean sanctuaries available to us with a comparable degree of detail. When we do, I believe that we shall begin to see our way to tackling more effectively some of the really big questions concerning the early development of Aegean life and culture.

Note on the maps. The maps illustrating this chapter owe much to the work of Mr Callum Macfarlane: They rely mainly on data supplied by Dr. Elizabeth French.

FIG. 10.1. Sources: French 1971 revised, Hood 1978, Nicholls 1970.

FIG. 10.2. Sources: 'Naturalistic': Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973, Hood 1978, Nichols 1970; 'Stylised': Nicholls 1970, Desborough *et al.* 1970, 26 and n.19, French personal bibliography and autopsy.

Addition: 'Naturalistic': Archanes—Sakellarakis 1972b, pl. 277.

FIG. 10.3 Sources: French 1971 (only the late Psi section has been revised).

Corrections: for Late Psi: add Argos, Lefkandi; omit Eretria.

FIG. 10.4 Sources: French 1971 (only the Late Linear section has been revised).

Appendix A

Synopsis of Stratigraphic Levels

by Colin Renfrew, John F. Cherry, Callum Macfarlane and Todd Whitelaw

The conduct of the excavation was discussed in Chapter II, where the nomenclature adopted was discussed. It will be recalled that each excavation area was excavated in a series of stratigraphic strata which were assigned layer numbers unique to the trench. (Where appropriate real strata were subdivided arbitrarily, and the subdivisions also assigned layer numbers.) The nomenclature of excavation areas is seen in FIG. 2.2.

During the process of interpretation of the site stratigraphy, it proved convenient to summarise the information contained in the stratigraphic sections (FIGS. 2.7 to 2.14), as well as other observations, in schematic layer diagrams, which are presented here. Trench designations are indicated at the top of the columns, and layer numbers are indicated within them in terms of their true stratigraphic relationships. Floors and walls are indicated schematically.

The interpretive task of dividing the sequence into chronological phases is described in Chapter III. It should be stressed that while the stratigraphic sequences are based closely upon direct observation, on the basis of superpositions, the division into phases is based upon a complex of interpretive arguments set out in Chapter III. The phases assigned are seen at the left-hand side of the layer diagrams. (D indicates Debris, and S denotes surface or unstratified layers. 'Debris' relates to the ultimate abandonment of the Sanctuary, not to earlier destruction.)

The floors on the site were mainly of earth, and consequently not easy to recognise. For this reason the material recovered in digging up the floor itself was included (from the standpoint of phasing) within the phase of the material lying directly upon the floor. To have done the converse would have run the risk, in cases where the floor was not everywhere clearly observed, of sometimes including one or two potsherds originating above the floor with the layer below the floor: this could have led to an erroneous chronological attribution for the floor, dating it later than was in fact the case.

The layer diagrams are otherwise largely self-explanatory. They should be read in conjunction with the text of Chapters II, III and IV.

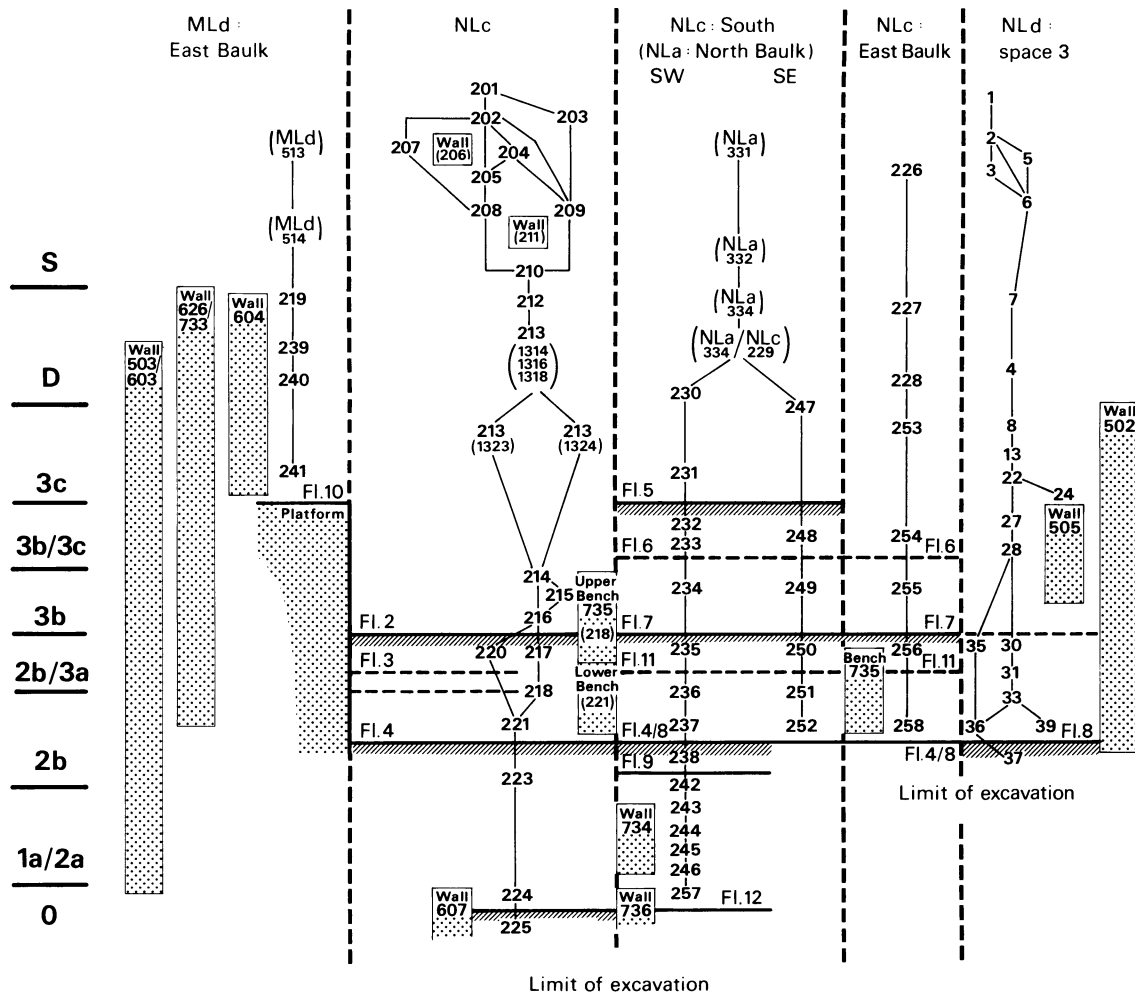


FIG. 11.1 Layer diagrams for the northern part of the West Shrine

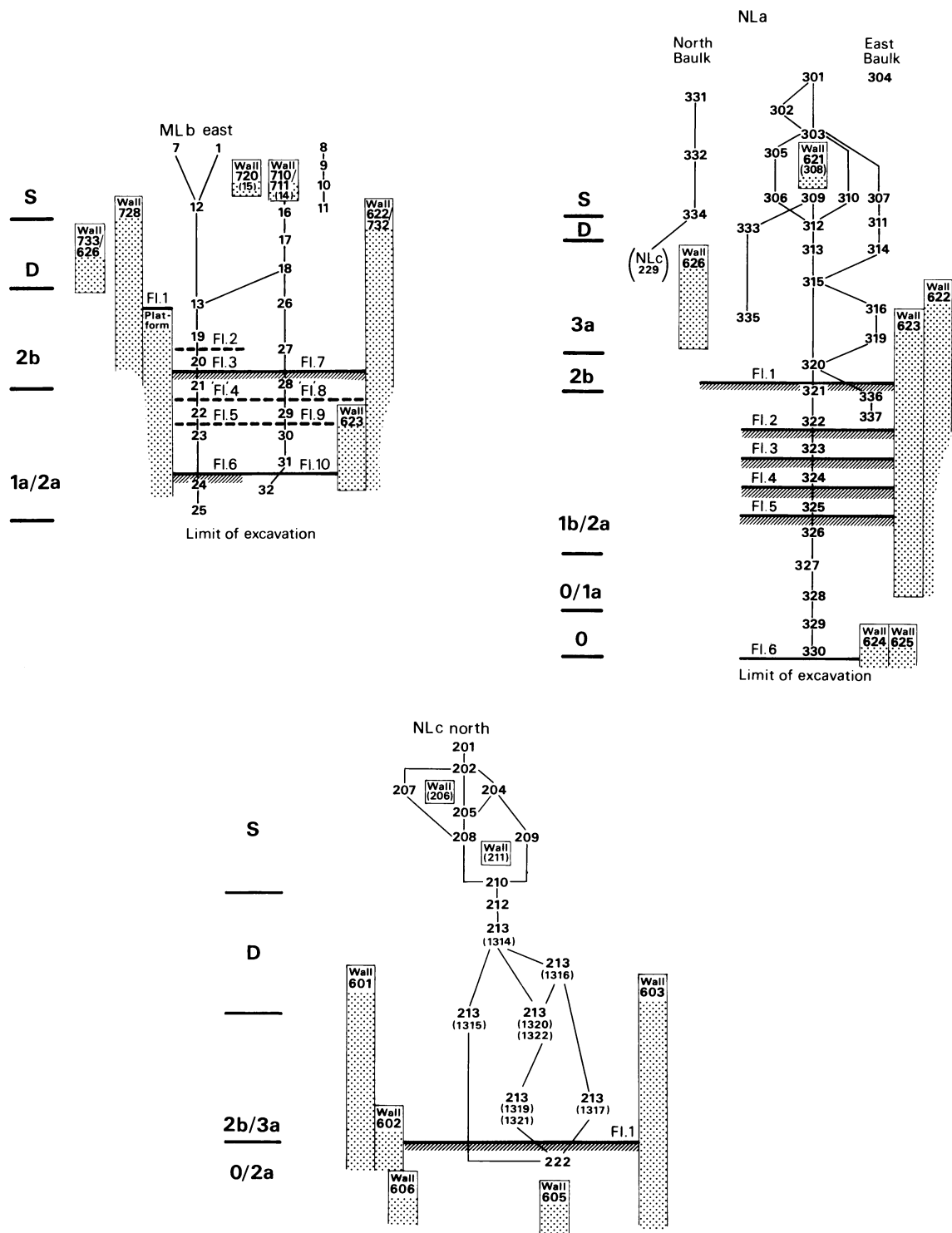


FIG. 11.2 Layer diagrams for the area to the north of the West Shrine (below) and for its southern part

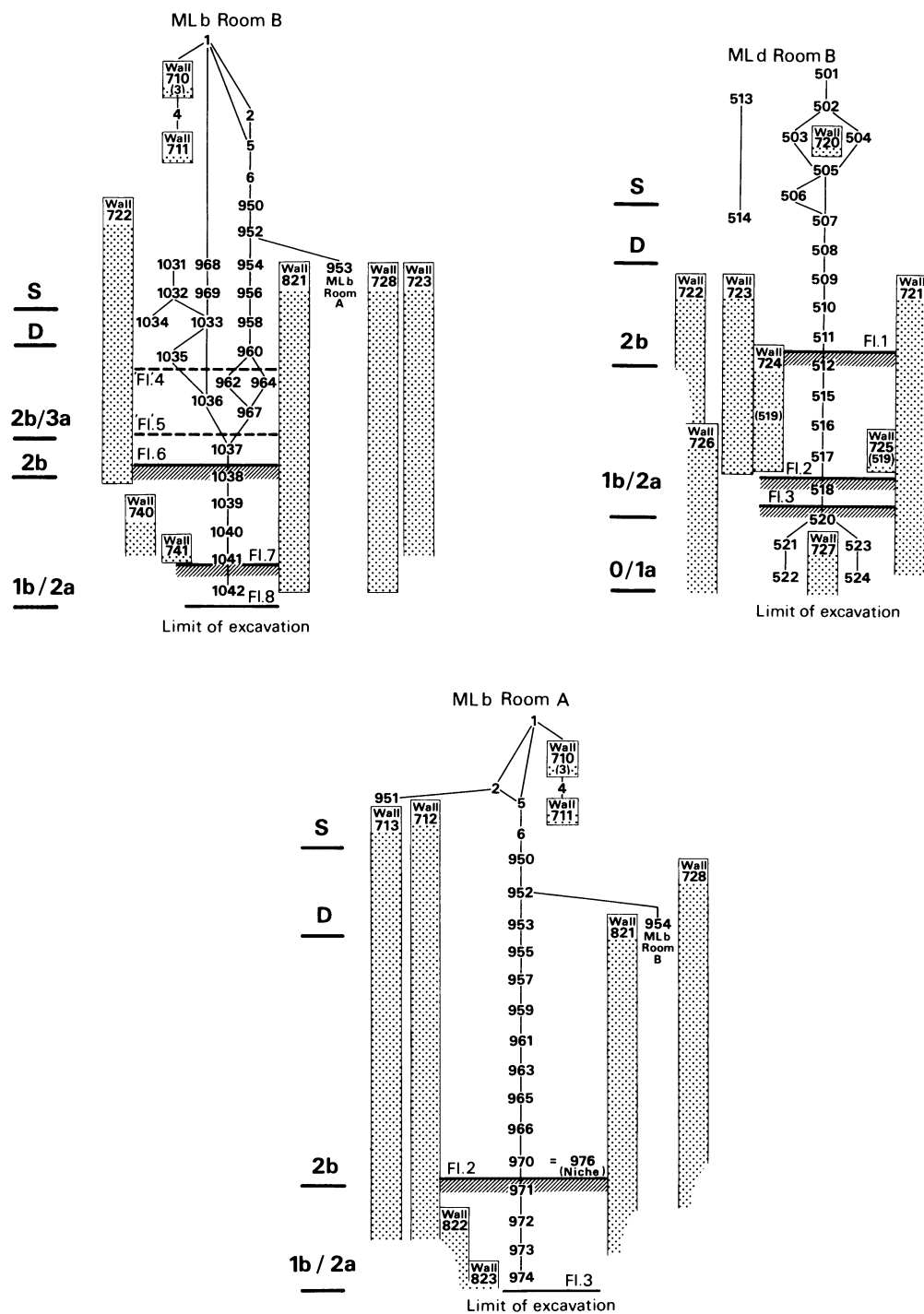


FIG. 11.3 Layer diagrams for rooms A and B

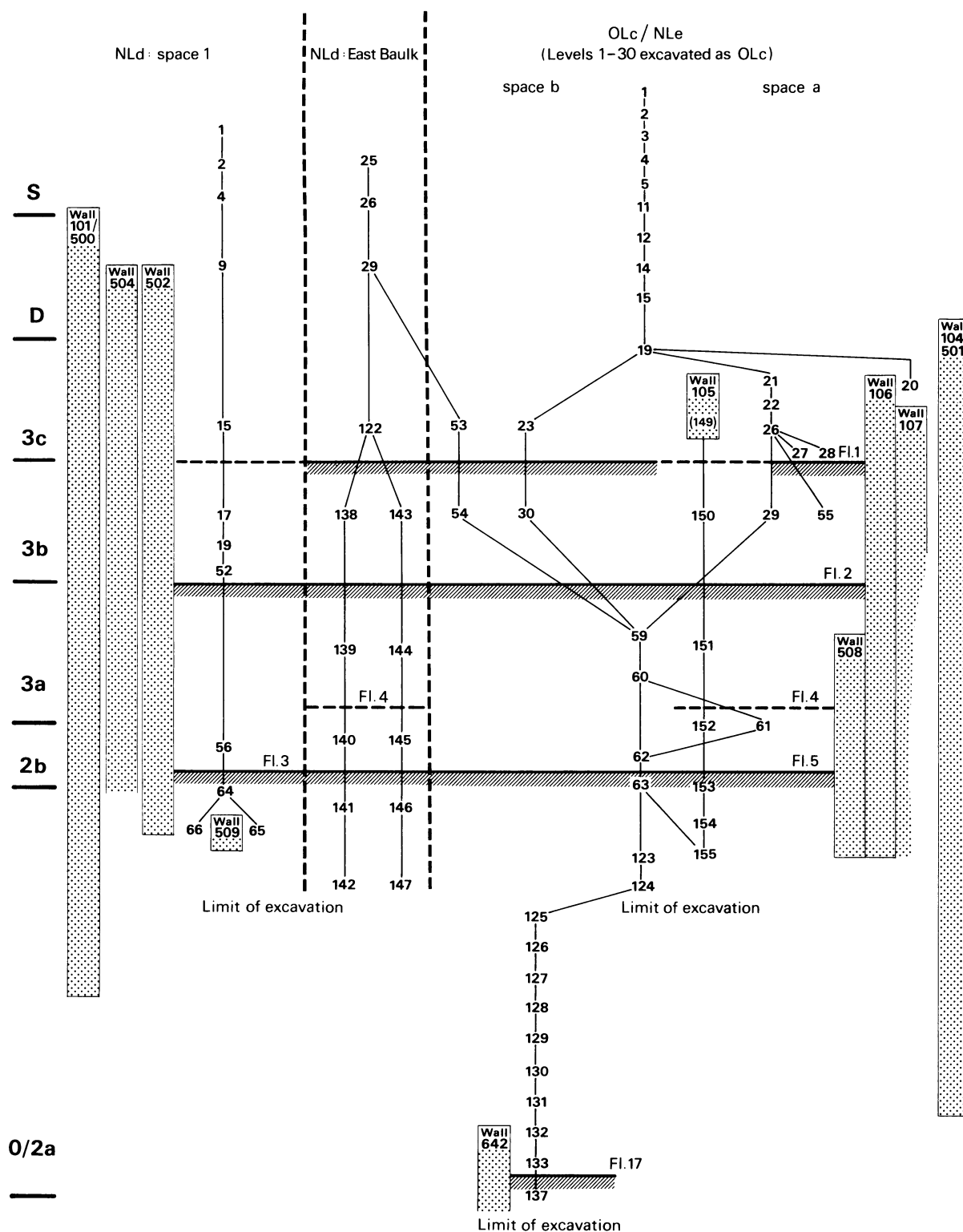


FIG. 11.4 Layer diagrams for the East Shrine

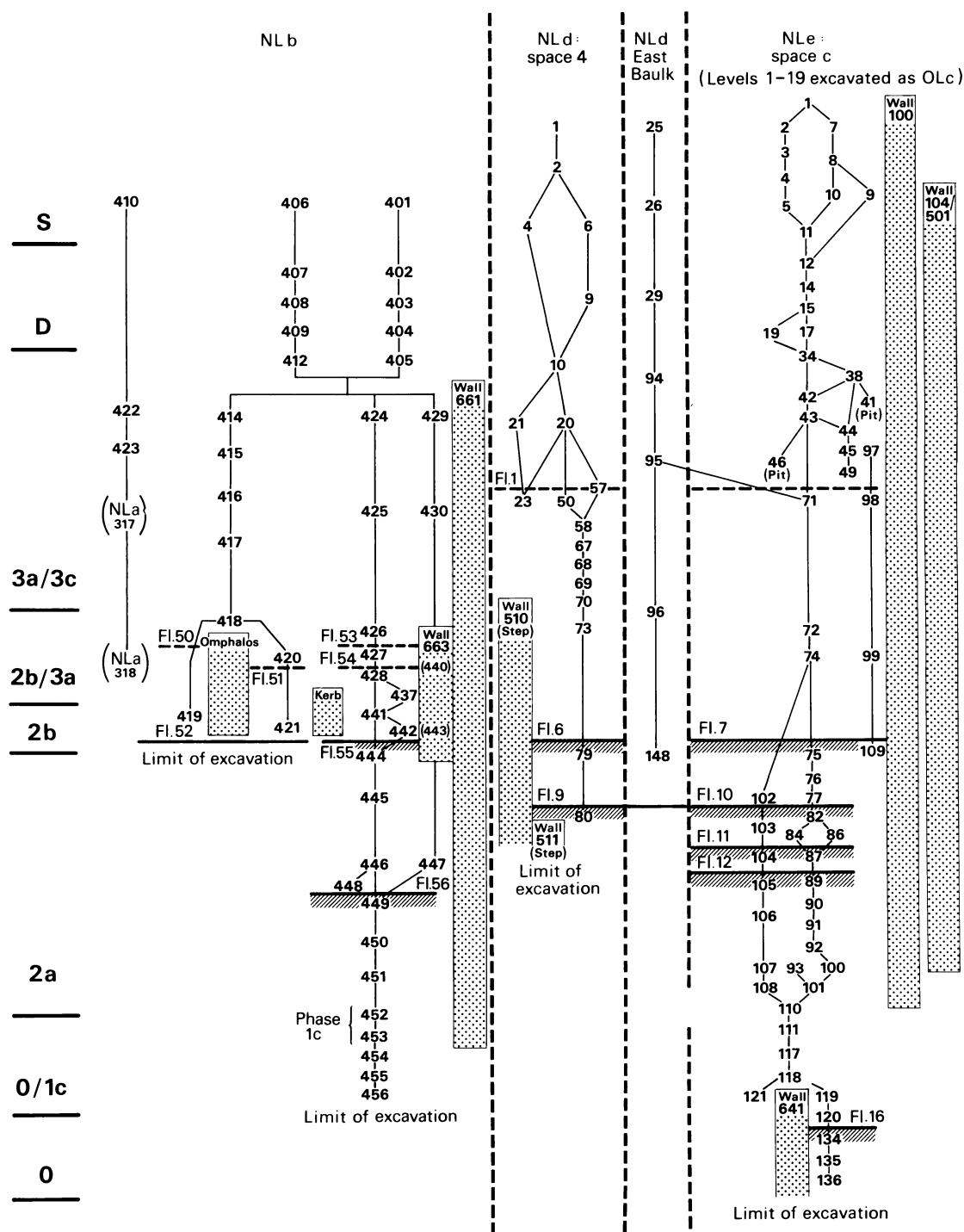


FIG. 11.5 Layer diagrams for the street and courtyard

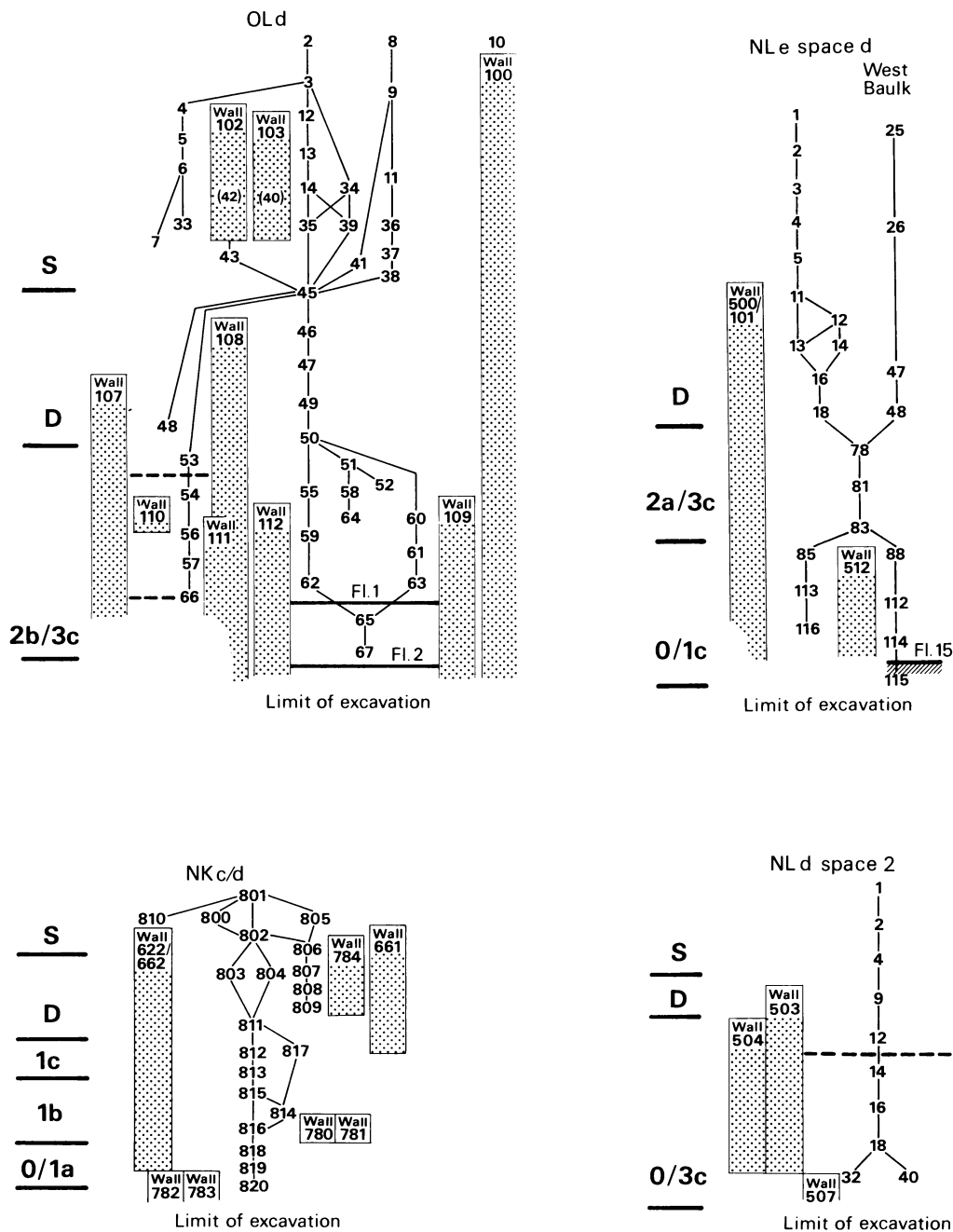
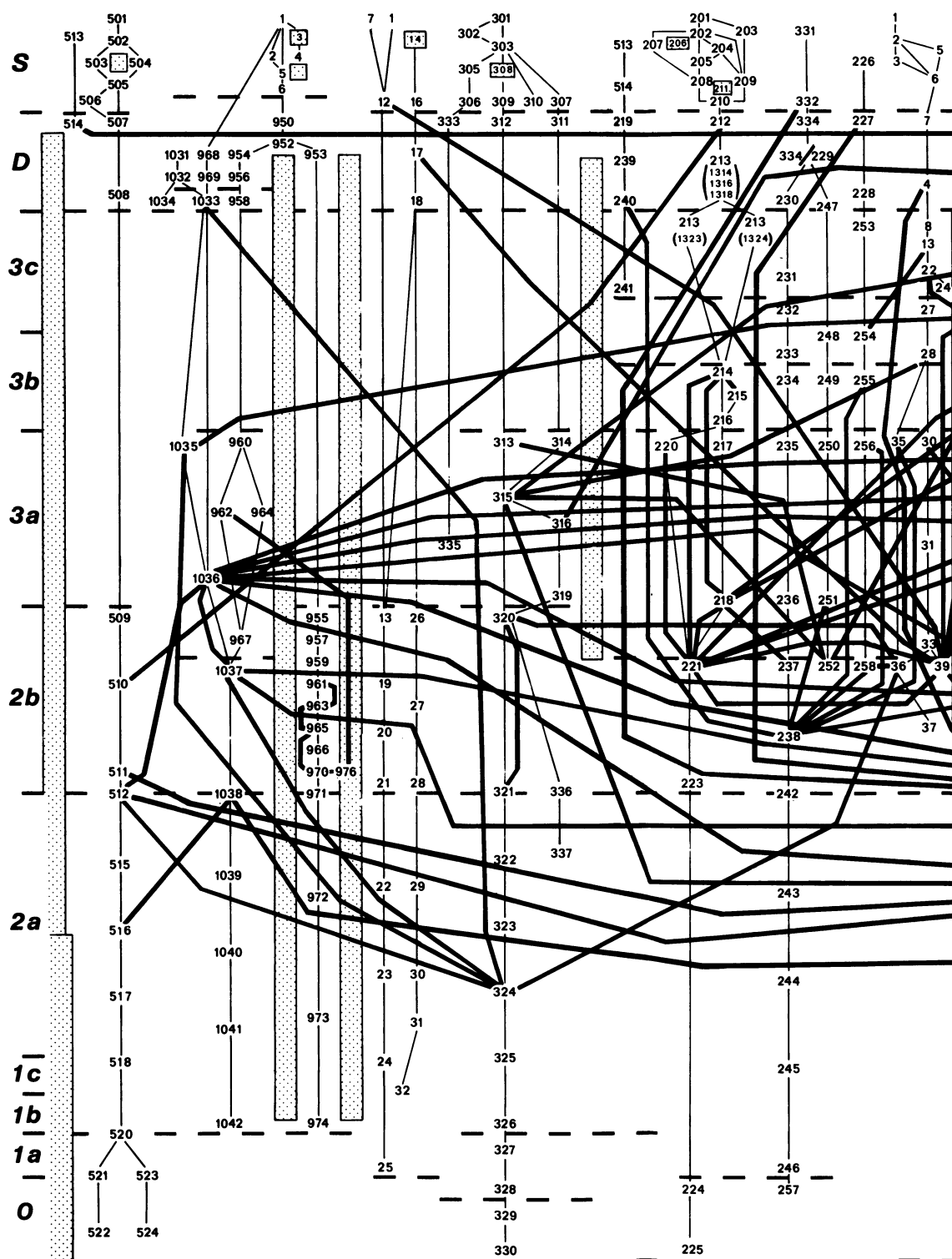
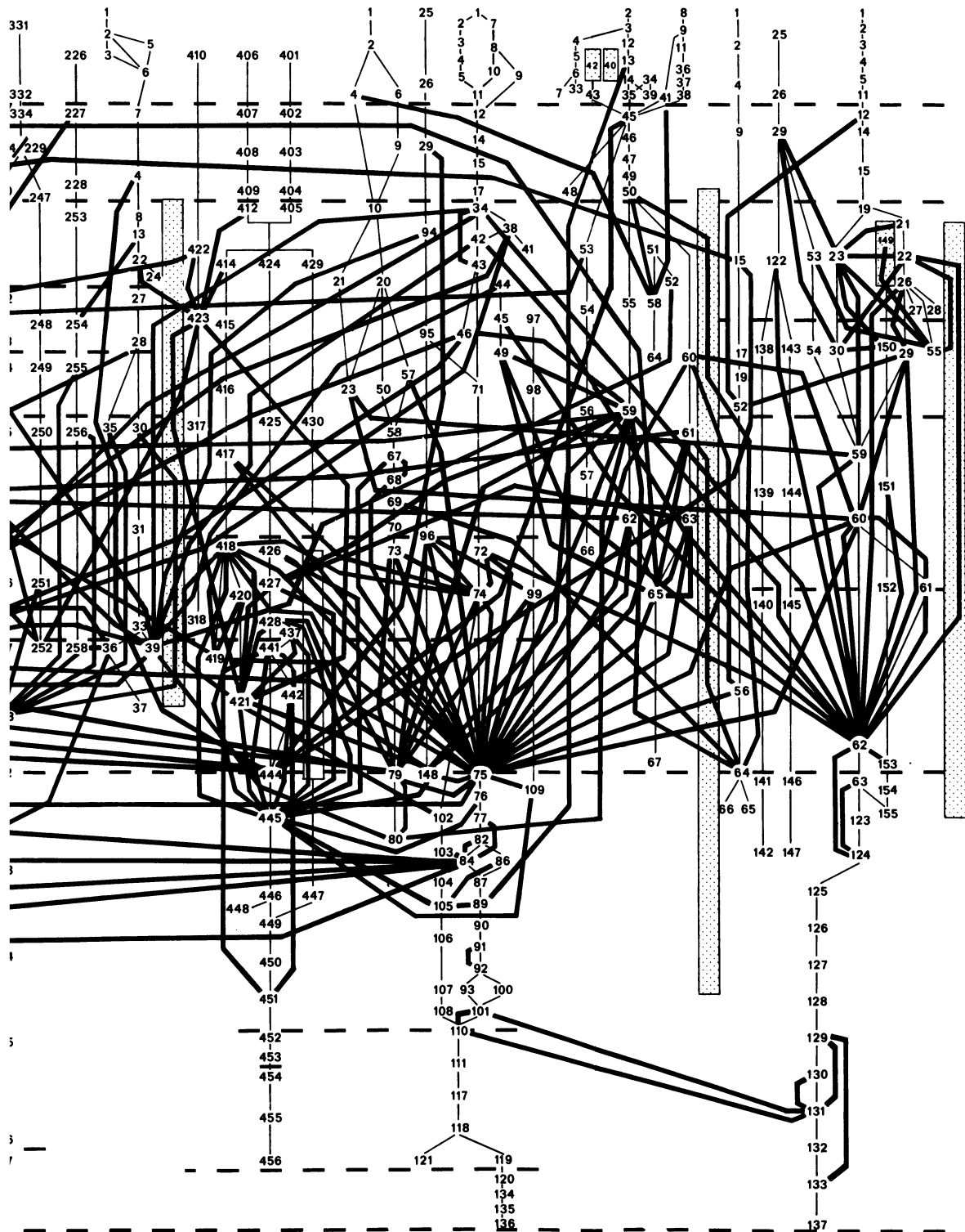


FIG. 11.6 Layer diagrams for areas adjacent to the shrines. (Note that layers 1 to 26 of NLe space d were excavated as OLc)





th joining fragments of figurines or pots. All joins are listed in Appendix B. (Stratigraphic sequences,

Appendix B

Analysis of Join Linkages

by Callum Macfarlane

The broad construction sequence of West Shrine, City Wall (Wall 100), and East Shrine was established by the stratigraphic observations discussed in Chapter III. Within these rooms and streets, the correlation of floors and levels enabled several independent stratigraphic sequences to be built up. Appendix A presents these sequences in diagrammatic form. However, the compartmented construction of the shrines, streets and courtyard meant that there were few, if any, direct stratigraphic links between these rooms and areas. The problem was, therefore, to correlate the various independent sequences and thus produce an overall stratigraphic sequence for the entire shrine area.

From an early stage in the excavation, it seemed an obvious hypothesis that the episodes of damage identified in both the East and West shrines, and the collapse of the City Wall into the street and courtyard were contemporary. Such a correlation, if corroborated, would provide the necessary link between the local stratigraphic sequences established within these areas. Evidence was therefore sought in support of this hypothesis. An analysis of the pattern of joins across the shrine area might provide evidence bearing on the problem and help to investigate the contemporaneity of the 'collapse' in the shrines and street. With this aim in mind, detailed records of all figurine and pottery joins were maintained by the 'apotheker' staff, work which was continued by Miss P. A. Mountjoy during her detailed study of the pottery. The catalogue (TABLES B.1 and 2) provided at the end of this appendix lists all of these recorded joins.

Method of Analysis

Not all fragments of the same object are necessarily found in contemporary deposits. The differential wear noted on parts of the same figurine, as well as the number of joins across floors, attest to the large number of fragments which must have been 'kicked around' the area before being finally buried. This point is amply demonstrated by the number of vertical joins shown in FIG. 12.1. The apparent re-use of some damaged figures and figurines, such as SF 1550, must also be noted. The simple equation of levels between which there are joins is therefore not justified and a more detailed method of analysis was adopted. This involved attempting to establish the primary context of each figurine and pot. The stratigraphic significance of any joins from this 'primary context' to other areas could then be assessed, since such joining contexts could only be contemporary with or later than, never earlier than the primary context.

The figures and figurines presented few difficulties in this respect. It seemed likely that they had originated from within the shrines. This was borne out by the large number of fragments from the same figurines found within, or immediately above, floor deposits in each shrine (FIG. 12.2). Since there were no direct joins of figures or figurines between the East and West shrines, the lowest fragment of a figurine within the stratigraphic sequence of each shrine could be taken to represent its primary context. These 'primary contexts' are used for the figures and figurines in the distribution plots of the various assemblages (FIGS. 4.7 to 4.17); their concentration around the platforms leaves little doubt that they originated in the shrines.

The primary context of the pots was more difficult to establish. The pots crushed 'in situ' by the collapse of boulders from the City Wall, together with the large quantity of joining fragments found in the street and courtyard, suggested that this area represented the source of a number of pots. The lowest stratigraphic fragment of a pot found below the boulder collapse in the street and courtyard was taken to represent its primary context (but see below for a more detailed discussion of the joins between Room B of the West Shrine and the street). In other instances, the concentration of fragments of pot found in an area, and their distribution in a floor deposit suggested the primary context. Evidence supplied by the figurine joins was also useful in suggesting which of several contexts was primary.

Having established the point of origin of the figurines and pots, analysis of the pattern of joins between areas could proceed. Inevitably, many of these were of little or no stratigraphic importance. However, a number of figurines and pots not only supported the contemporaneity of the collapse between areas, but also provided a useful check on the internal stratigraphic sequences which had been constructed independently.

Internal Joins within the Shrines

A number of joins between rooms and areas within the West Shrine supported the correlation of floors and levels established on other evidence. In the area north of the 'Blocking Wall' (Wall 626/733), P. Nos. 884 and 1534 support the equation of Floor 4 and Floor 8. Fragments from both these pots are found in the floor deposit across this area (FIG. 12.3). Further, a fragment of P. No. 1534 was found in the deposit on Floor 1 in the area south of the 'Blocking Wall'. This join corroborates that Floor 1 in the south equates with Floor 4/8 in the north. This relationship is further strengthened by pot, Cat. No. 230, with a primary context on Floor 4/8 in the north, which joins fragments in the fill layers immediately above the Floor 1 deposit to the south.

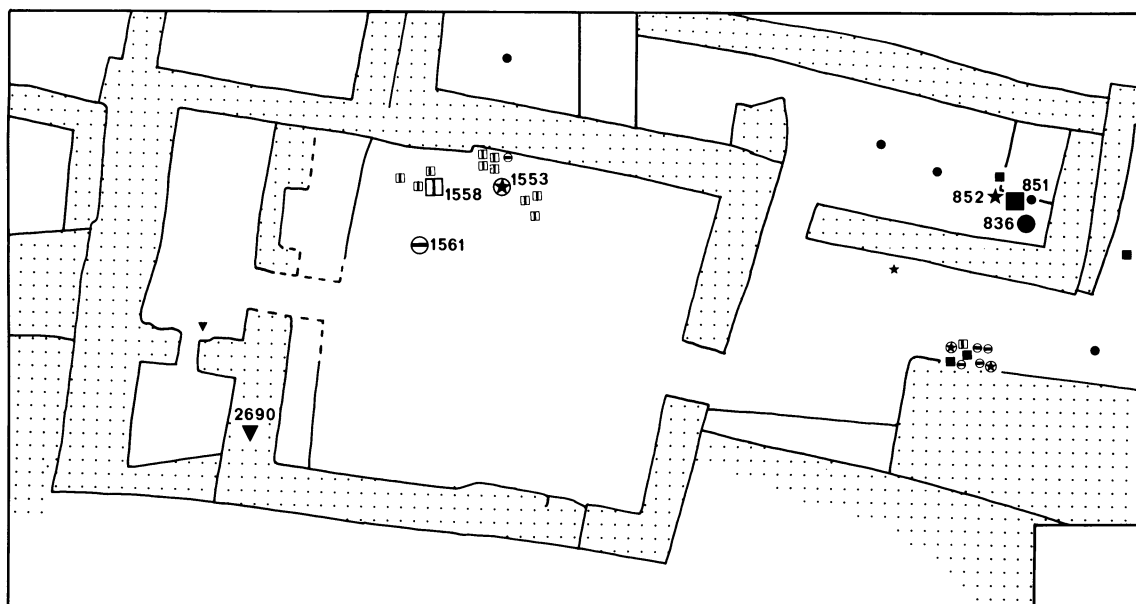


FIG. 12.2 Distribution of fragments of seven selected figurines. Primary context indicated by large symbol and SF number

South of the 'Blocking Wall' the Floor sequence 3 to 6 in MLb East had been equated with Floors 1 to 5 in NLa and these, as confirmed above, correlate with Floor 4/8 to the north. The construction of the 'Blocking Wall' above these floors meant that the southern half of the West Shrine went out of use. The 'Blocking Wall' also terminated the use of Rooms A and B. It seems clear therefore that the latest floors in Rooms A and B equate with Floors 4/8 and 1/3 in the main room of the West Shrine. There are no significant joins between the main room of the West Shrine and either Room A or Room B. However, joins between Room B and the street and courtyard support this important correlation (see below). There is one significant join between Room A and Room B, provided by SF 2690. This figure has a primary context in the 'niche' of Room A, which is part of the Floor 2 deposit in that room (FIG. 12.2). This joins with a fragment in the fill immediately above Floor 6 in Room B, thus supporting the equation of these two floors, the latest surface in both rooms. The internal joins within the West Shrine therefore confirm the internal stratigraphic sequence developed independently.

The internal stratigraphic sequence of the East Shrine presented fewer complications, since it was not compartmentalised, and floors could readily be identified between the excavated areas in the single, small room. In the one instance that a late floor surface was not readily recognised in the small area of NLd space 1, the distribution of fragments of ostrich shell served as a useful indicator of which level represented the floor deposit. As noted above, there are no direct figurine joins between the East and West Shrines, though there is one pottery join, P. No. 1526. This pot has a primary context in the fill above Floor 1, south of the 'Blocking Wall' in the West Shrine. This joins with a fragment in a late level of the East Shrine, a join without any great stratigraphic significance. The joins from both shrines into the street and courtyard therefore are the main key to correlating the sequences of use proposed for each shrine.

The East Shrine and Street

Traces of burning in the doorway of the East Shrine indicated a stratigraphic linkage between Floor 3/5 in the East Shrine and Floor 6 in the street (see Chapter III). The pattern of joins between the East Shrine and the street confirms this. Perhaps the most significant join is provided by P. No. 187, which has a primary context in the deposits on Floors 6 and 7 in the street. This pot not only demonstrates the likely correlation of Floors 6 and 7 in the street, but also joins with a fragment in the deposit on Floor 3 of the East Shrine (FIG. 12.3). This indicates the possible contemporaneity of Floor 3/5 in the East Shrine and Floor 6/7 in the street. P. No. 1521 reinforces this link, since it also has a primary context in the deposit on Floor 7 in the street. A fragment of this pot was found in a layer immediately above the Floor 5 deposit in the East Shrine. SF Nos. 836, 850, 851 and 852 provide additional support from within the East Shrine. Each of these figures or figurines has a primary context in the deposit on Floor 5 of the East Shrine, all have joins immediately *above* the collapse deposits in the street and courtyard (FIG. 12.2). SF 788 and 802, together with P. Nos. 1541, 1542 and 1505 add further weight, the first three have primary contexts in the layers immediately above the Floor 5 deposit in the East Shrine, the latter two have a primary context on Floor 3. All five also have joins *above* the post-collapse debris in the street.

The relationship between Floor 3/5 in the East Shrine and Floor 6/7 in the street is therefore well established, as is the episode of damage in both areas. The collapse of the City Wall buried parts of P. Nos. 187 and 1521 on the street surface, and fragments of these pots found their way into the East Shrine. Fragment of the figurines and pots associated with Floor 3/5 in the East Shrine and damaged at the same time, were subsequently thrown out into the street above the collapse debris during clearing up operations following the destruction.

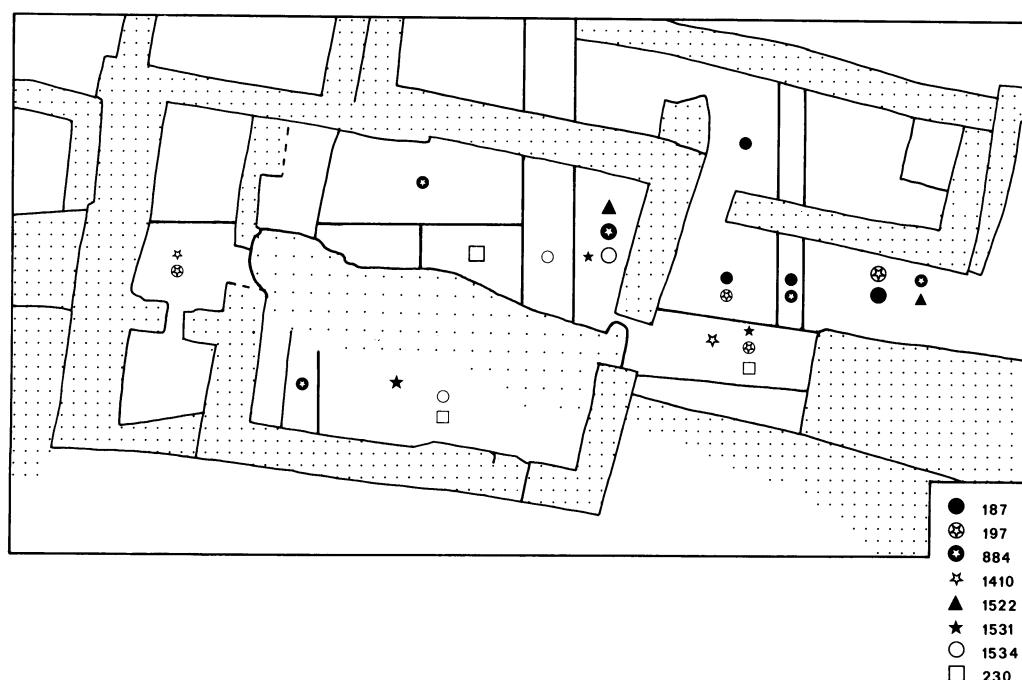


FIG. 12.3 Distribution of fragments of eight selected pots. Primary context indicated by large symbol. (Numbers listed are the original pot numbers: corresponding catalogue numbers are listed in Appendix B)

The West Shrine and Street

The relationship of figurine fragments, originating from both shrines, and found in the street and courtyard is of particular interest. Many of the fragments are in the same levels, immediately above the collapse material (FIG. 12.1). SF 1558 and 1561 each have a primary context on Floor 4/8 north of the 'Blocking Wall' in the West Shrine, and SF 1553 has a primary context immediately above this floor deposit. All three of these figures and figurines have joins into the street, each with fragments in a specific area recognised as a pit during excavation. This declivity also contains joins from SF 851, which has a primary context on Floor 5 of the East Shrine (FIG. 12.2). The area appears to have been used as a dump during the clearing out operations from both shrines. This suggests that the cleaning operation, and the damage which made it necessary, may have been contemporary in both shrines.

The pottery joins between the West Shrine and the street add further support to the correlation of the collapse episodes in all areas. The relevant pots can be divided into two groups. The first contains those pots with a primary context in the West Shrine and which have joins in the street and courtyard above the collapse debris. P. Nos. 1522, 884 and Cat. No. 230 all have primary contexts on Floor 4/8 north of the 'Blocking Wall' in the West Shrine and show joins into the post-collapse levels in the street (FIG. 12.3). The first two have joining fragments in many of the same levels containing figurine fragments from both shrines. P. No. 1515 and Cat. No. 223 both have primary contexts in the fill above floor 6 in Room B. These too have joins in post-collapse levels in the street, though in both cases these are in OLD, the continuation of the street to the east. P. No. 1531 has a primary context immediately above the deposit on Floor 1, in the

area south of the 'Blocking Wall' in the West Shrine. This pot also has a joining fragment in the post-collapse street. The pattern of joins demonstrated by this group of pots, as one might expect, follows much the same pattern as the figurine fragments originating from the West Shrine.

The second group contains those pots which were assigned a primary context in the street, whose lowest stratigraphic fragments were above the latest floors preceding the collapse. P. No. 197 has a primary context on Floor 7 in the street and a joining fragment in the Floor 6 deposit in Room B of the West Shrine. This pot suggests the contemporaneity of these two floors. P. No. 1410 adds further strength to the correlation, with a primary context above floor 52 in area NLb of the street. This has a joining fragment in the fill immediately above Floor 6 in Room B. The joins between Room B Floor 6 and the street levels preceding the collapse, as well as those levels in the street immediately post-dating the collapse, clearly suggest that the destruction in Room B and the West Shrine was contemporary with the collapse of the City Wall into the street and Courtyard.

It is interesting to note that the pattern of joins between the West Shrine and the street closely follows the pattern observed between the East Shrine and the street. Both shrines have joins from the latest street levels preceding the collapse to shrine floors, the deposits on which suffered damage. Fragments of the damaged figurines and pots from these floors were subsequently thrown out into the same levels and into a pit, above the collapse debris, in the street. This 'sandwich' created by joining material in the street, clearly implies the contemporaneity of the 'collapse' in all areas.

Pre-collapse Joins

The use of the shrine area in the pre-collapse period has been estimated at *ca.* 240 years, whilst the period of use following the collapse was relatively short, perhaps only *ca.* 20 years. It is therefore not surprising that there are a number of joins between levels and areas which preceded the collapse. A large number of these are of no great stratigraphic significance, merely demonstrating joins between different areas of excavation in the street and courtyard (FIG. 12.1).

There are a number of joins between the street and Room B which are of some interest. P. No. 1524 has a primary context on Floor 11 in the street, which joins with a fragment in the make up of Floor 6 in Room B. P. No. 676 also has a primary context on Floor 11 in the street and joins with a fragment in a later level of Room B. Cat. no. 141 is an internal join within Room B, which suggests that Floors 2 and 7 in the separately excavated areas may be correlated. This pattern of pottery joins between Room B of the West Shrine and the street and courtyard, as we have seen, continued through the collapse and post-collapse periods. Indeed, these joins were crucial in equating the collapse episodes across the shrine area. However, it is perhaps worth considering how the joins from the latest street levels preceding the collapse were brought into Room B, which is some distance away. Perhaps the simplest explanation is that they were introduced as part of the fill during the construction of the 'Blocking Wall'. However, it is surprising that no similar fragments were found in the fill to the south of the 'Blocking Wall', nor indeed in the fill above Floor 4/8 to the north. An alternative explanation may be that all these pots had a primary context in Room B and that they were broken during normal use. Broken fragments were thrown out into contemporary street levels, the remaining fragments in Room B becoming incorporated in their original or later levels. This explanation would account for the history of joins between these two areas. Whilst it would alter the primary context of P. Nos. 197 and 1410, the stratigraphic conclusions drawn from the join pattern would remain unaltered.

An idea of the complexity of the data is given in FIG. 12.1, which presents, however, a much simplified picture. In general linkages are shown only between the *primary* context and the

various contexts of joining fragments. The much more numerous links existing between the contexts of secondary fragments have been omitted.

In principal, the primary context must of course be the earliest. For reasons of space and intelligibility, this rule has not invariably been followed in compiling FIG. 12.1. (For instance the linkages for the pot P 197 have been shown as emanating from layer 1036 of MLb Room B on the left of the diagram, a context of phase 2b or phase 3a. The more appropriate primary context is layer 75 of area NLe space c, seen towards the right of the diagram.) The lists of joins given in TABLES B.1 and B.2 should be regarded as the basic source of information about the joins observed.

Table B.1. Figure and Figurine Joins

<i>SF</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Type</i>
172 2201	OLc space a layer 22 OLc space a layer 22	3c 3c	Female figurine.
174 79 80 99 176 598	OLc space b layer 23 OLc space a layer 22 OLc space a layer 21 OLc space a layer 21/22/23 OLc space b layer 23 NLd East baulk layer 29	3c 3c 3c 3c 3c 3c/D	Female figurine
196 190	OLc space a layer 29 OLc space a layer 26	3b 3c	Animal figurine.
197 503	OLc space a layer 29 OLc space a layer 29	3b 3b	Animal figurine.
504 98 198 1737	OLc space b layer 30 OLc space a layer 22 OLc space a layer 29 NLe layer 150	3b 3c 3b 3b	Animal figurine.
Matching fragments:			
1743 2243	NLe layer 152 OLd layer 49	2b D	
774 159 200 2265	NLd space 1 layer 52 OLc layer 12 OLc space a layer 29 OLc layer 12	3a/3b D 3b D	Animal figurine.
779 482	NLe space b layer 53 NLe space a/b layer 51	3c 3c/S	Animal figurine.
781 69 182 183 778 1734	NLe space a layer 55 OLc space a layer 22 OLc space b layer 23 OLc space b layer 23 NLe space b layer 53 NLe layer 149	3b 3c 3c 3c 3c 3c	Animal figurine.
788 1026	NLe space a/b layer 59 NLd space 4 layer 23	3a 3a/3c	Animal figurine.

789	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	Animal figurine.
180	OLc space b layer 23	3c	
790	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	
802	NLe space a/b layer 60	3a	Animal figurine.
501	OLc space a layer 29	3b	
2264	NLd space 4 layer 23	3a/3c	
805	NLe space a layer 61	2b	Animal figurine.
800	NLe space a/b layer 60	2b/3a	
811	NLe space a layer 61	2b	
818	NLe space a layer 61	2b	
810	NLe space a layer 61	2b	Animal figurine.
2398	OLc East baulk layer 269	D	
Matching fragments:			
2260	NLe layer 153	2b	} join
1514	NLc layer 213 pb 1322	2b/3a	
836	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Bovine figure.
81	OLc space a layers 21/26/29	3b/3c	
100	OLc space a layer 26	3c	
769	NLe space c layer 49	3a/3c	
791	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	
798	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	
799	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	
853	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
1033	NLd East baulk layer 122	3c	
1040	NLe space c layer 42	3a/3c	
1078	NLc layer 213 pb 1321	2b/3a	
2160	OLc space a layer 22	3c	
2165	NLe space c layer 34	3a/3c	
Matching fragments:			
193	OLc space a layer 26	3c	} join
819	NLe space a layer 61	3a	
2256	NLe space c layer 34	3a/3c	
2267	NLe space c layer 44	3a/3c	
2268	NLe space c layer 44	3a/3c	
2269	NLe space c layer 34	3a/3c	
842	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Animal figurine.
199	OLc space a layer 29	3b	
807	NLe space a layer 61	2b	
1701	Cleaning NLe space a/b	2b	
1742	NLe layer 151	3a	
846b	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Chariot group.
804	NLe space a/b layer 60	2b/3a	
806	NLe space a layer 61	2b	
847	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Bovine figure.
855	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
849	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Driven ox.
809	NLe space a layer 61	2b	
831	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
1750	NLe layer 153	2b	

850	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Bovine figure.
81	OLc space a layers 21/26/29	3b/3c	
796	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	
812	NLe space a layer 61	2b	
826	NLe space a layer 61	2b	
827	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
1077	NLe space c layer 45	3a/3c	
851	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Chariot group.
88	Unknown context		
511	OLd layer 59	2b/3c	
751	NLe space c layer 34	3a/3c	
752	NLe space c layer 34	3a/3c	
792b	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	
871	NLe space c layer 72	2b/3a	
Matching fragments:			
839	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
862	NLe space a/b layer 63	2b	
2266	OLc space a layer 29	3b	
Possible matching fragments:			
792a	NLe space a/b layer 59	3a	
843	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
852	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Animal figurine.
869	NLe space c layer 72	2b/3a	
854	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Animal figurine.
886	NLe space a/b cleaning	—	
858	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	Animal figurine.
Matching fragment			
97	OLc space a layer 22	3c	
882	NLe space c layer 74	2b/3a	Animal figurine.
1171	NLe space c layer 74	2b/3a	
1019	NLe space c layer 102	2a	Tall throne.
2285	NLb layer 421	2b	
1032	NLe space a/b layer 124	o/2a	Bovine figure.
846a	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
855	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
859	NLe space a/b layer 63	o/2a	
1038	NLe space a/b layer 124	o/2a	
1128	NLe space a/b layer 63	o/2a	
1129	NLe space a/b layer 62	2b	
1725	NLe space a/b layer 124	o/2a	
Matching fragment			
1751	NLe layer 155	o/2a	
1087	NLe space c layer 89	2a	Possible fish rhyton.
Possible matching fragments:			
2241a	OLd layer 67	2b/3c	
2241b	OLc layer 3	S	
2241c	NLd space 4 layer 67	3a/3c	
2241d	OLc layer 3	S	

1544	NLc layer 215	3b	Male figure.
1523	NLc layer 214	3b	
1550	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	Male figure.
1527	NLc layer 214	3b	
1528	NLc layer 214	3b	
1529	NLc layer 214	3b	
1530	NLc layer 214	3b	
1531	NLc layer 214	3b	
1533	NLc layer 214	3b	
1534	NLc layer 214	3b	
1553	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	Male figure.
757	NLe space c layer 38	3a/3c	
765	NLe space c layer 46	3a/3c	
1558	NLc layer 221	2b	Chariot group.
764	NLe space c layer 46	3a/3c	
1556	NLc layer 220	2b/3a	
1564	NLc layer 221	2b	
1567	NLc layer 221	2b	
1568	NLc layer 221	2b	
1569	NLc layer 221	2b	
1570	NLc layer 221	2b	
1571	NLc layer 221	2b	
1576	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
1577	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
1581	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
1583	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
2168	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
1561	NLc layer 221	2b	Bovine figure.
756	NLe space c layer 34	3a/3c	
758	NLe space c layer 38	3a/3c	
762	NLe space c layer 46	3a/3c	
763	NLe space c layer 46	3a/3c	
1579	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
Matching fragment			
865	NLd space 4 layer 67	3a/3c	
1563	NLc layer 221	2b	Chariot group.
1036	NLc layer 214	3b	
1532	NLc layer 214	3b	
1555	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
1606	NLa layer 305	S	Animal figurine.
1023	NLb layer 411	S	
1727	NLe space a/b layer 123/124/63	2b?	Animal figurine.
175	OLc space b layer 23	3c	
184	OLc space b layer 23	3c	
1736	NLe layer 150	3b	Animal figurine.
177	OLc space b layer 23	3c	
178	OLc space b layer 23	3c	
179	OLc space b layer 23	3c	
1738	NLe layer 150	3b	

Matching fragments:

170	NLe space c layer 49	3a/3c	
1735	NLe layer 150	3b	
2166	NLe space a/b layer 123	o/2a	Bovine figure.
2167	NLa layer 305	S	
2340	NLc South layer 237	2b	Male figure.
1551	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
1585	NLc layer 218	2b/3a	
2660	MLb Room A layer 963	2b	Female figure.
2657	MLb Room A layer 961	2b	
2670	MLb Room A layer 970	2b	Bovine figure.
2665	MLb Room A layer 965	2b	
2666	MLb Room A layer 965	2b	
2669	MLb Room A layer 970	2b	
2674	MLb Room A layer 970	2b	
2685	MLb Room A layer 976	2b	Bovine figure.
2686b	MLb Room A layer 976	2b	
2689	MLb Room A layer 976	2b	Bovine figure.
2686a	MLb Room A layer 976	2b	
2690	MLb Room A layer 976	2b	Bovine figure.
2659	MLb Room B layer 962	2b/3a	
2688	MLb Room A layer 976	2b	

Table B.2. Pottery Joins

<i>P. No.</i>	<i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Context</i>	<i>Phase</i>	<i>Type</i>
186	178	NLe space c layer 74 NLd space 4 layer 73	2b/3a 2b/3a	Kylix.
187	86	NLe space c layer 75 NLd space 1 layer 56 NLd space 4 layer 57 NLd East baulk layer 96 NLe space c layer 74 NLe space c layer 99	2b 2b 3a/3c 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a	Collar-necked jar.
190	96	NLe space c layer 74 NLb layer 417 NLb layer 418 NLe space c layer 72	2b/3a 3a/3c 2b/3a 2b/3a	Amphora.
193	35 ²	NLe space c layer 74 NLd East baulk layer 96	2b/3a 2b/3a	Kylix Kylix.
194	99	NLd space 4 layer 79 NLb layer 418 NLd space 4 layer 73 NLd East baulk layer 96 NLe space c layer 74 NLe space c layer 99	2b 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a	Hydria.

195	111	NLe space c layer 75 NLb layer 418 NLd space 4 layer 67 NLd space 4 layer 68 NLd space 4 layer 73 NLd space 4 layer 79 NLd East baulk layer 96 NLe space c layer 72 NLe space c layer 74 NLe space c layer 109 NLe space d layer 78	2b 2b/3a 3a/3c 3a/3c 2b/3a 2b 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b? 2a/3c?	Jug.
197	81	NLe space c layer 75 MLb Room B layer 1036 MLb Room B layer 1037 NLb layer 418 NLd space 4 layer 79 NLe space c layer 74	2b 2b/3a 2b 2b/3a 2b 2b/3a	Piriform jar.
198	100	NLe space c layer 75 NLb layer 417 NLb layer 418 NLd space 4 layer 73 NLd East baulk layer 96 NLe space c layer 72 NLe space c layer 74 NLe space c layer 99	2b 3a/3c 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a	Hydria.
199	130	NLc South layer 238 NLc layer 240 NLc South layer 251 NLc East baulk layer 255 NLc East baulk layer 256 NLc East baulk layer 258 NLd space 3 layer 30 NLd space 3 layer 35	2b 3c/D 2b/3a 3b 2b/3a 2b 2b/3a 2b/3a	Krater.
200	262	NLe space c layer 75 NLd space 4 layer 73 NLd East baulk layer 148 NLe space c layer 74	2b 2b/3a 2b 2b/3a	Deep bowl.
259	—	NLe space d layer 88 NLe space d layer 83	o/1c 2a/3c	
401	97	NLd space 4 layer 79 NLd space 4 layer 73 NLd East baulk layer 96	2b 2b/3a 2b/3a	Amphora.
451	53	NLe space c layer 110 NLe space c layer 101	2a 2a	Piriform jar.
466	376	NLa layer 321 NLa 321	2b 2b	Tripod cauldron.
473	98	NLe space c layer 75 NLb layer 418 NLe space c layer 72 NLe space c layer 74	2b 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a	Amphora.

474	263	NLe space c layer 99 NLd East baulk layer 96	2b/3a 2b/3a	Deep bowl.
664	390	NLc layer 213 pb 1315 NLc layer 213 pb 1314	D	Shallow angular bowl.
667	74	NLe space b layer 131 NLe space b layer 129 NLe space b layer 130 NLe space c layer 101 NLe space c layer 110	o/2a o/2a o/2a 2a 2a	Goblet.
676	207	NLe space c layer 84 MLd Room B layer 511 NLa layer 315 NLe space c layer 82 NLe space c layer 103 NLe space d layer 81	2a 2b 3a 2a 2a 2a/3c	Deep bowl.
884	115	NLd space 3 layer 39 MLb East layer 12 MLb East layer 17 NLc layer 221 NLd East baulk layer 94 NLe space c layer 34 NLe space c layer 42	2b S D 2b 3a/3c 3a/3c 3a/3c	Stirrup jar.
1405	373	MLb Room A layer 965 MLb Room A layer 963	2b 2b	Pedestal vase.
1410	218	NLb layer 419 MLb Room B layer 1036 NLb layer 418 NLb layer 420	2b 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a	Deep bowl.
1441	—	MLb Room B layer 1037 MLb Room B layer 1036	2b 2b	
1504	135	NLb layer 427 NLd space 2 layer 12 OLd layer 59 OLd layer 63	2b/3a o/3c 2b/3c 2b/3c	Krater.
1505	150	NLd space 1 layer 64 NLd space 4 layer 69 OLd layer 50 OLd layer 59 OLd layer 61	2b 3a/3c 2b/D 2b/3c 2b/3c	Mug.
1506	508	OLd layer 58 NLd space 3 layer 4 NLe space d layer 26 OLd layer 41 OLd layer 50 PLa layer 20	2b/3c 3c/D S S 2b/D —	Jug.
1507	254	OLd layer 59 NLe space c layer 46 NLe space c layer 49	2b/3c 3a/3c 3a/3c	Deep bowl.

1508	252	NLd space 4 layer 80 NLd space 3 layer 39 NLd space 4 layer 79 OLd layer 59	2a 2b 2a 2b/3c	Miniature deep bowl.
1509	255	OLd layer 59 NLe space c layer 46	2b/3c 3a/3c	Deep bowl.
1513	205	NLb layer 445 NLb layer 418 NLb layer 420 NLb layer 421 NLb layer 428 NLb layer 437 NLd East baulk layer 148 NLe space c layer 76 NLe space c layer 109	2a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b 2b/3a 2b 2b 2a 2a	Deep bowl.
1514	127	NLb layer 444 NLd layer 332 NLc East baulk layer 227 NLd space 3 layer 4 NLd East baulk layer 29 NLe space d layer 26 OLc layer 15 OLc layer 45	2b S D D 3a/D D D D	Krater.
1515	—	MLb Room B layer 1036 MMb layer 1002 OLd layer 59 OLd layer 61 OLd layer 62	2b/3a S 2b/3c 2b/3c 2b/3c	
1516	222	NLd East baulk layer 148 OLd layer 59 OLd layer 62	2b 2b/3c 2b/3c	Deep bowl.
1517	160	NLd East baulk layer 148 NLb layer 421 NLb layer 428	2b 2b 2b/3a	Dipper.
1518	267	NLe space c layer 75 NLd East baulk layer 148 OLd layer 62 OLd layer 65	2b 2b 2b/3c 2a/3c	Deep bowl.
1519	227	OLd layer 65 NLe space c layer 49 OLd layer 61 OLd layer 63 PLa layer 16	2a/3c 3a/3c 2b/3c 2b/3c —	Deep bowl.
1521	231	NLe space c layer 75 NLb layer 418 NLb layer 426 NLe space a/b layer 60 OLd layer 60 OLd layer 61 OLd layer 63	2b 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3c 2b/3c 2b/3c	Deep bowl.

1522	161	NLd space 3 layer 39 NLe space c layer 34 NLe space c layer 42 NLe space c layer 44 OLd layer 52	2b 3a/3c 3a/3c 3a/3c 2b/3c	Lipless conical bowl.
1524	208	NLe space c layer 84 MLb Room B layer 1036 MLb Room B layer 1038 MLb Room B layer 512 NLe space c layer 77	2a 2b/3a 1b/2a 1b/2a 2a	Deep bowl.
1526	107	NLa layer 316 NLd space 1 layer 15	3a 3b/3c	Jug.
1527	101	NLb layer 423 NLb layer 412 NLb layer 414 NLb layer 422 NLd space 3 layer 22	3a/3c 3a/3c 3a/3c 3a/3c 3b/3c	Hydria.
1528	87	MLd Room B layer 510 NLc layer 212	2b D	Collar-necked jar.
1529	206	NLa layer 324 MLb Room B layer 1033 MLb Room B layer 1035 MLb Room B layer 1037 MLd Room B layer 512 NLd space 3 layer 36	1b/2a D 2b/3a 2b 2b 2b	Deep bowl.
1531	128	NLa layer 315 NLb layer 422 NLd space 3 layer 28	3a 3a/3c 3b/3c	Krater.
1533	173	NLb layer 445 NLb layer 418 NLb layer 420 NLb layer 421 NLb layer 426 NLb layer 427 NLb layer 428 NLb layer 437 NLb layer 441 NLb layer 442	2a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b 2b	Kylix.
1534	177	NLd space 3 layer 36 NLa layer 320 NLc East haulk layer 258	2b 2b 2b	Kylix. Kylix.
1535	334	NLb layer 442 NLb layer 441	2b 2b	Kylix.
1536	256	NLb layer 442 NLb layer 440 NLb layer 441	2b 2b/3a? 2b	Deep bowl.
1537	174	NLb layer 451 NLb layer 440 NLb layer 441 NLb layer 442	2a 2b/3a 2b 2b	Kylix.

1539	269	NLb layer 421 NLb layer 418 NLb layer 423 NLb layer 427 NLb layer 428 NLb layer 437	2b 2b/3a 3a/3c 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a	Deep bowl.
1540	353	NLd space 4 layer 68 NLd space 4 layer 67	3a/3c 3a/3c	Kylix.
1541	268	NLe space a/b layer 60 OLd layer 60	2b/3a 2b/3c	Deep bowl.
1542		NLd space 1 layer 56 OLd layer 60	2b 2b/3c	Dipper.
1543	387	NLc layer 213 pb 1322 NLc layer 213 pb 1316 NLc layer 213 pb 1317 NLc layer 213 pb 1320 NLc layer 213 pb 1321	2b/3a D 2b/3a 2b/3a 2b/3a	Deep bowl.
1544	266	NLc East baulk layer 254 NLd space 3 layer 13	3b/3c 3c	Deep bowl.
—	71	NLe space a/b layer 133 NLe space a/b layer 129	o/2a o/2a	Alabastron.
—	72	NLe space a/b layer 133 NLe space a/b layer 129	o/2a o/2a	Krater.
—	112	NLe space c layer 75 NLb layer 419 OLd layer 59	2b 2b 2b/3c	Jug.
—	126	NLb layer 419 NLb layer 418	2b 2b/3a	Askos.
—	141	MLd Room B layer 516 MLb Room B layer 1038	1b/2a 1b/2a	Krater.
—	175	NLe space c layer 92 NLe space c layer 91	2a 2a	Kylix.
—	221	NLd space 4 layer 79 NLc layer 213 pb 1321 OLd layer 59	2b 2b/3a 2b/3c	Deep bowl.
—	223	MLb Room B layer 1035 OLd layer 53	2b/3a 2b/3c	Deep bowl.
—	224	OLd layer 65 MLd Room B layer 514	2b/3c D	Deep bowl.
—	225	NLe space c layer 75 NLb layer 419	2b 2b	Deep bowl.
—	230	NLc South layer 252 NLa layer 313 NLa layer 315 NLb layer 423	2b 3a 3a 3a/3c	Deep bowl.

—	261	NLe space c layer 92 NLe space c layer 92	2a 2a	Deep bowl.
—	307	NLe space c layer 89 OLd layer 13	2a S	Plate.
—	313	NLe space c layer 105 NLb layer 445 NLe space c layer 86 NLe space c layer 89	2a 2a 2a 2a	Lid.
—	354	MLd Room B layer 512 MLb Room B layer 1036	2b 2b/3a	Kylix.
—	366	NLd space 4 layer 80 NLd space 4 layer 79	2a 2a/2b	Shallow angular bowl.

Appendix C

The Chipped Stone

by Robin Torrence

No unusual or 'special' artifact types, such as complete prismatic blades or unique retouched forms, were found in the sanctuary area at Phylakopi. Furthermore, no specialized deposits or caches of stone tools were identified in the excavations of this area. Nevertheless, chipped stone artifacts, almost exclusively of obsidian, did comprise a sizeable proportion of the finds from the sanctuary. It seems reasonable, therefore, to ask what role these ordinary tools and the by-products of manufacture associated with them may have played in the activities which took place in this specialized portion of the site. The most productive approach to this question is likely to be through detailed comparison of the chipped stone from the sanctuary with that found in other sectors of Phylakopi. By factoring out the unusual or possibly nonutilitarian aspects of the sanctuary finds, one may be able to identify elements connected with the presumed ritual events. Consequently, a comparative study of the artifacts in the sanctuary and adjacent trenches comprises a significant part of the report that follows.

Before embarking on comparisons, however, it is important that the sanctuary assemblage be described in some detail. Next, although it will be shown that the artifact types present are common elsewhere at Phylakopi, it is important to investigate alternate sources of variation in the sanctuary itself because these might reflect differences in the use of stone tools both through time and across space. Two aspects of patterning can be monitored with the data collected. Firstly, the composition of the assemblage in terms of relative proportions of various artifact classes should yield useful information about the types of behaviour taking place in the two shrines and adjacent streets. Secondly, the abundance of obsidian should reflect the frequency of discard and perhaps also of production and use in the sanctuary. In order to interpret the results obtained by these two measurements, variation in the archaeological context of the finds must be controlled since the composition and abundance of finds may also vary according to the nature of the deposit. Whenever possible a distinction will be made between artifacts found on floors and those included in other deposits (largely fills accumulated in place). When combined with the analysis of intra-site variation at Phylakopi, the results of these separate studies, although not conclusive, strongly suggest that common, everyday obsidian artifacts played a role in the ritual activities in the sanctuary at Phylakopi.

Data used in the Study

Unfortunately, it was not possible to study the total collection of obsidian from this area of the site in the time available. A total of 2,724 obsidian and 23 non-obsidian artifacts were described and measured. In selecting the artifacts for analysis, however, an effort was made to incorporate deposits from the complete sequence of events in the sanctuary and from a representative sample of discrete areas within both the East and West Shrines. A breakdown of the levels represented in the final study is as follows:

	<i>Trench</i>	<i>Layers</i>
<i>East Shrine</i>	OLc/NLd/NLe	21–93 94–154
<i>West Shrine</i>	NLc MLb	213–261 8–32; 950–974; 1031–1041

Lithic Technology

In simple presence/absence terms, the types of artifacts represented in the obsidian assemblage from the Phylakopi sanctuary are identical to their counterparts from the rest of the site (TABLE C.1). The majority of the artifacts can be associated with the blade technology based on pressure flaking well-known throughout the Aegean area during the bronze age and previously found at Phylakopi (Torrence, 1979a; Bosanquet, 1904). Both the characteristic, parallel-sided prismatic blades and the parent cores from which they were struck are found in the assemblage. The ten blade cores (only five of which are complete enough to be classified) found in well-dated contexts illustrate the full range of variability in core preparation as known from other areas of the site. Three main types are present (cf. Torrence, 1979b): (1) one cylindrical core with blade scars around the entire periphery of the core; (2) one core with blade scars removed around a portion of the core and a prepared ridge located opposite the area of blade removal; and (3) three cores with blades removed from most of the periphery of the core but with flake scars struck from many directions on one side. Also present in the blade assemblage, although in small numbers, are two distinctive types of waste by-product, crested blades and platform preparation or rejuvenation flakes.

In addition to the more sophisticated blade industry, there is evidence for a less highly developed technology involving the production of very irregular flakes which had probably been used only a few times as expedient or 'instant' tools (Gould, 1980, 131) and then discarded. Single and multi-platform cores (comprising as much as nine percent of the assemblage in Phase 1 of the sanctuary) and numerous flakes—neither of which are directly related to blade production—were found in all areas of both shrines. The flake industry in the sanctuary is broadly similar in character to debitage from other areas at Phylakopi and found at other Aegean bronze age sites (personal observations at Agia Irini, Lerna and Knossos), although its highly irregular character makes detailed comparison difficult. As in the case of most Aegean bronze age assemblages, retouched artifacts were extremely rare in this area of the site; only 11 such flakes were found. Each bears a small area of continuous, unifacial retouch but they do not conform to regular shapes or types.

Chipped stone manufacture within the Phylakopi sanctuary was not restricted solely to obsidian as its raw material, although other types of rock, largely silicified or altered rhyolites and volcanic ashes (Shelford, pers. comm.), in fact comprise only a small part of the total assemblage. Twenty-three pieces of non-obsidian raw material were found in the sanctuary area of which 11 could be assigned to individual phases: one to Phase 1 and five each to Phases 2 and 3. Most of these artifacts are flakes or small, very irregular flake cores; none is retouched. Since obsidian obviously dominates the chipped stone industry at Phylakopi, the remainder of the discussion will concern itself only with that part of the assemblage.

Temporal Variation

The counts, weights, and relative proportions of different artifact classes for each of the three main phases in the sanctuary are listed in TABLES C.1 and 3. Sample sizes were too small to permit a study of variation among the further divisions within the phases. The distinction between flakes and chips is based on the fact that flakes display a striking platform and a positive bulb of force (i.e. a portion of the Hertzian cone), whereas chips are very irregular pieces detached unintentionally during flaking and lack the diagnostic features of flakes. Differences were made within the classes in order to distinguish stages in the sequence of production: *primary* flakes/chips are totally corticated on their dorsal surfaces; *secondary* flakes/chips are partially decorticated; and *tertiary* flakes/chips are totally decorticated. Several observations can be made on the basis of the data in TABLES C.1 and 2.

- (1) Between Phase 1 and 2 there is an increase in the proportion of tertiary flakes which is partially offset by a decrease in the number (but not the weight) of secondary flakes. This difference is largely maintained in Phase 3.
- (2) The proportion of cortical flake cores also decreases between Phases 1 and 2 and remains low in Phase 3.
- (3) There is a gradual increase in the relative number and, to a lesser extent, the relative weight of blades throughout the sequence.
- (4) In addition to these trends, there seems to be a general decrease in the average size of the artifacts within each class, especially between Phases 1 and 2.

A measure of caution must be exercised in interpreting these trends because the total sample sizes, particularly for Phase 1, are relatively small. Several tentative hypotheses can, however, be proposed to account for these patterns. Assuming that the discard of artifacts took place near the place of manufacture and/or use, the increase in decorticated artifacts combined with the decrease in cortical flakes and especially in flake cores could be related to a change in the use of the area such that in the later phases less obsidian knapping, particularly involving the initial stages of core reduction, took place and more artifacts manufactured elsewhere were brought to the area. The rise in the proportion of blades in comparison to flake cores also suggests a decrease in the production of expedient flake tools and more emphasis on blades. On the other hand, these trends may simply result from the fact that the majority of Phase 1 deposits corresponds to the building of the West Shrine rather than to the use of its floors. In other words, it might be expected that construction fills would contain a higher proportion of large, cortical waste by-products in relation to tools than would the material discarded on floors. Regardless of the reasons for the differences in the assemblages between Phases 1 and 2, it is notable that the proportions of the various classes in Phases 2 and 3 are not markedly dissimilar. From this it appears that, if the rate of discard for each class of artifact was stable, the function of obsidian did not alter significantly between the time when both shrines were in use and the period after the major collapse.

In contrast to the composition of the assemblage, there are very clear differences in the quantity of obsidian discarded through time. In order to monitor the actual amount of obsidian deposited, a measure which is comparable among excavation units of varying sizes must be used. The counts given in TABLES C.1 and 2 are not adequate because they are determined to a large extent by the number of deposits for each phase which were studied. Analytical difficulties of this kind can be avoided if the simple quantity of obsidian for a deposit is divided by the volume of earth comprising that deposit, yielding a count per unit volume. In the case of the figures presented in TABLE C.3, the total number of baskets (i.e. *zembils*, roughly equivalent to 23,000 cc.) of earth removed from the deposits of each phase as they were excavated. Unfortunately *zembil*

counts were not recorded by all trench supervisors and we lack data from one area of the West Shrine where, for example, Phase 1 floors were uncovered.

Surprisingly enough, the results in TABLE C.3 demonstrate that between Phases 1 and 2 the relative quantity of obsidian in the sanctuary increases by a factor of 2.5, followed by a very slight decline in Phase 3. A possibility that merits serious attention is that this rise in obsidian quantity may indicate a shift in the use of obsidian from domestic to mainly ritual activities, since it would be expected that obsidian use would be declining at the end of the bronze age. The most striking fact illustrated in TABLE C.3 is that large quantities of obsidian were found on Phase 2 floors; the amounts are nearly twice that in other Phase 2 deposits and three times that of Phase 3 floor and fill deposits. Part of the explanation for this pattern may lie in the nature of the Phase 2 floors themselves. All the floor levels of Phase 2 actually belong in Phase 2b, representing destruction deposits. Unfortunately it remains difficult to distinguish whether the high density of obsidian on the floors is caused by the fact that large amounts of material from outside the shrine collapsed onto the floors as a result of the disaster which seriously damaged both shrines or, as in the case of the large quantities of pottery and figurines, represents material which was in use in the shrines at the time of the destruction. Since the composition of the Phase 2b floor assemblages does not differ greatly from either contemporary fills or Phase 3 floors, the latter hypothesis seems more reasonable. If this were the case, the difference between Phase 2b and Phase 3 floors in terms of quantity of obsidian may merely reflect the fact that under normal conditions of use the shrine floors were kept relatively clean (cf. Gamble, Appendix D).

Spatial Variation

Interpretation of differences in the use of space in the sanctuary area is seriously hindered by the very small samples recovered from the discrete areas. Several aspects of the data, however, merit comment. In the first place there appear to be differences, both in terms of the composition of the assemblages and in the quantity of obsidian deposited, between the inside of the shrines and the adjacent streets. From the information given in TABLE C.4 it can be seen that compared to both the East and West Shrines a much smaller proportion of the artifacts found on the streets is comprised of prismatic blades. The higher concentration of blades within the shrines may reflect deliberate selection of tools whereas the debris found on the street is more likely to be a mixture of waste by-products and (used?) tools. In addition, the relative quantities of obsidian (TABLE C.4) are lower in the street than in the West Shrine. Since less obsidian was lying around outside the West Shrine than was found inside, these data suggest that the material found within the shrine was discarded there intentionally and is not the result of transport by non-cultural processes. A similar argument would not hold for the East Shrine in Phase 2, but in Phase 3 the higher density of obsidian inside the East Shrine, as opposed to on the streets outside, again suggests deliberate behaviour on the part of the people using the shrine.

Secondly, it appears that there were functional differences both among the various rooms in the West Shrine and between the two shrines. In Phase 2 the focus of obsidian discard was in the West Shrine and especially in Room B, which contains the highest density of obsidian in the history of the sanctuary. Not only does Room B possess large quantities of obsidian, but the proportion of blades in the assemblage is also high. One might hypothesize either that the activities which involved obsidian took place in this area or that it was a storeroom for obsidian tools. Blades also form a high proportion of the Room A collection in Phase 2. Although less dense than in the adjacent room, obsidian is more abundant here than in other areas of the sanctuary complex. Perhaps it too was a storeroom of some type. It is worth remembering that

along with the high density of obsidian blades in Room A, an unusually large number of figurines including the 'Lady of Phylakopi' were found. After the major collapse of Phase 2b and the building of the blocking wall in the West Shrine when Rooms A and B largely went out of use, the focus of obsidian discard shifts to the East Shrine. In this regard it is interesting that, although the north side of the West Shrine was still in use, the quantity of obsidian discarded there declined in Phase 3. Although the concentration of obsidian in the East Shrine is much greater than contemporary areas, it is less than in Room B in the previous period; one wonders whether the East Shrine took over the functions of Rooms A and B or whether the nature of obsidian use altered at this stage in conjunction with the change in its location.

Intra-site Variation

In order to evaluate more fully the meaning of the temporal and spatial patterns noted above, it would be useful to compare them with similar patterns in contemporary assemblages from different areas of the site which presumably had a secular function. Unfortunately the most recent excavations at Phylakopi, in which the sanctuary was uncovered, yielded very little material contemporaneous with the last phases in the sanctuary. In Renfrew's (1978, 405) revised sequence for Phylakopi the sanctuary belongs in Period IV in which there are two phases. Phase E includes Phase 1 in the sanctuary; Phase F begins with the construction of the LH IIIB fortification wall (Wall 100), and is therefore contemporary with sanctuary Phases 2 and 3. Fortunately in trench PLa, immediately to the east of the sanctuary area, obsidian from both Phases E and F was recovered. This material provides an excellent basis for comparison with the sanctuary assemblage because the floors and fills in PLa are presumed to relate solely to domestic activities.

In terms of the composition of artifact types (TABLE C.6), the obsidian collections from PLa and the sanctuary do not differ greatly, although it is possible to see differences through time. For instance in PLa the contribution of cores and blades alters little between Phases E and F but there is an increase in the proportions of cortical flakes suggesting that either knapping constituted a larger proportion of the activities in Phase F or, more likely, that the initial stages of flaking which had been carried out at another part of the site in Phase E now shifted to PLa. In contrast, the decrease in Phase E for the sanctuary in the proportion of cores as well as cortical flakes, combined with the increase in blades and tertiary flakes, was previously suggested to be due to a decline in the amount of knapping which took place. In other words, the obsidian knapping which seems to have moved away from the sanctuary area in Phase F may have shifted in part to the area of the site represented by PLa.

On the other hand the data on the relative abundance of obsidian in the deposits indicate that obsidian was accorded different treatment in the shrines to that in the household. TABLE C.7 shows that although the quantities of obsidian deposited in the sanctuary area in Phase E were less than half that discarded in the domestic contexts of PLa, in Phase F the situation had completely reversed itself. This trend is particularly significant when combined with the data on assemblage composition which was interpreted (*supra*) as indicating that the obsidian in the shrine in Phase F contained a smaller proportion of waste by-products from knapping and consequently a higher density of flake and blade tools than the contexts in PLa. From these data one can surmise that as the frequency of obsidian discard (and, by implication, its use) declined in the domestic contexts at Phylakopi, relatively more obsidian was being brought into the sanctuary area.

Conclusions

Several conclusions can be reached from the data presented here although they must be regarded as tentative in view of the small sample sizes. The major conclusion of this study is that obsidian artifacts appear to have been involved in the activities which took place in the sanctuary area at Phylakopi. The types of artifacts represented in the shrine deposits, however, were identical to the forms in use throughout the rest of the site. During Phase 1 the composition of the assemblage was broadly similar to adjacent contexts although obsidian was less abundant in the sanctuary. In contrast, during the major periods of use of the shrines in Phases 2 and 3 obsidian seems to have increased its importance. In fact, larger quantities of obsidian were deposited in the sanctuary than in other contemporary contexts. This opens up the possibility that at the end of the bronze age, roughly the same types of obsidian artifacts—unretouched blades and flakes—which had previously been used mainly for *domestic* purposes but which were gradually replaced by bronze tools, became increasingly incorporated into the *ritual* activities of the East and West Shrines. Finally, the composition of the sanctuary assemblage, with its emphasis on tertiary flakes and blades rather than cortical flakes and cores, indicates that in general tools which had been manufactured elsewhere were brought into the area and deposited there.

At present without micro-wear analysis of the artifacts (e.g. as in Keeley, 1979) the nature of the activities in which obsidian was used in the sanctuary area can only be guessed at. Certainly further study of the assemblage utilizing different methodological techniques would be extremely valuable. In addition, it would be interesting to compare the role(s) of obsidian in the Phylakopi sanctuary with its counterparts at other Mycenaean shrines to see whether the use of obsidian in the ritual areas was the trait unique to a local cult on Melos, a hypothesis which stems from the fact that obsidian is, of course, unique to the island. However, it is surely the continued use of obsidian—at once the most striking yet simplest observation to stem from the present study—which most merits careful evaluation by detailed study of contemporary assemblages at further sites.

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Table C.1
Counts, Weights (in Grams) and Proportions of Artifact Types by Phase—All Levels

Artifact Types	Phase 1			Phase 2			Phase 3					
	No.	%	Wt.	%	No.	%	Wt.	%	No.	%	Wt.	%
Primary Flakes	17	8	125.3	11	64	5	253.3	7	86	7	415.9	12
Secondary Flakes	98	46	484.7	41	465	35	1645.3	46	455	38	1479.6	43
Tertiary Flakes	49	23	121.0	10	460	35	711.2	20	360	30	615.4	18
Primary Chips	0	0	0	0	3	<1	7.5	<1	2	<1	9.4	<1
Secondary Chips	10	5	33.8	3	54	4	142.1	4	37	3	144.0	4
Tertiary Chips	6	3	27.9	2	39	3	89.3	3	34	3	57.4	2
Cortical Flake Cores	20	9	326.5	28	30	2	394.7	11	29	2	434.6	13
Noncortical Flake Cores	2	1	34.4	3	8	1	59.5	2	8	1	47.5	1
Blades	13	6	20.3	2	173	13	167.1	5	170	14	192.1	6
Blade Cores	0	0	0	0	7	1	56.5	2	3	<1	30.5	1
Unmodified Nodules	0	0	0	0	16	1	42.3	1	6	1	17.4	1
Total	215	101	1173.9	100	1319	100	3568.8	101	1190	99	3443.8	101

Table C.2
Counts, Weights and Proportions of Artifact Types by Phase: Floors

Artifact Type	Phase 1			Phase 2			Phase 3					
	No.	%	Wt.	%	No.	%	Wt.	%	No.	%	Wt.	%
Primary Flakes	7	10	70.9	19	20	6	83.9	9	27	6	93.2	8
Secondary Flakes	31	42	138.4	38	104	30	412.2	47	161	38	579.9	47
Tertiary Flakes	19	26	46.0	13	124	36	166.7	19	141	33	230.9	19
Primary Chips	0	0	0	0	2	1	6.7	1	1	<1	3.0	<1
Secondary Chips	3	4	5.4	1	16	5	47.0	5	10	2	43.6	4
Tertiary Chips	1	1	1.7	<1	12	3	17.2	2	9	2	19.3	2
Cortical Flake Cores	4	5	87.6	24	6	2	71.2	8	15	4	169.7	14
Noncortical Flake Cores	1	1	4.9	1	2	1	18.9	2	2	<1	12.8	1
Blades	7	10	9.9	3	54	16	51.1	6	55	13	65.2	5
Blade Cores	0	0	0	0	1	<1	2.2	<1	2	<1	2.7	<1
Unmodified Nodules	0	0	0	0	5	1	8.9	1	4	1	13.7	1
Total	73	99	364.8	99	346	101	886.0	100	427	99	1234.0	101

Table C.3
Relative Quantity of Obsidian by Phase and Context

<i>No. Per Unit Volume*</i>	PHASE 1	PHASE 2		PHASE 3	
	<i>All Deposits</i>	<i>All Deposits</i>	<i>Floors</i>	<i>All Deposits</i>	<i>Floors</i>
Total Artifacts	1.49	3.89	8.49	3.29	2.88
Blades	0.05	0.66	1.98	0.60	0.43

* The quantity listed in the table is reached by dividing the total number of pieces recovered from the deposits by the total number of *zembils* (c. 23,000 cc.) of earth comprising the deposits.

Table C.5
Relative Quantity of Obsidian in Various Areas within the Sanctuary

	PHASE 1		PHASE 2		PHASE 3	
	<i>Total Artifacts</i>	<i>Blades</i>	<i>Total Artifacts</i>	<i>Blades</i>	<i>Total Artifacts</i>	<i>Blades</i>
<i>East Shrine</i>	1.00	0	1.72	0.34	7.89	1.22
<i>West Shrine</i>						
Room A	—	—	3.33	0.90	2.67	0.47
Room B	—	—	12.24	2.50	3.06	0
North Area	1.72	0.09	3.81	0.41	1.74	0.27
<i>Streets</i>	—	—	3.27	0.26	1.49	0.23

Note: The quantity listed in the table is reached by dividing the total number of pieces recovered from the deposits by the total number of *zembils* (c. 23,000 cc.) of earth comprising the deposits.

Table C.4
Assemblage Composition in Various Areas within the Sanctuary

Artifact Type	EAST SHRINE		WEST SHRINE						Streets	
			Room A		Room B		North Area			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
PHASE 2										
Primary Flakes	29	10	4	3	10	2	7	4	12	5
Secondary Flakes	109	36	40	31	143	30	70	43	99	41
Tertiary Flakes	96	32	49	38	182	39	51	32	73	31
Flake Cores	11	4	4	3	5	1	4	2	12	5
Blades	33	11	27	21	78	17	19	12	16	7
Other	26	9	5	4	51	11	10	6	27	11
Total	304	102	129	100	469	100	161	99	239	100
PHASE 3										
Artifact Type	EAST SHRINE		WEST SHRINE						Streets	
			Room A		Room B		North Area			
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary Flakes	46	9	1	2	0	0	20	7	12	8
Secondary Flakes	162	33	22	47	7	64	140	48	65	43
Tertiary Flakes	178	36	15	32	3	27	70	24	33	22
Flake Cores	6	1	0	0	0	0	4	1	15	10
Blades	63	13	7	15	0	0	40	14	12	8
Other	40	8	2	4	1	9	17	6	13	9
Total	495	100	47	100	11	100	291	100	150	100

Table C.6
Comparison of Sanctuary Assemblage Composition with Area PLa

<i>Artifact Type</i>	SANCTUARY				TRENCH PLa			
	<i>Phase E</i>		<i>Phase F</i>		<i>Phase E</i>		<i>Phase F</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Primary Flakes	17	8	163	6	31	7	21	14
Secondary Flakes	98	46	977	37	136	33	55	37
Tertiary Flakes	49	23	855	32	87	21	25	17
Primary Chips	0	0	6	<1	14	3	0	0
Secondary Chips	10	5	96	4	26	6	11	7
Tertiary Chips	6	3	78	3	38	9	0	0
Cortical Flake Cores	20	9	63	2	29	7	13	9
Noncortical Flake Cores	2	1	17	1	7	2	2	1
Blades	13	6	356	13	43	10	17	12
Blade Cores	0	0	10	<1	1	<1	2	1
Unmodified Nodules	0	0	23	1	5	1	1	1
Total	215	101	2644	99	417	99	147	99

Table C.7
Relative Abundance of Obsidian in the Sanctuary and Area PLa

	SANCTUARY		TRENCH PLa	
	<i>All Deposits</i>	<i>Floors</i>	<i>All deposits</i>	<i>Floors</i>
<i>Phase E</i>				
Total Artifacts	1.49	—	3.46	3.95
Blades	0.05	—	0.38	0.53
<i>Phase F</i>				
Total Artifacts	3.60	3.86	1.80	2.81
Blades	0.63	0.70	0.23	0.32

Note: The quantity listed in the table is reached by dividing the total numbers of pieces recovered from the deposits by the total number of *zembils* (c. 23,000 cc.) of earth comprising the deposits.

Appendix D

Formation processes and the animal bones from the Sanctuary at Phylakopi by Clive Gamble

A sample of 3485 animal bones was studied from the upper levels of the Mycenaean sanctuary. These came exclusively from the excavations of 1974, 1975 and 1976. The bones from the sanctuary were not incorporated into the earlier account of the faunal material from Phylakopi (Gamble, 1982) except where they contributed to the identification of species that were not found on other parts of the site. The main reason for this concerns the difference in excavation strategy between the shrine area and the other trenches on the site. The area excavation in the sanctuary complex was concerned with the investigation of horizontal relationships while the smaller trenches dug into the rest of the site were designed to recover stratigraphic information in as economical a manner as possible. It was not therefore possible to examine questions of areal variability among the bone material and instead the analysis concentrated upon faunal changes through time. It has been shown by Meadow (1975) that considerable lateral variation exists among bone assemblages. This is due to such factors as differential preservation between contexts and variation across a site in human activities that involved the use and disposal of bone. It is because of these differences in the way that the samples were obtained that the analysis of the shrine and the site bones have been kept separate.

These considerations have some considerable bearing upon this present study. One objective in studying the sanctuary bone material was to see if any particular set of ritual activities might be reflected in the animal bone assemblage. However in view of the comments above it is necessary to start on a cautionary note and warn that unless the variation between the shrine bones and those from the rest of the site is very great (thus accounting for expected local areal variation) then it may not be possible to isolate such nuances of zooanthropological interactions.

The bone material was dominated by domestic animals—ovicaprids, pig and cow—which formed nearly all of the total quantity of identifiable bone recovered (TABLE D.1). A right mandible of the beech marten (*Martes foina*) in which the canine is erupting, together with a nearly complete atlas vertebrae were found in the upper levels of the East Shrine area. A left humerus of the same species had previously come from the City III phase in trench PK. In trench NLe space c, which is part of the courtyard area between the two shrines, came two associated foot bones of a small equid that is most probably a donkey. While found in separate levels they nevertheless form an articulating main right metacarpal and the attendant small metacarpal. Unfortunately the distal end of the main metacarpal was broken during excavation and lost so that the state of fusion is not known for certain. However there is no reason to think that the bone comes from a juvenile animal and the measurements on the proximal end may therefore be taken as those of an adult animal.

Metacarpal measurements, Phylakopi trench NLe space c layer 42. (Measurements from Von den Driesch 1976: 93):

Greatest breadth of the proximal end	36.6 mm
Greatest depth of the proximal end	23.7 mm

Some fragments of tortoise carapace and ostrich egg shell were also recovered from the sanctuary and are reported upon elsewhere. In terms of mammals however the sanctuary lacks any exotic species and so one possible influence that the activities associated with this complex might have had upon the formation of the bone assemblage is removed.

The proportions of the main domestic animals as measured by both numbers and weight are presented in TABLE D.2.

It is clear from this that there is some variation between the various areas of the sanctuary in terms of proportional representation. Cattle are not represented in the small area of the West Shrine that was available for analysis and poorly represented in both the courtyard area between the shrines and the interior of the East Shrine room. In all other locations cattle are much better represented even forming, by weight of identified specimens, the dominant element in the upper west shrine areas that were not divided into contexts. In all other contexts sheep/goat is the dominant species as measured both by weight and numbers of specimens and the rarity of cattle results in higher percentages of pig.

This variation could well be accounted for by a model of differential rubbish disposal linked to preservation factors. In interior locations and the internal courtyard where there is the likelihood of heavy human traffic only the bones from smaller species would escape either destruction by trampling underfoot, by being hidden in small cracks, or removal for discard elsewhere. The larger bones of cow would be more easily spotted and hence their chances of remaining in position would be much less as periodic sweepings would remove them. This factor is very clearly brought out in TABLE D.3 where the average size of the identifiable fragments, as measured by weight, is plotted. In all cases the size of fragments is greater for those bones found outside the shrine area. These figures can also be compared with the average size of fragments from the rest of the site (TABLE D.4). While there is clearly some variation amongst these figures they do in general terms fit better with the exterior shrine figures than those from the interior. It is also a reminder however that these other trenches are undoubtedly sampling a variety of activity loci.

While the sanctuary was in use only those bones which entered it and which could escape detection and survive destruction contributed to the build up of archaeological material. However in the upper levels as the building fell out of use it became used as a more general dumping ground for rubbish and this can be seen in the animal bone evidence. In this instance therefore any variation between the assemblages of bone material can be attributed to particular activities and their attendant formation processes since the area excavation of the shrine facilitates such interpretation. When we compare the proportions of the domestic animals from the shrine with the other trenches on the site it is clear that there is some discrepancy; particularly with the percentage of cattle (TABLE D.5). However this can be economically explained by recourse to the interpretation for the shrine material that has been presented above. The other trenches, which were too small either to observe differences in internal/external locations or to distinguish different rubbish contexts, do in fact seem to be supplying diachronic information about trends in the animal bone population that is largely unaffected by synchronic, areal variation. While more trenches selected on a random sampling basis across the site would be necessary to confirm this impression it is nonetheless an interesting conclusion concerning the sampling of a complex site for different types of questions. The sanctuary data while broadly comparable to that from the rest of the site nonetheless shows more internal variation than from the four independent trenches which were used to construct the overall faunal pattern for city phases III and IV (Gamble 1982; table 10).

The explanation for the variation in the bone residues found in the sanctuary is to be found in a study of formation process. This is not to say that animals were not used in the rituals associated with the shrine but rather to emphasise that there is no firm correlation between the bone refuse and a particular set of activities connected with this structure. By comparison the bones associated with the Temple of Demeter at Knossos (Jarman 1973) presented a clear correlation. In the first place the bones which were found in very close spatial proximity to the temple buildings differed greatly in terms of species representation from all the other localities in the Knossos area that had previously been analysed for their bone contents. From amongst a total of 590 bones that were identifiable to species almost 90% were pig. By contrast a deposit of Geometric age bones at the same site, and which bore no relation to the activities associated with the temple, were dominated by ovicaprids and pig formed only 17% of the remains (Jarman 1973:177). The Temple of Demeter presents a fusion of osteological and literary evidence that produce a very satisfactory result since pig was considered an acceptable animal to sacrifice to this particular deity. In the same way the Temple of Mercury, currently being excavated at West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, has produced a bone assemblage that is dominated by goat remains and which also possesses cockerel bones (Levitan, forthcoming). This confirms the evidence from the altars and statues that Mercury was indeed the main deity worshipped at this site.

The Phylakopi evidence contains no hint of animal sacrifice. At best all that could be put forward to support such a suggestion would be that sacrifice took place at infrequent intervals and involved very few animals which were not selected on a species basis. Moreover their remains were not disposed of in a special manner. The earlier analysis (Gamble 1982) concluded that meat would have been an occasional rather than staple item in the diet of the inhabitants of Phylakopi. The population estimate for the town in bronze age times of *ca.* 700–1500 persons (Wagstaff, Augustson and Gamble 1982) suggests that most people in the town were engaged in farming so that each household would have direct access to their own flocks. The surplus animals would undoubtedly be eaten by the households and there would be little inequality in the amount of meat available to the inhabitants.

By contrast White (1979: 277) notes that in Rome the ordinary citizen could only expect to eat meat when it was given out at large public feasts and sacrifices. Harner (1977) sees a similar system of the redistribution of a scarce and otherwise unobtainable commodity in the Aztec human sacrifices where the bodies were either consumed directly or stored. Ritual sacrifice in these contexts plays an important role in defining social relationships and extending obligations, as well as solving certain dietary requirements. Such a system would clearly be inappropriate on Melos where the population was small, everyone had access to their own meat supply (albeit an infrequent one), and where the physical limits of the island would mean that the keeping of animals in sufficient numbers for sacrificial purposes would make bad sense in both economic and ecological terms.

These arguments are supported by the architectural evidence from the shrine. The sanctuary at Phylakopi is designed for interior action rather than for exterior display. The scale of the objects that were found within it, and in particular such items as the seal-stones, suggest personal rather than communal ritual activity. Whatever the motive and direction of such activity it does not seem to have involved the integrative power that ritual behaviour can possess and which can weld together the fragmentary sections of society. The redistribution of a desired but unobtainable food, such as meat, by a great provider at a public ceremony is one example where sacrifice in the service of ritual could be used to enhance status and position. The Phylakopi evidence is entirely contradictory to such a scenario. Here we have the quiet contemplation in a darkened room of terracotta bovine figurines that might be desired as a means of establishing personal wealth but which on Melos would be an economic liability if kept in any numbers.

Acknowledgements

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Table D.1
Animal bones from the Sanctuary area

	<i>Numbers of identified specimens</i>	<i>Weight in grams of identified specimens</i>
Ovicaprids	678	4628
Pig	225	2217
Cattle	112	2496
	<hr/> 1015	<hr/> 9341
Dog	1	
Small equid	2	
<i>Martes foina</i> (Beech marten)	2	
Rabbit	1	
Rodent	1	
Bird	10	
Fish	3	
	<hr/> 20	
Unidentifiable fragments	2450	

Table D.2
Animal bones by context within the Sanctuary complex

	<i>Numbers of identified specimens</i>			<i>Weight in grams of identified specimens</i>		
	Ovicaprids	Pig	Cattle	Ovicaprids	Pig	Cattle
A. East Shrine interior	65	19	6	304	193	46
B. Courtyard between East and West Shrines	265	108	19	1396	901	358
C. West Shrine	39	12	—	203	62	—
D. Exterior locations	77	26	16	906	309	421
E. Upper levels East Shrine	99	25	26	718	341	541
F. Upper levels West Shrine	133	35	45	1101	411	1130
	<i>% Numbers of identified specimens</i>			<i>% Weight in grams of identified specimens</i>		
	Ovicaprids	Pig	Cattle	Ovicaprids	Pig	Cattle
A. East Shrine interior	72	21	7	56	36	8
B. Courtyard between East and West Shrines	68	28	5	53	34	13
C. West Shrine	76	24	—	77	23	—
D. Exterior locations	65	22	13	55	19	26
E. Upper levels East Shrine	66	17	17	45	21	34
F. Upper levels West Shrine	62	16	21	42	16	43

Table D.3
Average identifiable specimen size as measured by weight (grams)
from the Sanctuary area

	Ovicaprids	Pig	Cattle
A. East Shrine interior	4.6	10.1	7.6
B. courtyard between East and West Shrines	5.2	8.3	18.8
C. West Shrine	5.2	5.1	—
D. Exterior locations	11.8	11.9	26.3
E. Upper levels East Shrine	7.2	13.6	20.8
F. Upper levels West Shrine	8.2	11.7	25.1

Table D.4
Average identifiable specimen size as measured by weight (grams)
from the rest of the Phylakopi excavation (Gamble 1982)

	Ovicaprids	Pig	Cattle
IV	5.8	8.1	13.9
III	6.0	8.5	25.3
II	6.1	9.7	26.4
I	6.1	10.2	16.0
O	7.4	15.3	29.5

Table D.5
Proportions of animal bones from excavated areas other than the
Sanctuary. (Gamble 1982)

			Ovicaprids	Pig	Cattle
City IV	numbers	%	72.6	19.9	10.3
	weight	%	59.9	19.6	20.5
City III	numbers	%	72.5	10.9	16.5
	weight	%	46.1	9.9	44.0

Appendix E

Melos Museum Numbers

At the conclusion of the excavation, all the antiquities found were entrusted to the care of the Greek Archaeological Service. The more important finds and the majority of the reconstructed or complete pots were transferred to the Melos Museum. The other finds, including the very large quantities of potsherds, animal bones etc. were stored in the building which served during the excavation as our laboratory and store (the former Post Office building).

The pots and the more important finds removed to the Melos Museum were there assigned a Museum Catalogue number, which was marked on each in addition to the SF (small find) or Pot Number already marked during the course of processing. In the case of many minor objects, no specific Museum Catalogue number was assigned.

It should be noted that the pottery was not usually marked with the Catalogue Number employed by Miss Mountjoy in Chapter V and indicated on the figures and plates in this volume. These numbers were assigned later by Miss Mountjoy. In the laboratory the numbers employed were the pot accession numbers (Pot Numbers) distinguished by the prefix 'P'. Only the more complete pots were accessioned in this way, and individual sherds were normally marked simply with the trench designation and layer number (enclosed within a triangle) designating the find context. In the pottery catalogue in Chapter VI, the laboratory Pot Number (with prefix 'P') is indicated for those pieces where it had been assigned. The pots in the Melos Museum thus show the Melos Museum catalogue number and the Phylakopi pot number, and these are indicated in the concordances which follow.

In addition to the items listed below, all remaining figurine fragments, as well as objects of bronze, ivory, bone and shell, and beads, were transported to the Melos Museum. A few objects were taken by a representative of the Archaeological Service to the National Museum in Athens for conservation: these included the two smiting male figures (SF 518 and 1802), the bronze bird (SF 1578) and the gold head (SF 192), and the ivory plaque (SF 124) which was not found in the Sanctuary. (It should be noted that the lists given below include *all* the objects transferred to the Melos Museum; they are not restricted to objects from the Sanctuary area.)

Nearly all the reconstructed pots were removed to the Museum. Only the following were retained in storage in the excavation laboratory in the former Post Office building:

P115; P1436; P1409; P1404; P466; P663; P1500; P104; P174; P1435; P1415.

Table E.1
Various Finds

<i>Phylakopi SF No.</i>	<i>Melos Museum Cat. No.</i>	<i>Description</i>
631	134	Head of Cycladic figurine
620	135	Schematic Cycladic figurine
2036	568	Sealstone 1
841	569	Sealstone 10
840	570	Sealstone 8
844	571	Sealstone 2
837	572	Sealstone 4
834	573	Sealstone 7
824	574	Sealstone 11
833	575	Sealstone 9
1748	576	Sealstone 3 (incomplete)
808	577	Sealstone 5
821	578	Sealstone 6
621	579	Sealstone (π c)
603	580	Sealstone (π c)
861	581	Carnelian bead
55	582	Linear A tablet fragment
192	583	Gold mask
1521	585	Psi figurine
579	585	Psi figurine
174	586	Psi figurine
172	587	Psi figurine
1551	588	Male figure
1544	589	Male figure
1550	590	Male figure
1520	591	Male figure
1553	592	Male figure
809	593	Driven ox
1558	594	Chariot group
756	604	Large bovine figure

Table E.2
Pottery

<i>Phylakopi Pot No.</i>	<i>Melos Museum Cat. No.</i>	<i>Mountjoy Cat. No. (Chapter VI)</i>
P1	610	—
P10	623	—
P12	615	—
P13	626	—
P27	619	—
P57	625	95
P58	641	—
P126	621	—
P127	596	—
P147	617	—
P172	620	—
P186	595	178
P187	627	86
P188	614	—
P189	616	—
P190	609	96
P192	598	—
P194	602	99
P195	605	111
P197	613	81
P198	603	100
P401	606	97
P435	622	—
P451	624	53
P453	599	—
P462	600	372
P467	608	382
P470	607	383
P471	611	389
P472	618	542
P473	601	98
P680	643	25
P706	597	—
P714	612	—
P891	630	93
P892	629	94
P895	632	114
P898	631	36
P899	634	315
P1406	635	539
P173	642	—
P54	638	—
P55	637	—
P92	636	—
P342	640	—
P894	633	—
P53	639	—
P1408	658	33
P889	628	—

Table E.3
Other Finds

<i>Phylakopi</i> <i>SF No.</i>	<i>Melos Museum</i> <i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Phylakopi</i> <i>SF No.</i>	<i>Melos Museum</i> <i>Cat. No.</i>
a) Figurines		2658	650
166	662	2661	649
168	663	2672	656
177	664	2685	645
185	665	2691	657
189	666		
196	667	175	661
197	668	789	660
504	669	2348	659
583	698	2660	655
759	670	2670	651
767	671	2687	646
773	696	2689	654
774	672	2690	653
779	673		
781	674	b) Spindle Whorls	
788	675	4	713 β
802	676	5	712 β
805	677	70	715
810	678a	72	725
842	679	90	702
847	694	92	713a
854	680	101	703
856	681	139	717
857	682	142	722
858	683	157	707
867	684	204	719
869	685	206	7131a
871 (+ 839 862)	692	226	708
882	686	243	710a
887	687	244	709 β
1032	699	246	711
1557	688	259	721
1562	689	260	716
1563	693	261	727
1575	690	275	709a
1624	695	278	710 β
2260	678 β	282	706
2270	691	297	705
2679	687	364	704
836	652	468	726
850	644 marked 645	487	714
2007	647	508	720
2015	648	584	724

<i>Phylakopi</i> <i>SF No.</i>	<i>Melos Museum</i> <i>Cat. No.</i>	<i>Phylakopi</i> <i>SF No.</i>	<i>Melos Museum</i> <i>Cat. No.</i>
675	712 α	214	744
703	728	223	748 β
715	700	309	n.c.
723	729	473	751 α
728	723	497	n.c.
744	731	563	747 γ
793	730	664	746 α
803	732	1061	n.c.
866	701	1069	748 γ
982	718	1074	n.c.
994	734 β	1120	n.c.
1102	738 α	1121	n.c.
1125	reworked sherd	1171	n.c.
1173	738 γ	1554	n.c.
1181	739 α	1621	748 α
1536	reworked sherd	2056	744
1559	734 γ	2215	748 α
1615	736 γ	2216	751 β
1715	734 α	2217	746 β
1731	738 β		
1825	743	d) Spools	
2003	735	237	n.c.
2230	740	279/280	754
2304	733	457	758
2656	reworked sherd	458	n.c.
2683	736 β	459	755 α
2684	737	460	n.c.
2801	739 β	461	755 β
2820	742	472	756 β
2828	741	479	755 γ
		681	757
c) Loom Weights		685	756 α
22	n.c.	1070	n.c.
59	752	1180	759
62	747 β	1602	n.c.
122	747 α	2229	n.c.
154	749		
207	750		

Note: n.c. indicates not catalogued.

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Plates



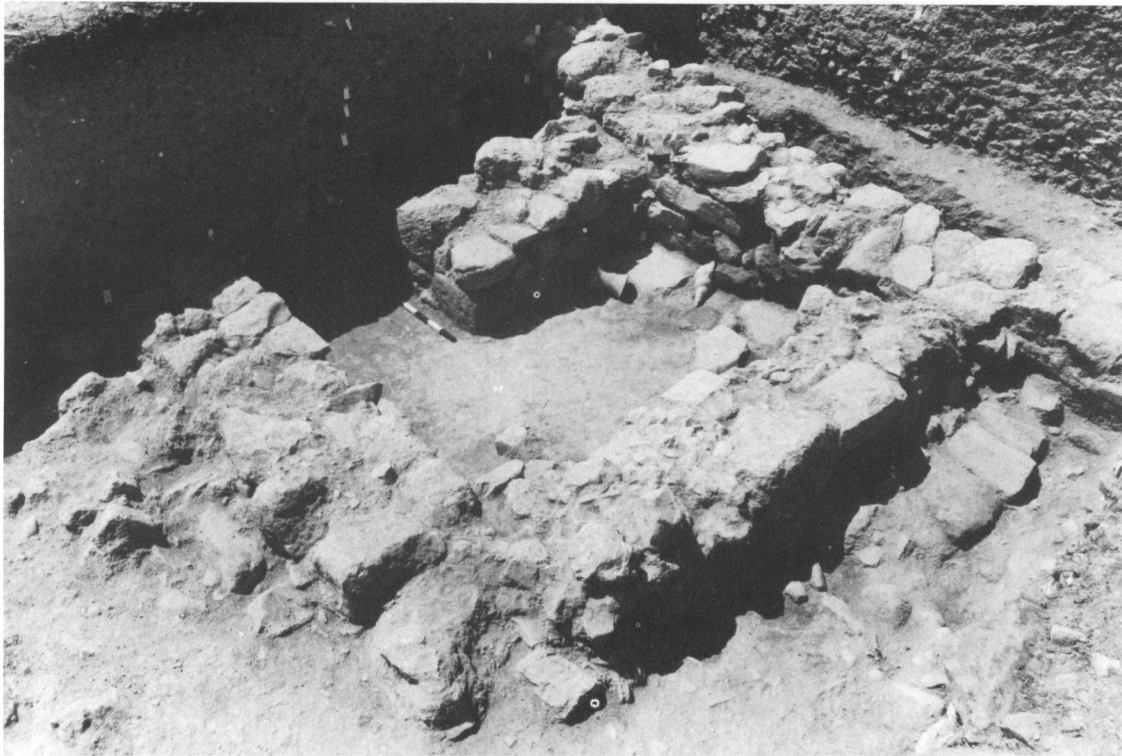
(a)



(b)

(a) Phylakopi from the south (the sanctuary area lies south-east of the tent). (b) Aerial photograph of the East Shrine and part of the West Shrine during excavation (photo: Professor J. Wilson Myers).

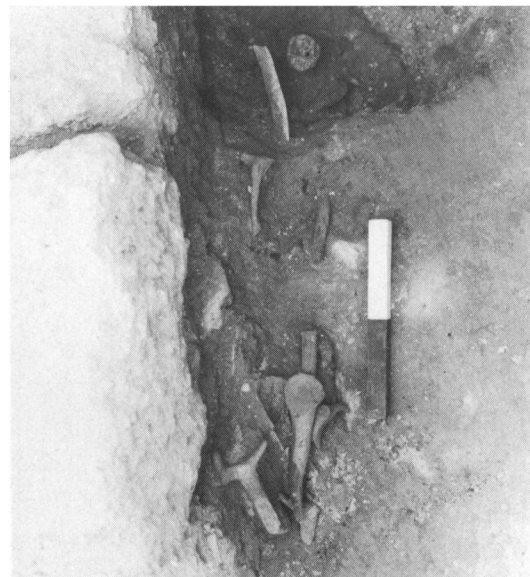
PLATE 2



(a)



(b)



(c)

(a) Excavation in the East Shrine, seen from the south-east showing Assemblage L *in situ* (phase 3c).
 (b) Figurine fragments and tortoise shell (SF 825) south of the platform in the East Shrine (Assemblage D: phase 2b). (c) Fragments of bovine figures south of the platform in the East Shrine (phase 2b).



(a)



(b)

(a) The East Shrine seen from the north, showing the City Wall and the Courtyard. (b) The East Shrine seen from the south during excavation.

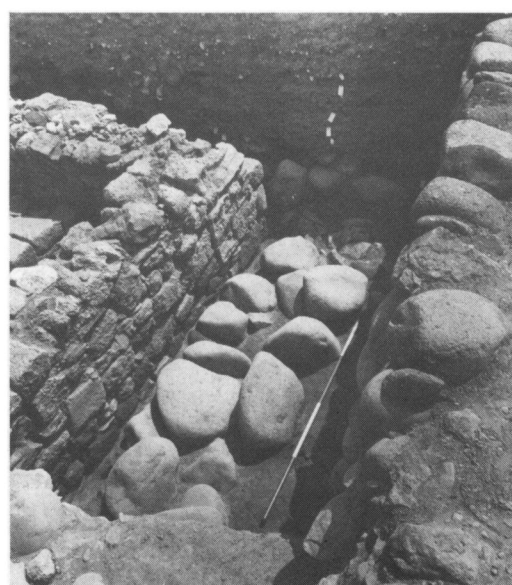
PLATE 4



(a)



(b)



(c)

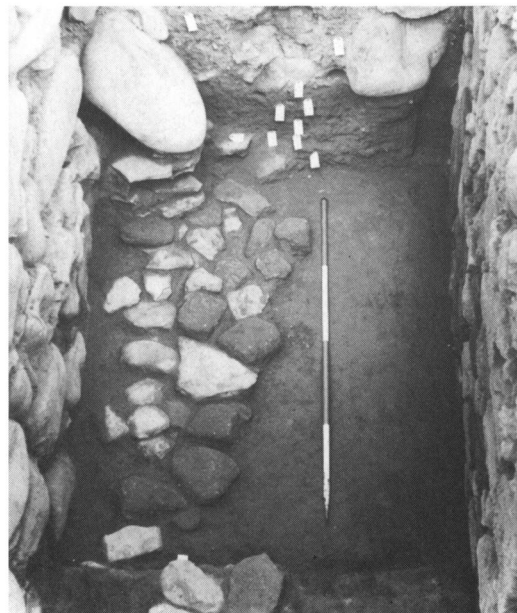
(a) Area OLd seen from the south. (b) Stone debris lying in the street between East Shrine and City Wall, seen from the west (NLe layer 34). (c) Large stones from the collapse of the City Wall in the street south of the East Shrine (seen from the south-west).



(a)



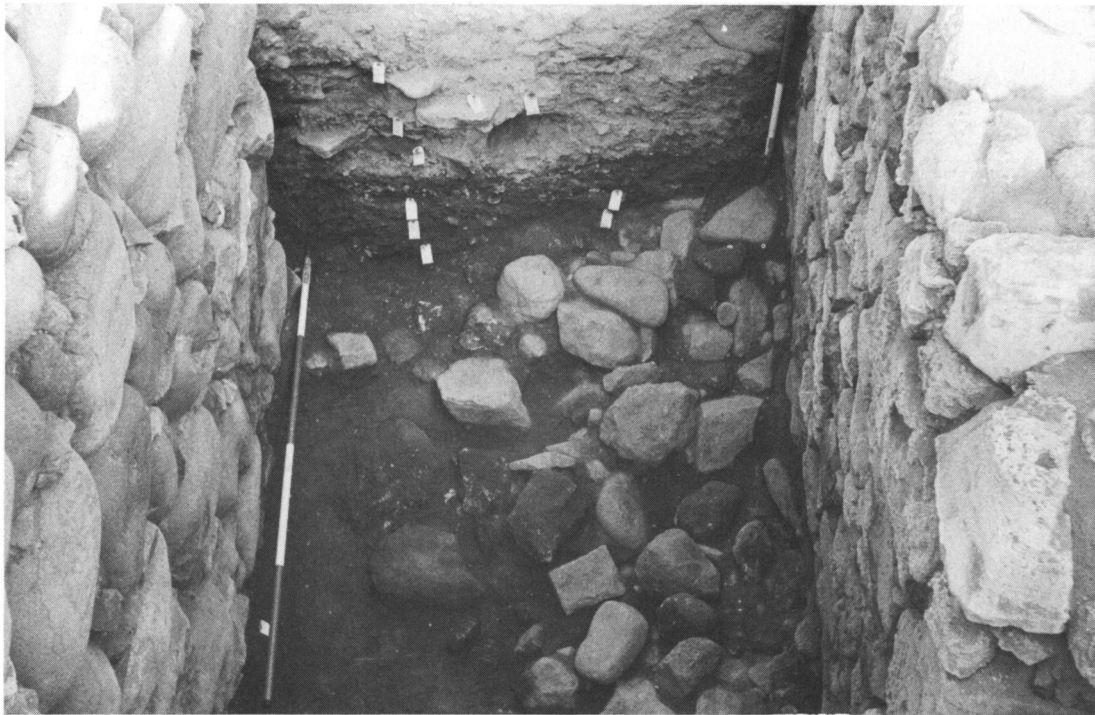
(b)



(c)

(a) Pottery crushed by stones fallen from the City Wall, to the south of the East Shrine, seen from the east (Assemblage E: Floor 7). (b) Street level between City Wall and East Shrine, seen from the east (NLe space c, Floor 10: phase 2a). (c) Lower street level from the same position (Floor 12; phase 2a).

PLATE 6



(a)



(b)



(c)

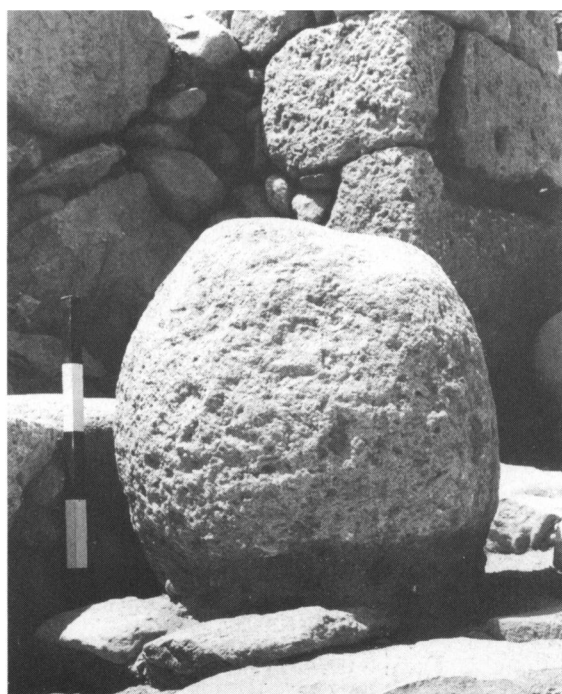
(a) Sounding between City Wall and East Shrine, seen from the east, showing stone layer (111) running below south wall of East Shrine. (b) The top of the Extension Wall (661) seen from the east, with the doorway to the West Shrine. (c) City Wall, Extension Wall, bench and baetyl, seen from the north-west.



(a)

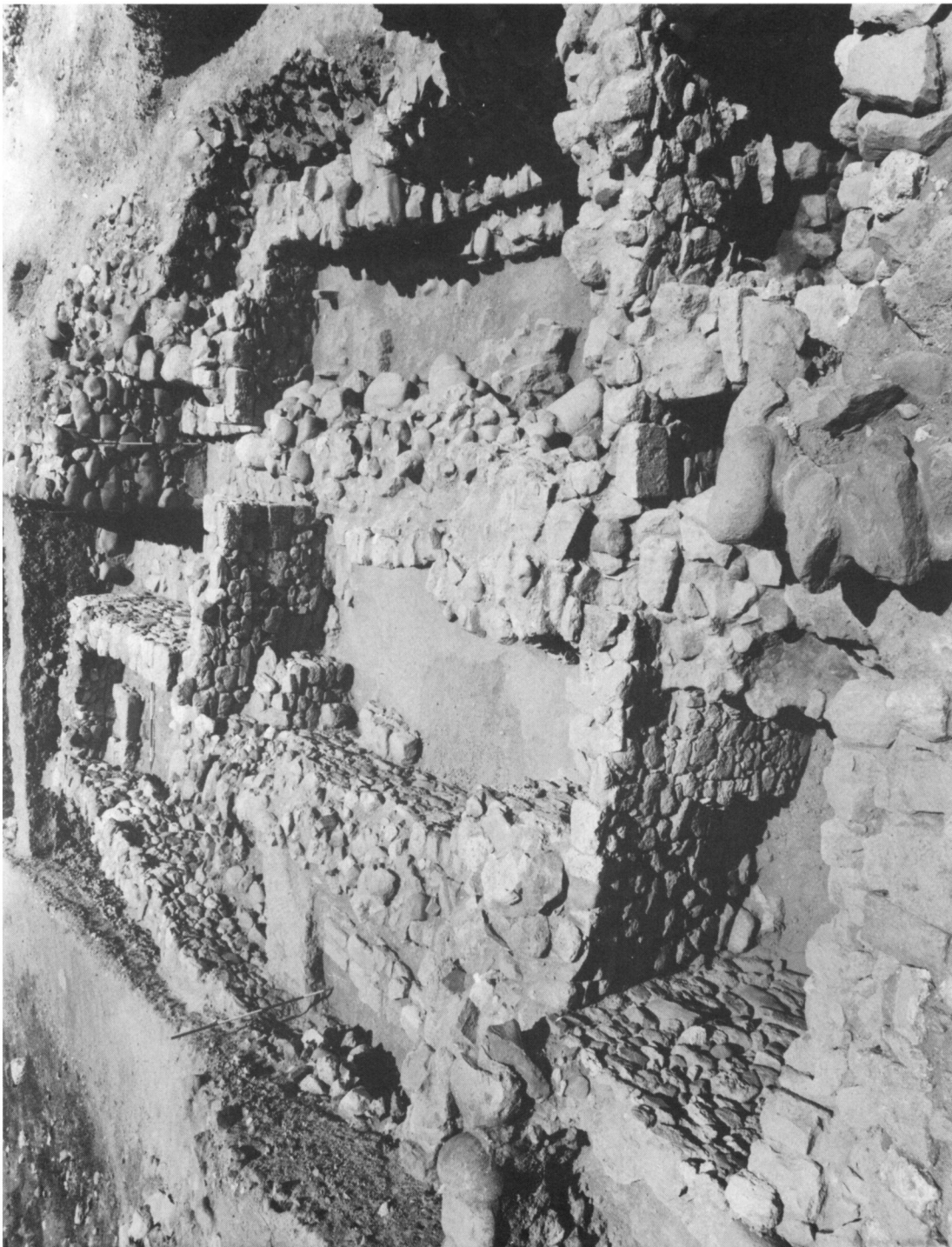


(b)



(c)

(a) Quarter-circle stone setting in corner between City Wall and Extension Wall (661) and bench (663), seen from the north-west. (b) The courtyard with the baetyl seen from the north-east. (c) The baetyl from the north-east.



The sanctuary area seen from the west. (Note that the niche in the east wall (723) of Room B is obscured by modern stone restoration.)



The northern part of the West Shrine seen from the east.



(a)



(b)



(c)

(a) The north-west corner of the West Shrine, with platform obscured by Wall 604 of phase 3c, and with plaster flooring of N1c Floor 4, seen from the east. (b) Close-up of repeated plastering of N1c Floor 4, from the east. (c) Platform (505) in the north-east corner of the West Shrine, seen from the south.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

(a) Bench (735) at the foot of the north wall (603) of the West Shrine, seen from the south-west. (b) Lower bench revealed by the partial removal of stones seen in PLATE 11 (a). (c) North-west corner of the West Shrine, viewed from the east, showing wall 604 (of phase 3c) and the bench seen in PLATE 11 (a). (d) The East Shrine from the west. (In the foreground area NLd space 2.)

PLATE 12

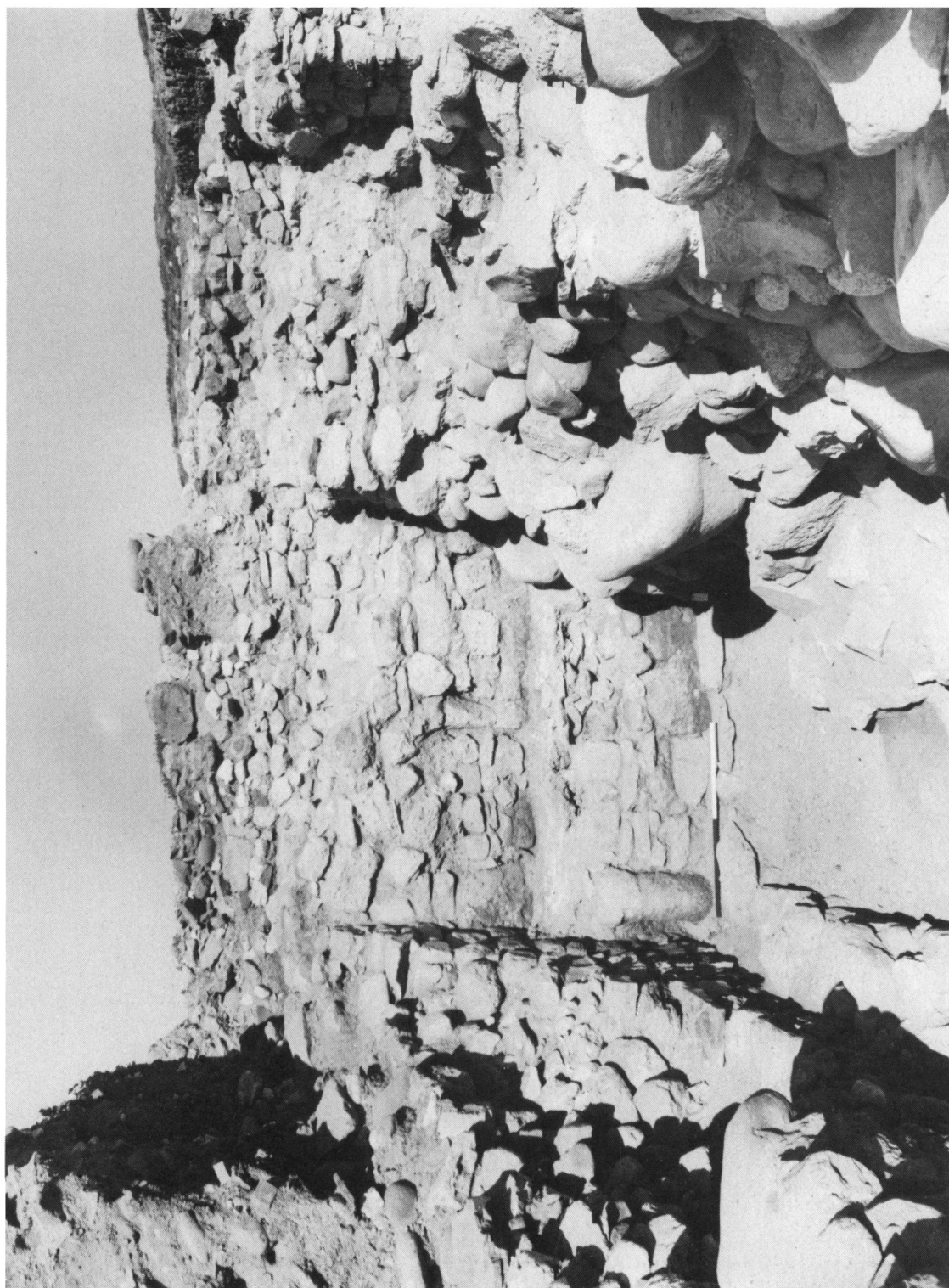


(a)



(b)

The niche in the north-west corner of the West Shrine: (a) The niche seen from the east. (The pottery tray seen in PLATE 12(b) is just visible.) (b) Assemblage J of phase 3c in the niche, seen from above, from the north.



The southern part of the West Shrine seen from the east.



(a)



(b)



(c)

The platform in the south-west corner of the West Shrine, (a) seen from the east. (b) Assemblage B (phase 2b) during excavation on the platform. (c) Seen from the north-east. (Note stratigraphic sounding in front: the floor level was at the foot of the pillar.)

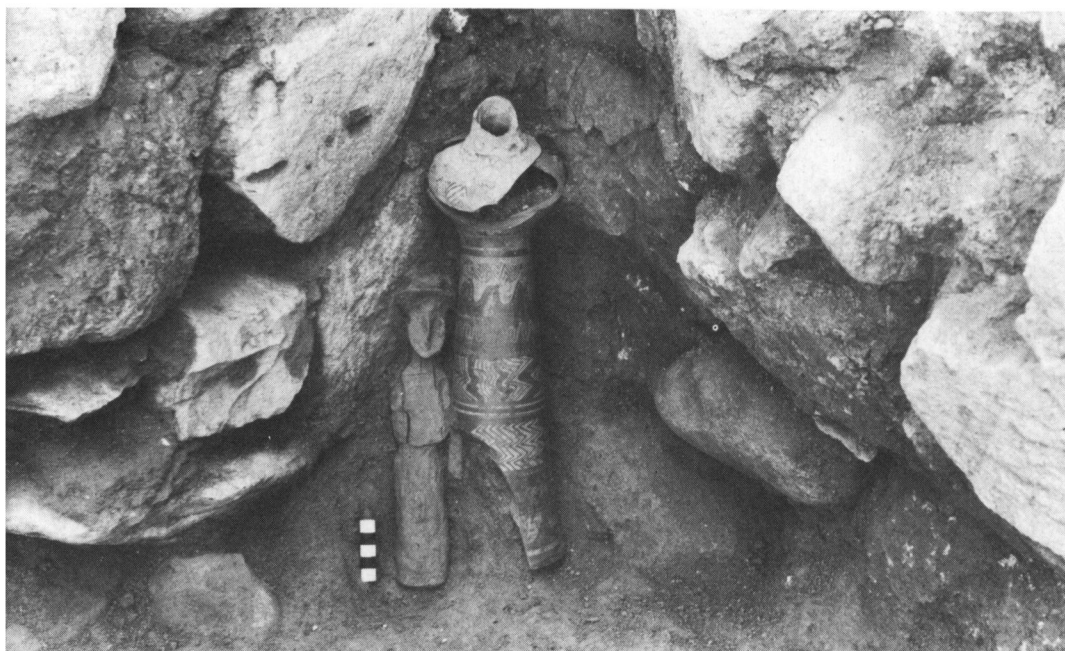


(a)

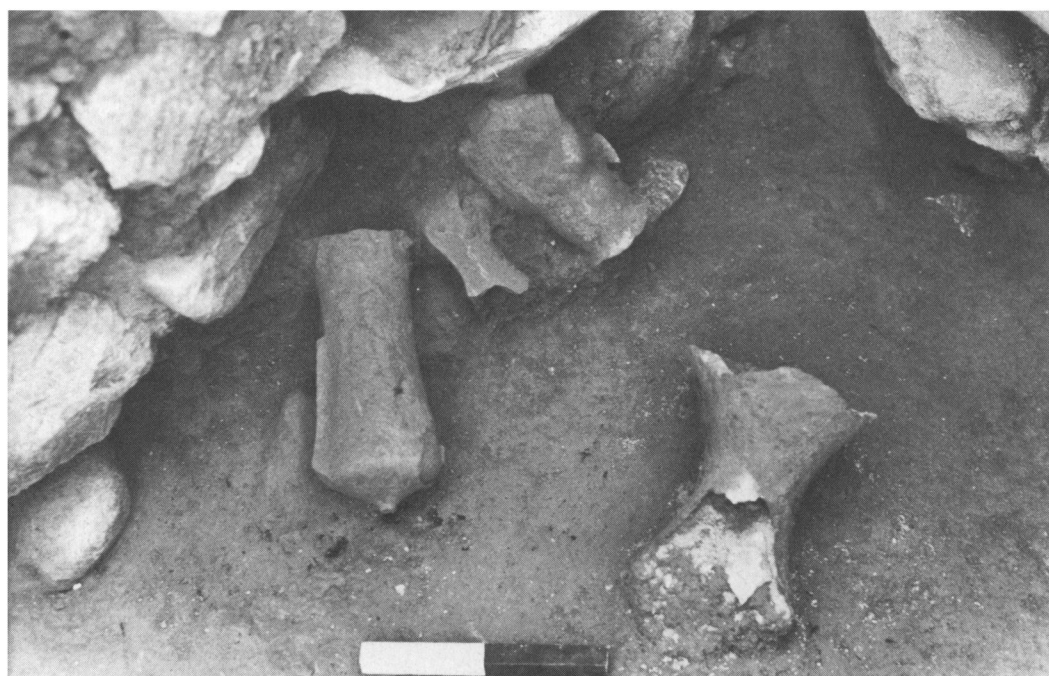


(b)

(a) The sanctuary area from the west (compare PLATE 8). (b) Room B during excavation seen from the north-west. The niche is to the left of the ranging rod prior to blocking (see (a) above) to prevent collapse.



(a)



(b)

(a) The headless Lady of Phylakopi and SF 2658 seen as found in the south-west corner of Room A. (b) Bodies of terracotta human and animal figures of Assemblage C, seen *in situ* at the mouth of the niche in Room A, from the north-west.



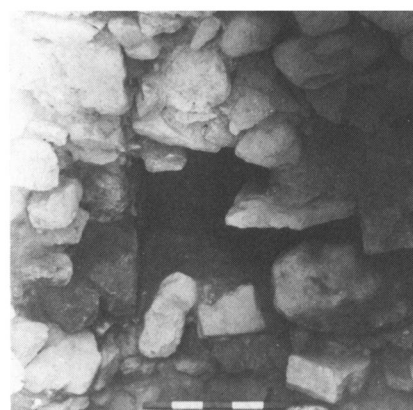
(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

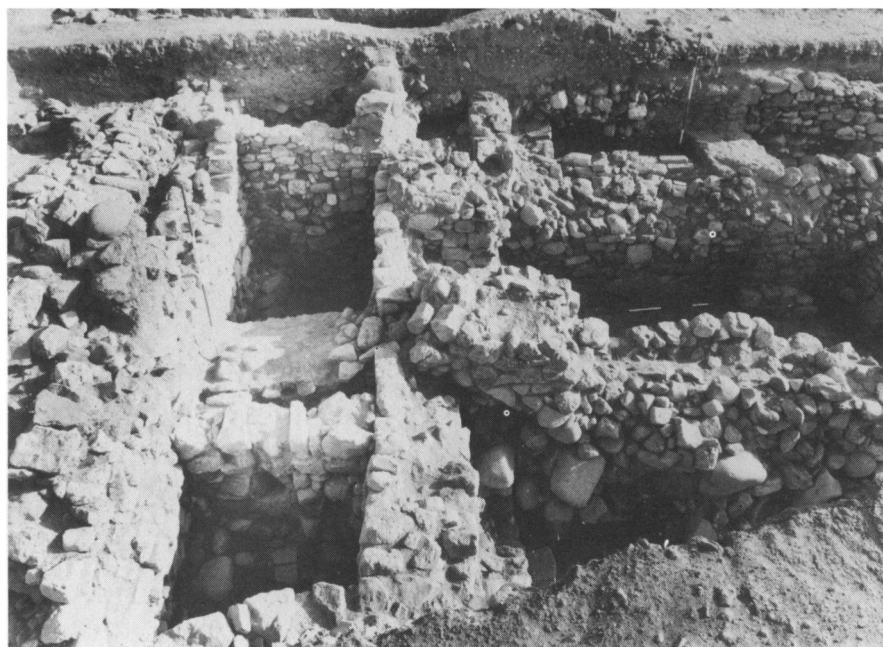


(f)

(a) Blocked doorway in the south wall (622) of the West Shrine, from the south. (b) Stone setting in the south-east corner of the West Shrine, from the north-west. (c) The western end of the Blocking Wall (626/733) seen from the north. (d) The mouth of the niche in Room A, from the west. (e) Doorway (in Wall 821) between Rooms A and B, seen from Room A. (f) Columnar lamp (SF 2309) *in situ* in area NLc South, seen from the north-east.



(a)



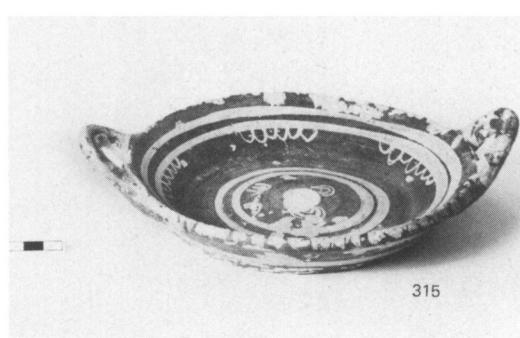
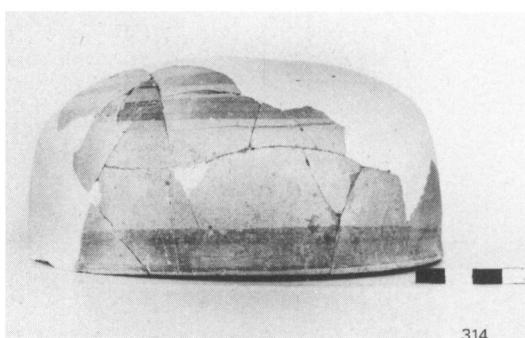
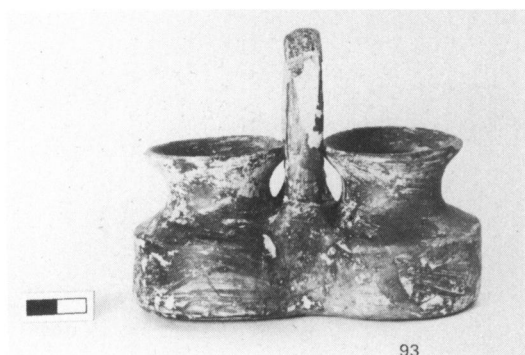
(b)

(a) The West Shrine seen from the north-east at the conclusion of excavations. (b) Rooms A and B and the west of the West Shrine from the south. (The southern part of Room B not yet excavated.)

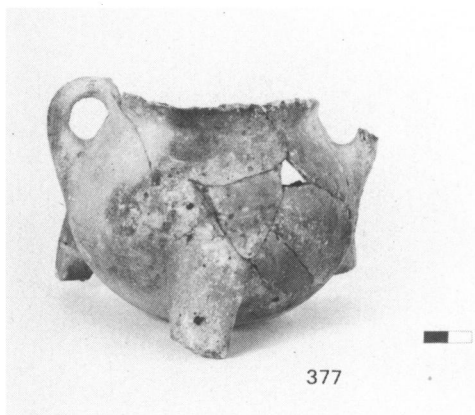
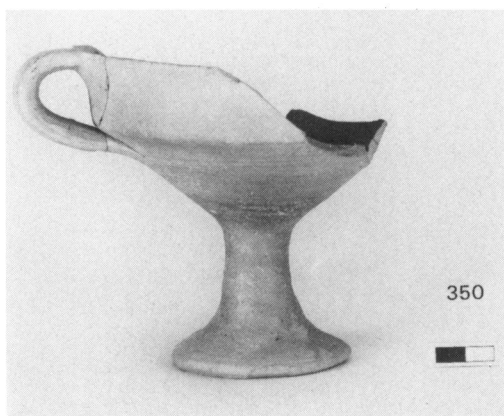


Pottery dating the construction of the Extension Wall 661 and of the East Shrine (36 and 53) and from the early floor levels of the West Shrine (25, 31, 33).

PLATE 20

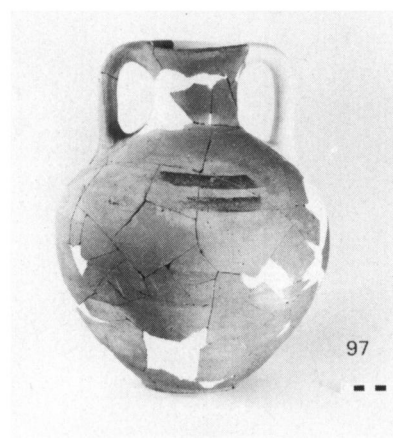
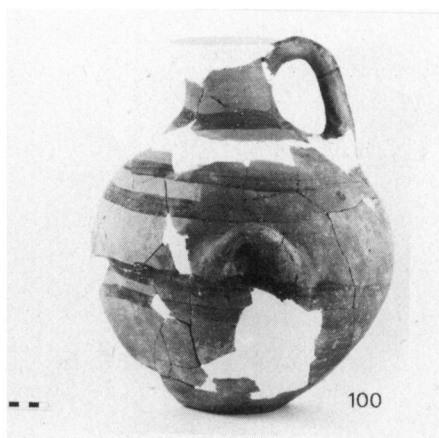
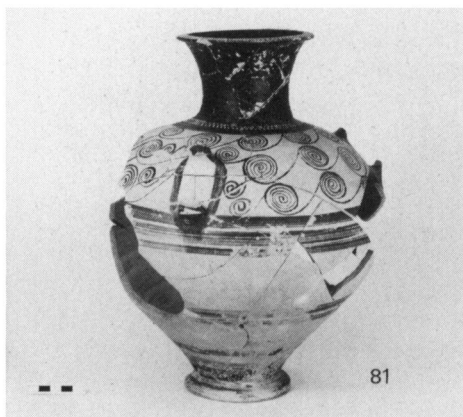


Pottery from contexts of phase 2b (93, 94, 373) and phase 3c (375, 314, 315).

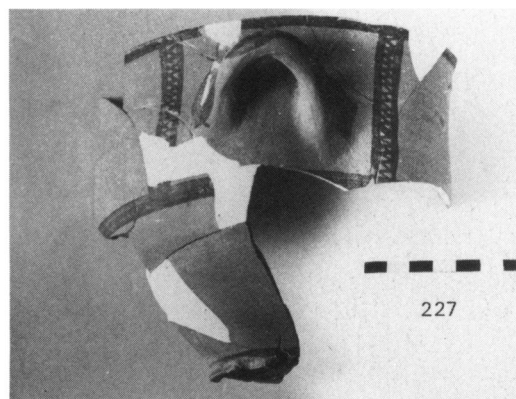
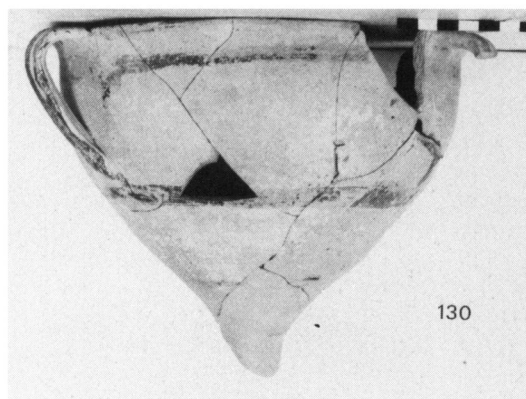
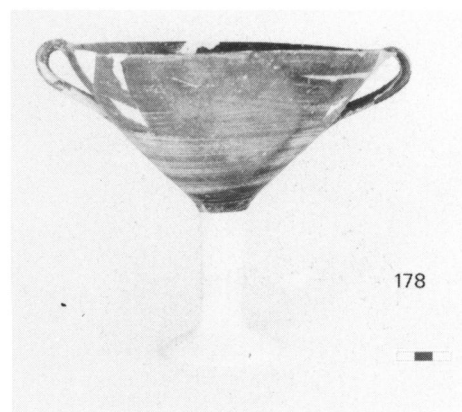
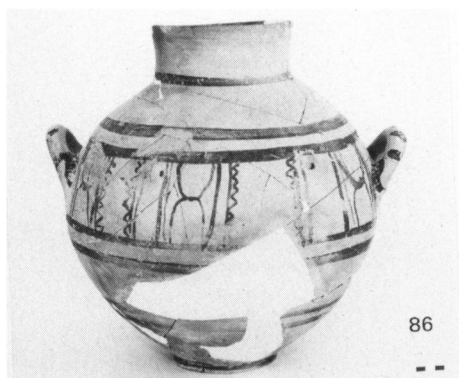


Pottery of phase 2b.

PLATE 22

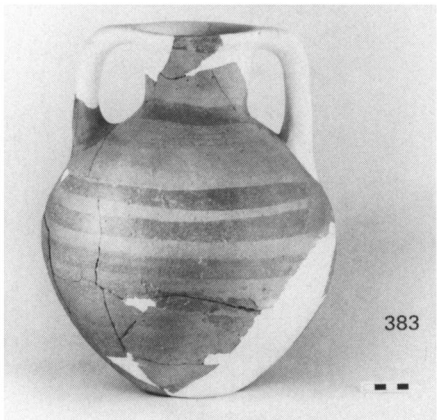
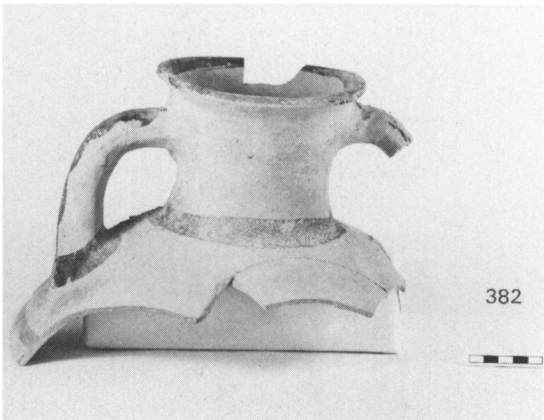
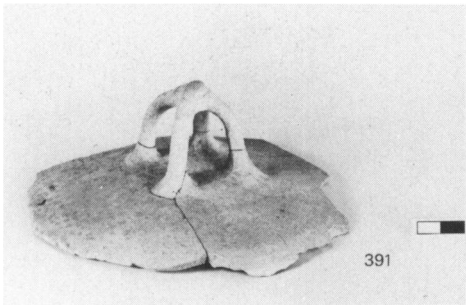
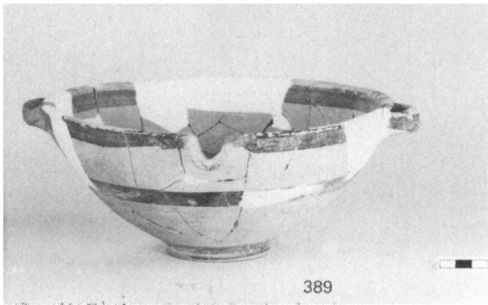


Pottery from phase 2b, some with joins with later levels.

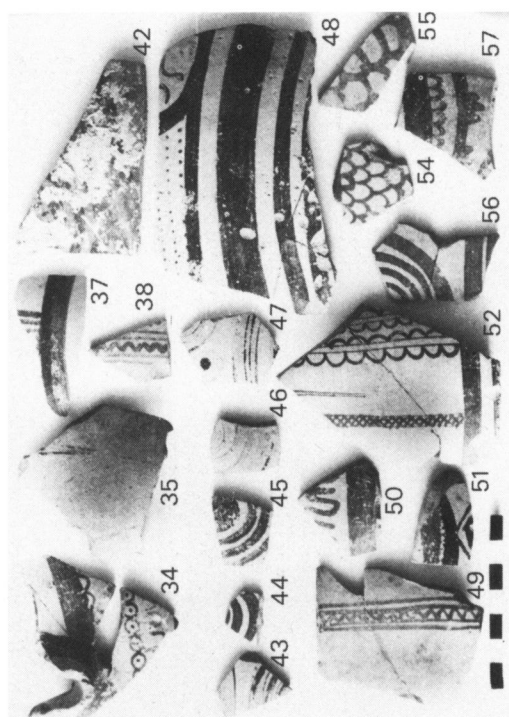


Pottery from phase 2b, some with joins with later levels.

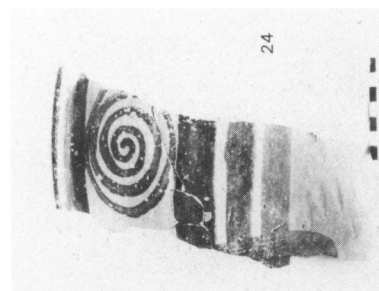
PLATE 24



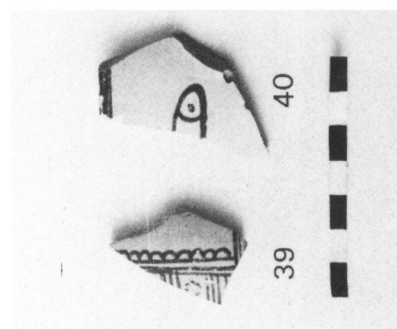
Pottery from NLc North (Assemblage F).



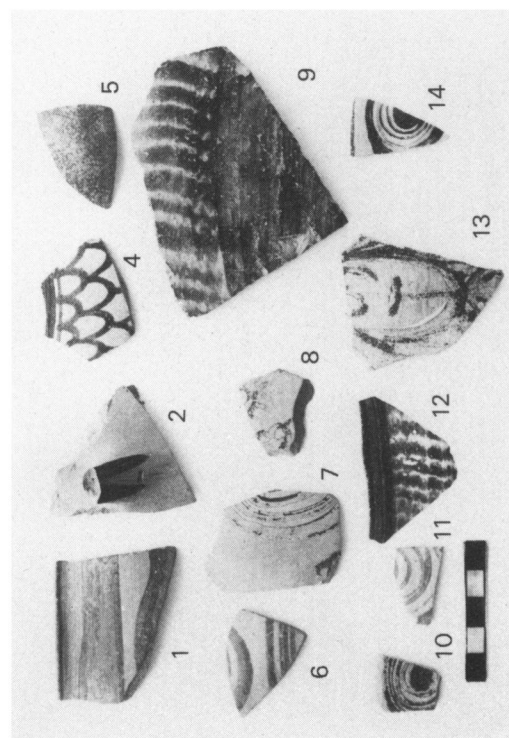
(b)



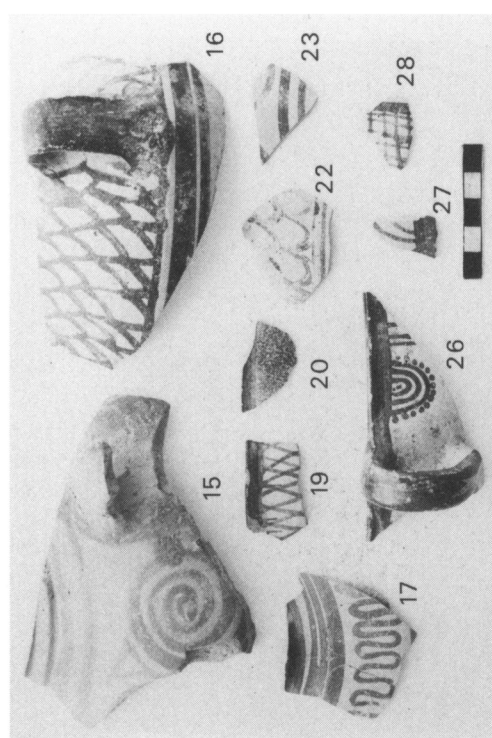
(e)



(d)

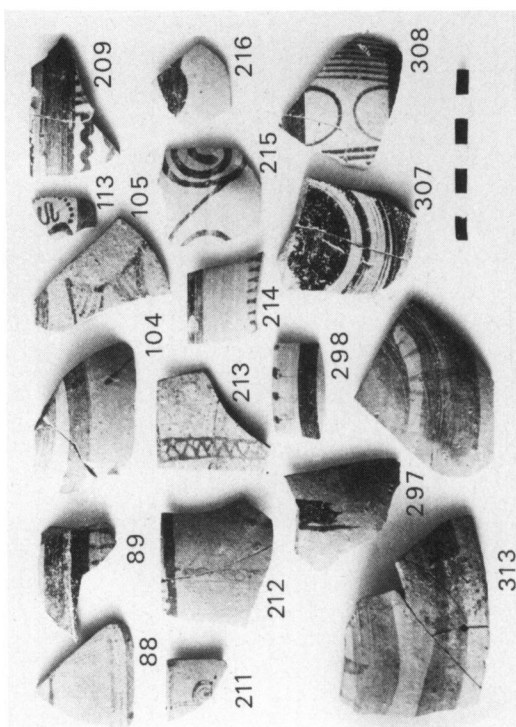


(a)

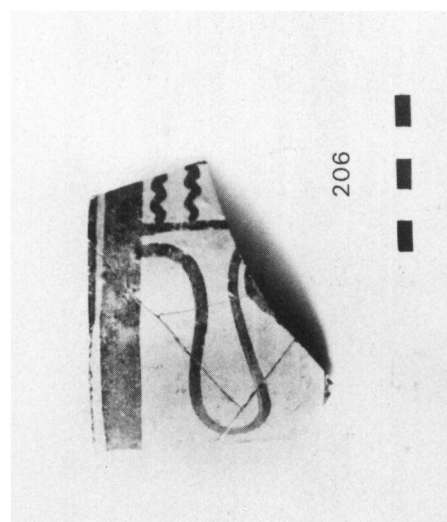


(c)

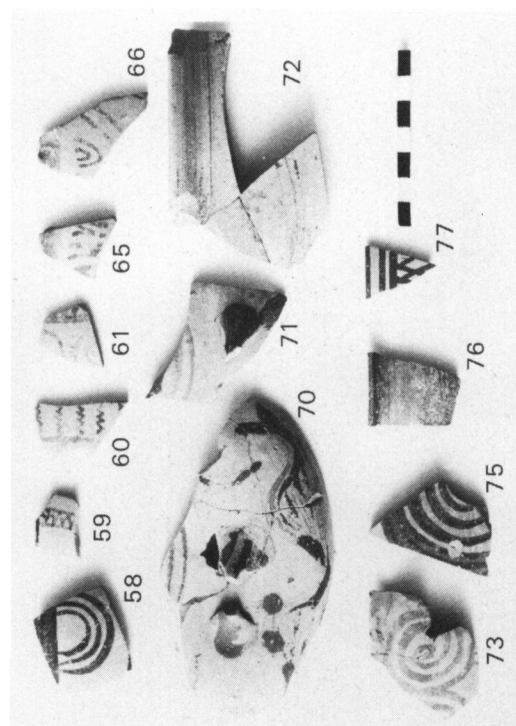
Potsherds dating: (a) The construction of the West Shrine. (b) Construction of the Extension Wall and East Shrine. (d) Construction of the City Wall (from Area PK). (c, e) From early floor levels in the West Shrine.



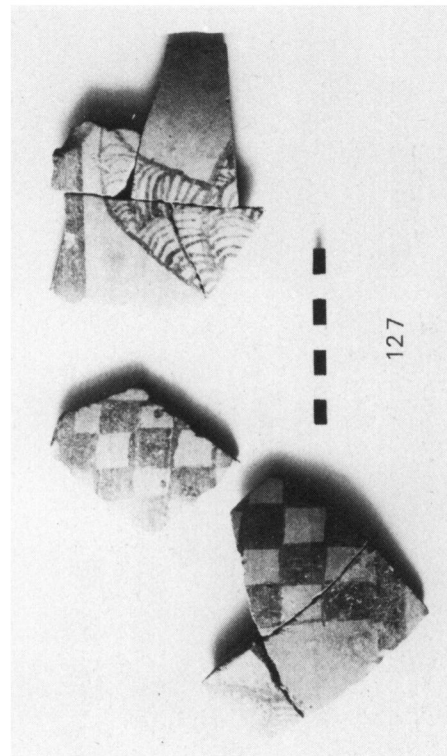
(b)



(d)

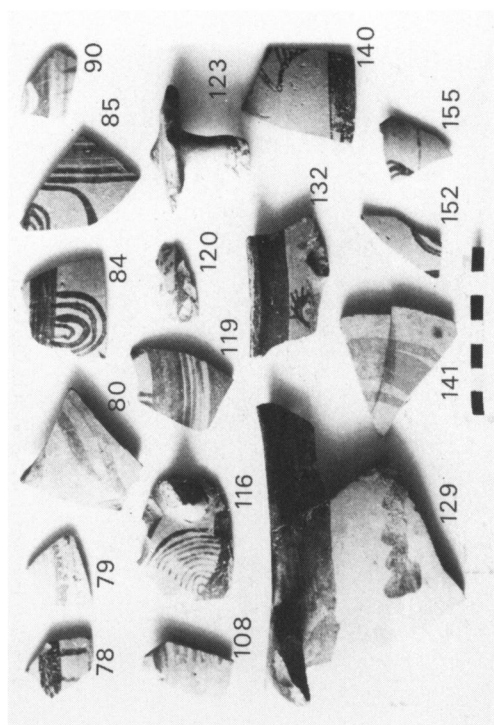


(a)

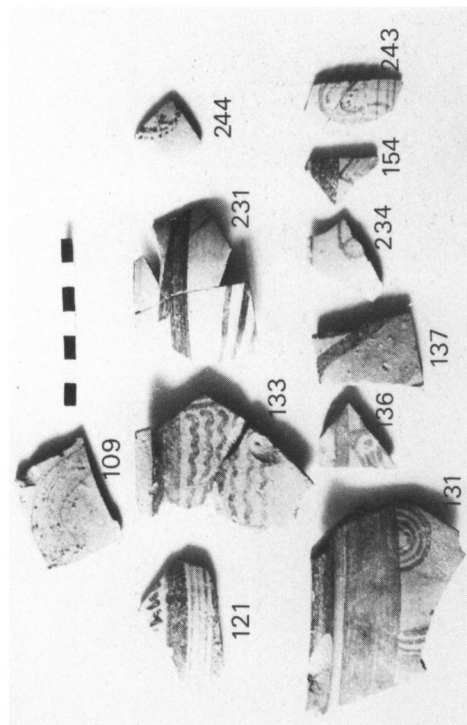


(c)

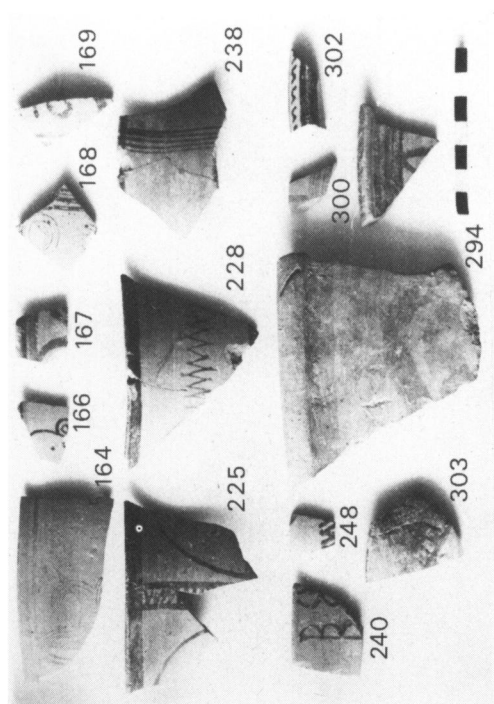
Potsherds: (a) From below the floor of the East Shrine; (b-d) from street levels of phase 2a.



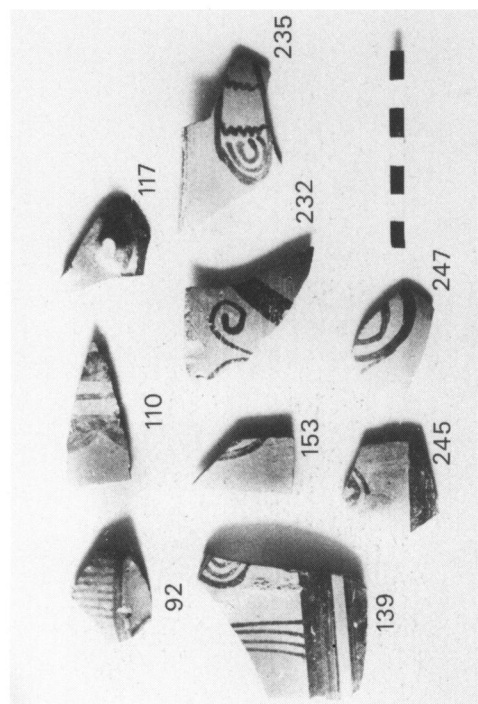
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(d)

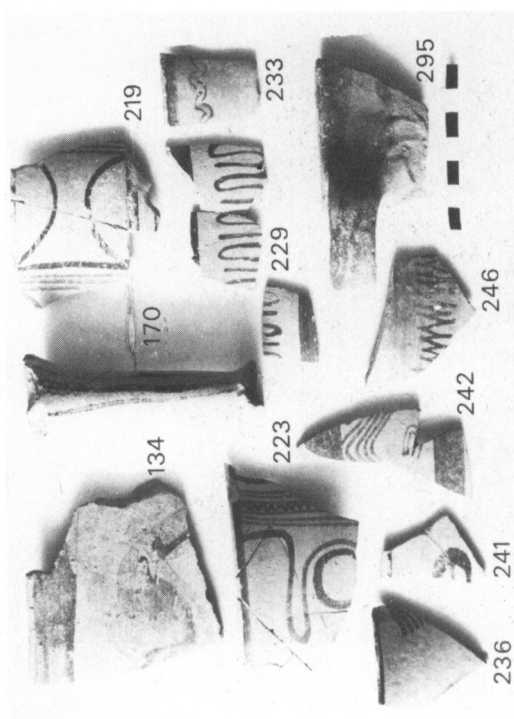


(a)

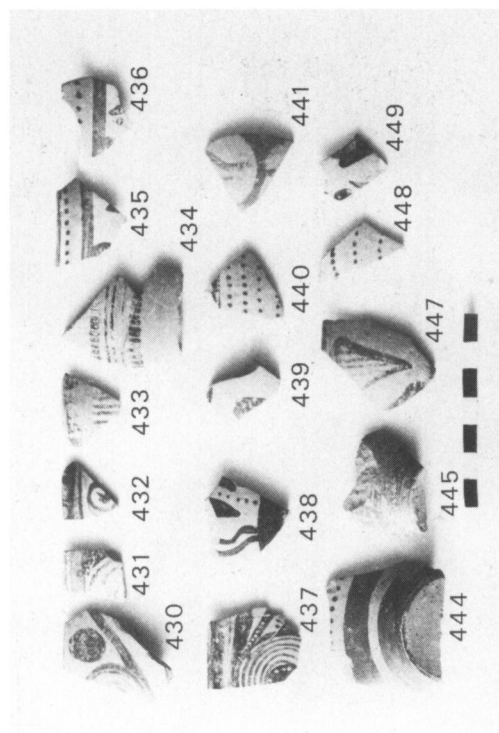


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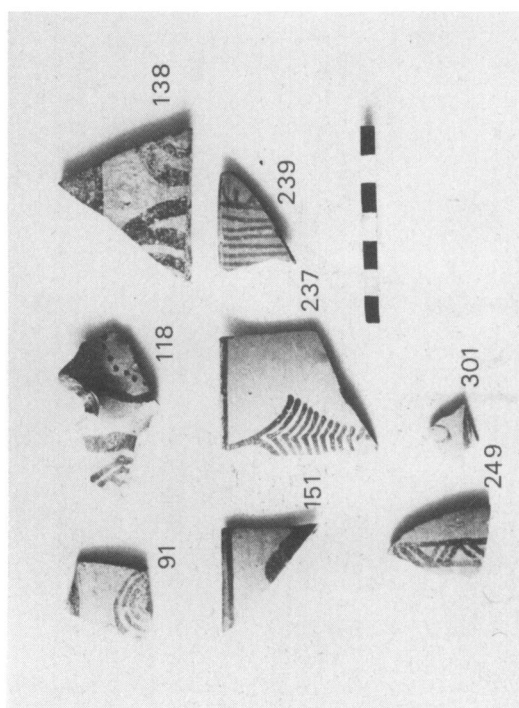
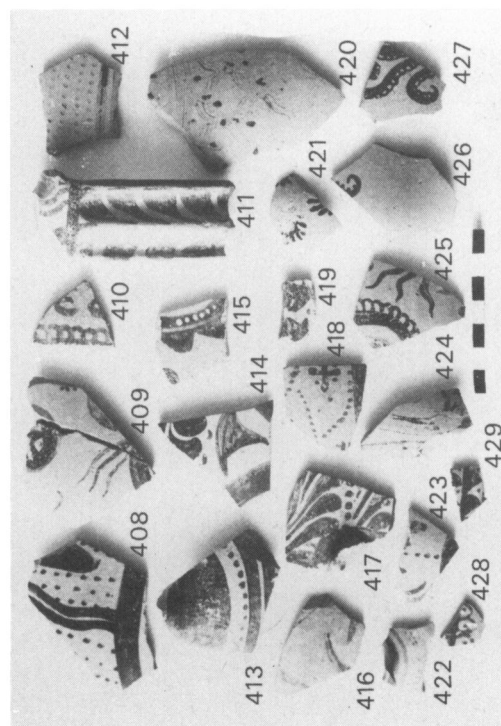
Potsherds from contexts of phase 2b (a and b), 3a (c) and various (d, see Chapter V).



(b)

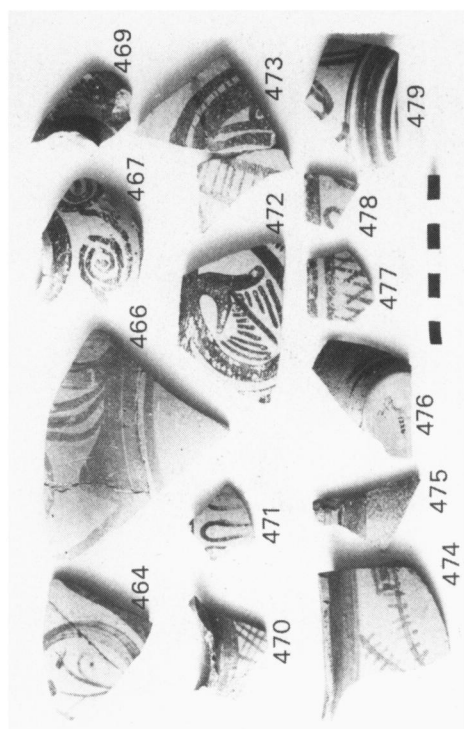


(d)

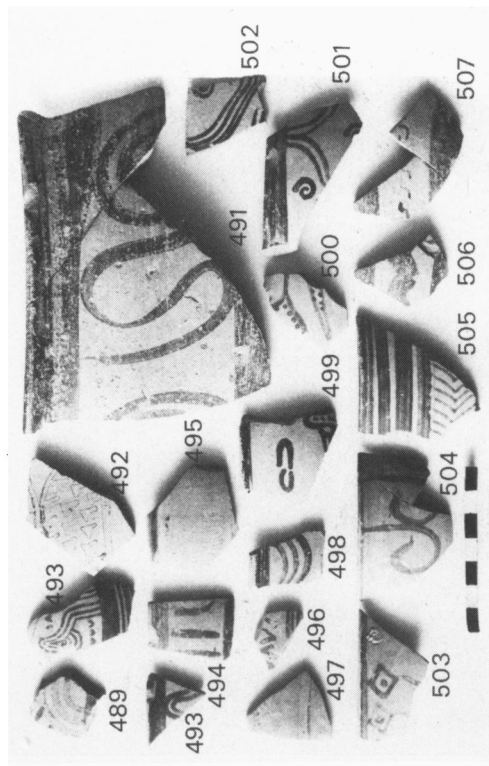

$$(a)$$


(c)

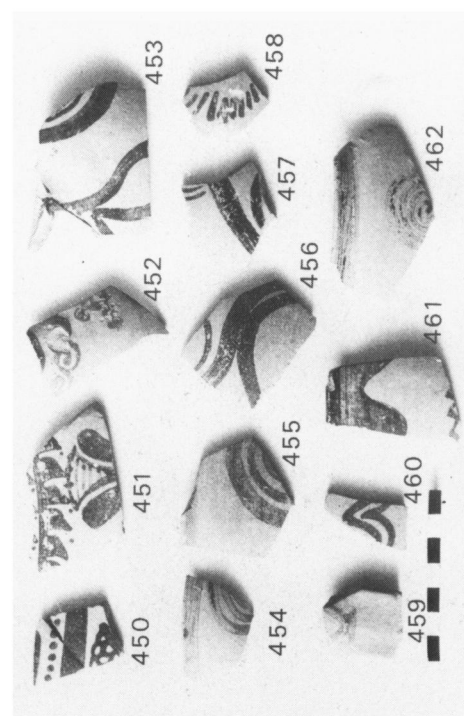
Polsherds from contexts of phase 3 (a), from square OLd (b); and sherds from the sanctuary area of LH II type (c, d).



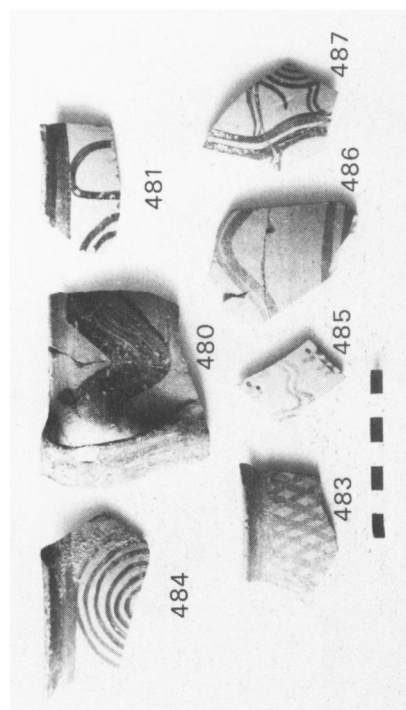
(a)



(b)

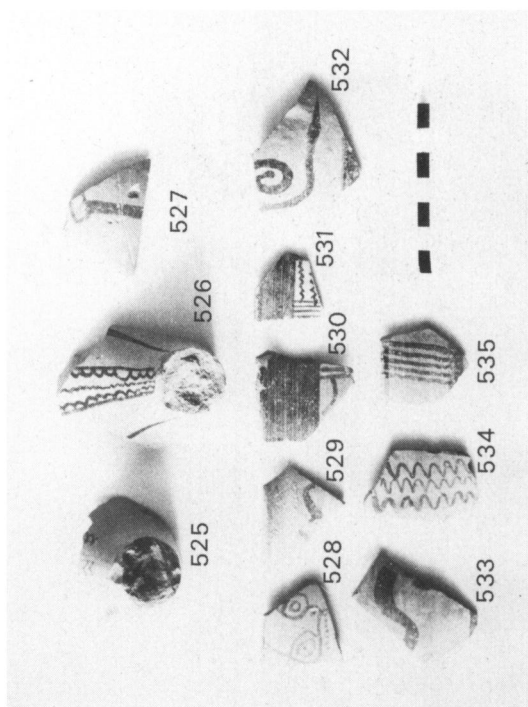


(c)

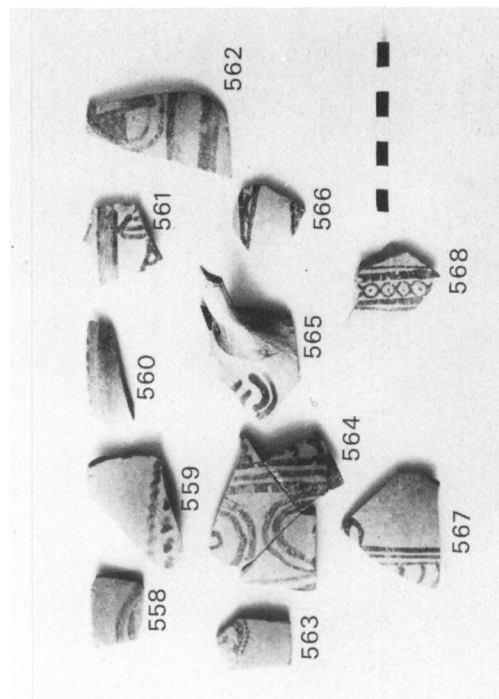


(d)

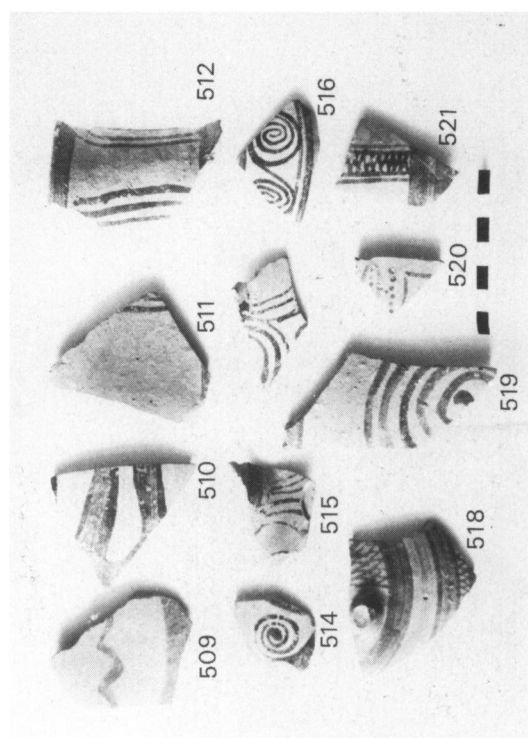
Potsherds from the sanctuary area assigned typologically to: (a) LH IIB; (b, c) LH IIIA₁; (d) LH IIIA₂.



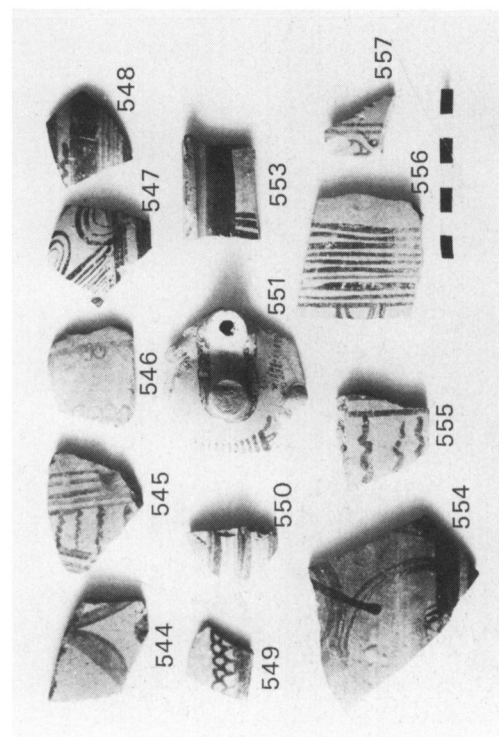
(a)



(b)



(c)

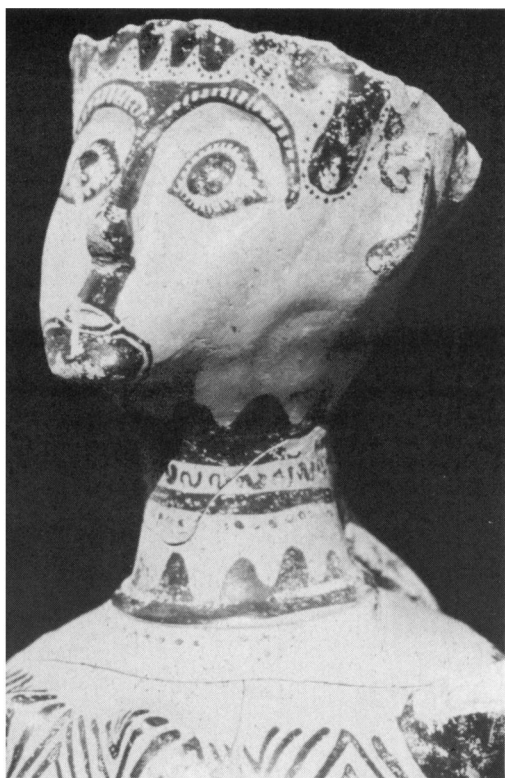


(d)

Sherds from debris and surface layers assigned typologically to LH IIIB-C.



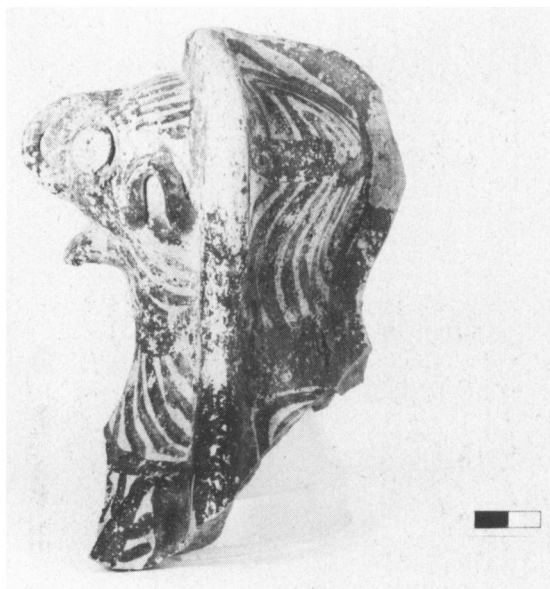
The Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2660).



(a)



(b)

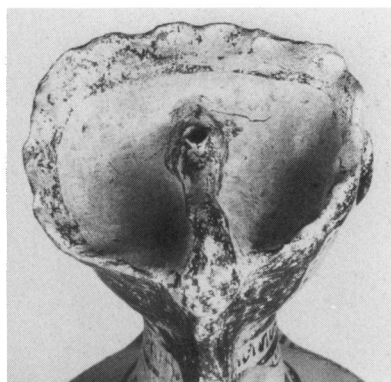


(c)

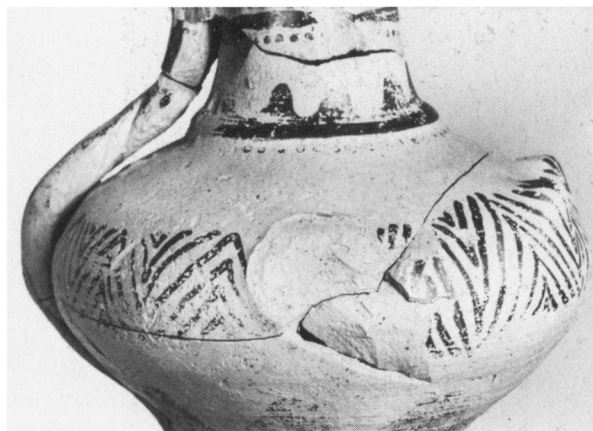


(d)

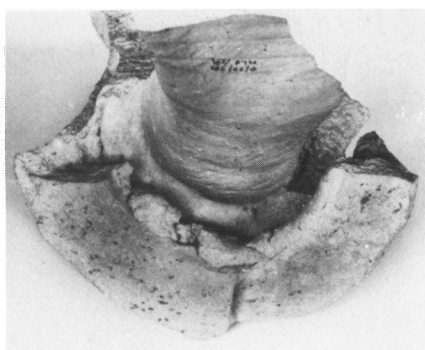
Human and bovid figures: (a) The Lady of Phylakopi (SF 2660); (b) SF 1561, ht. 27.0 cms; (c, d) SF 2691.



(a)



(b)



(c)



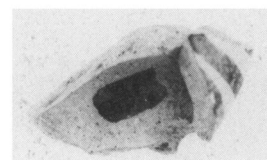
(d)



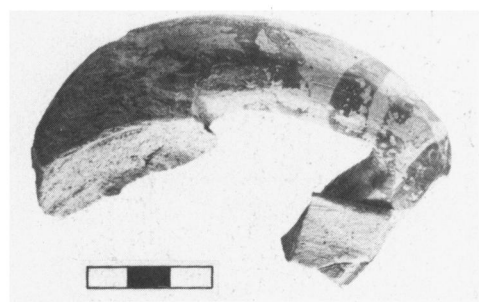
(e)



(g)



(h)



(f)



(i)



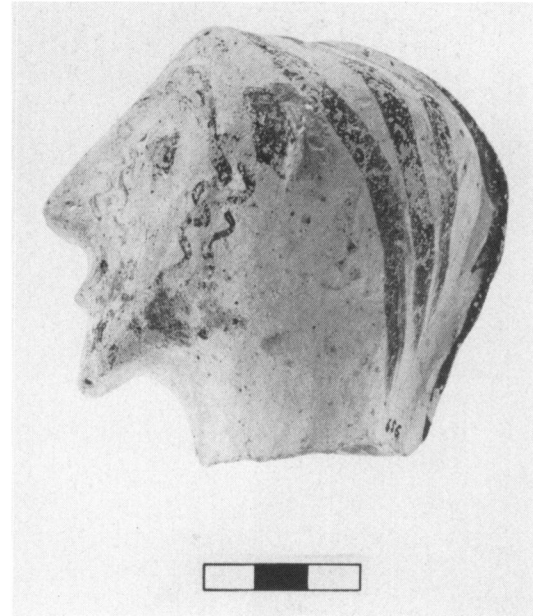
(j)

Figures: details and fragments. (a, b) SF 2660; (c, d) Body fragment, SF 583, ht. 14.0 cms; arm fragments (e, f) SF 2679; (g, h) SF 2274; (i, j) SF 1083.

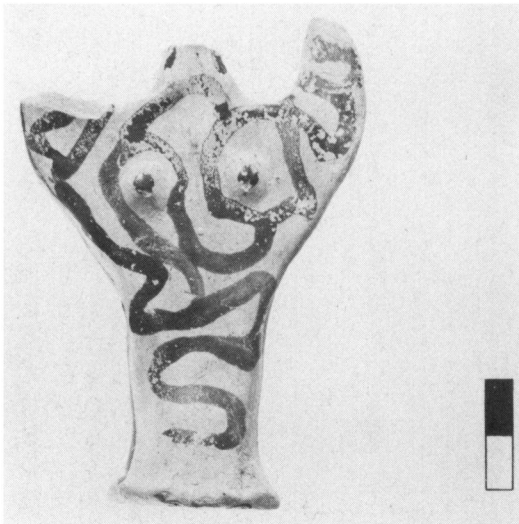
PLATE 34



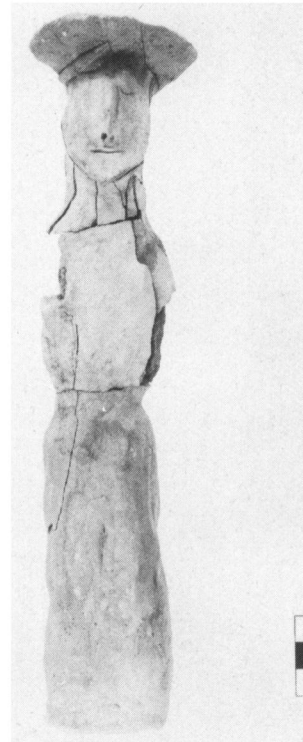
(a)



(b)



(c)

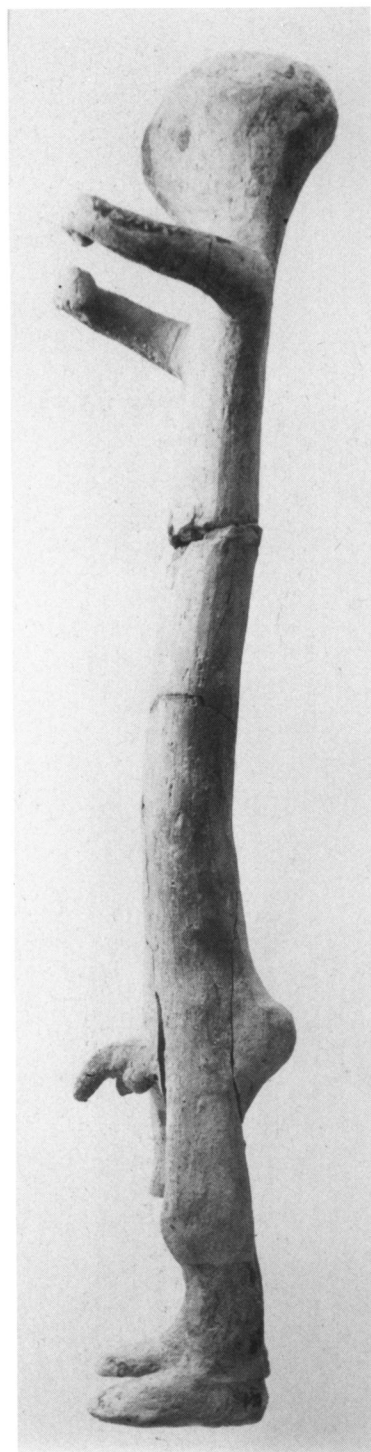


(d)

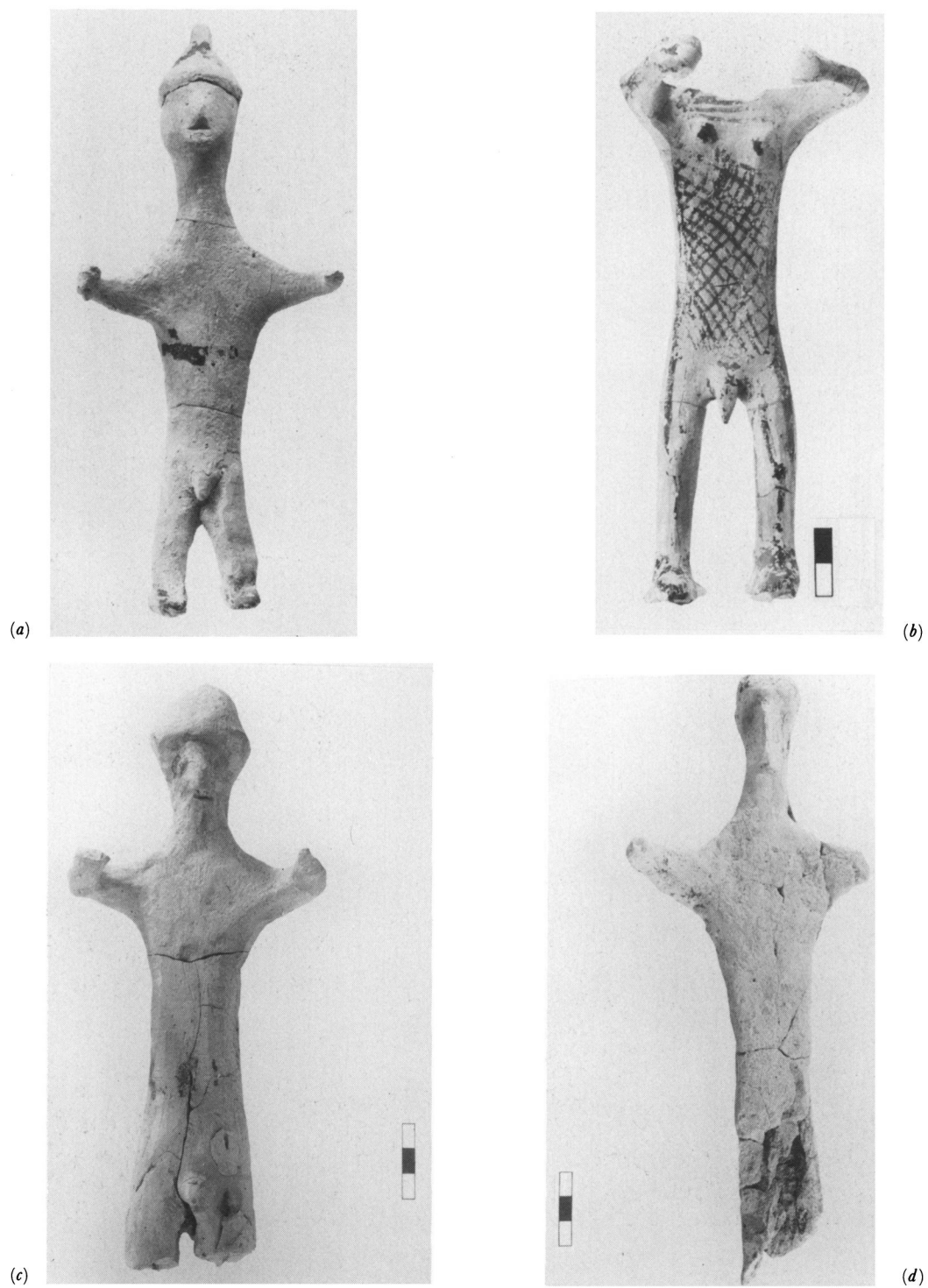


(e)

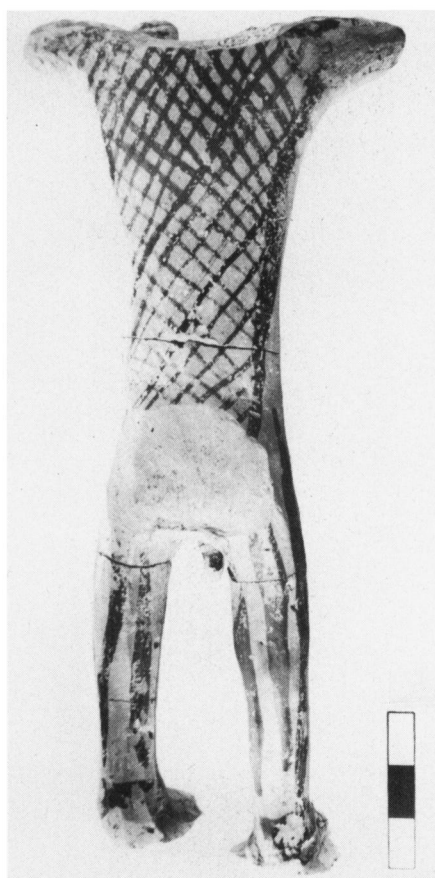
Female figures and figurines: (a) SF 2672 (upper) and SF 773; (b) SF 2672; (c) Psi figurine, SF 579, (d) SF 2658.



Male figure: SF 1550.



Male figures: (a) SF 2340, ht. 23.0 cms; (b) SF 1553; (c) SF 1544; (d) SF 1520.



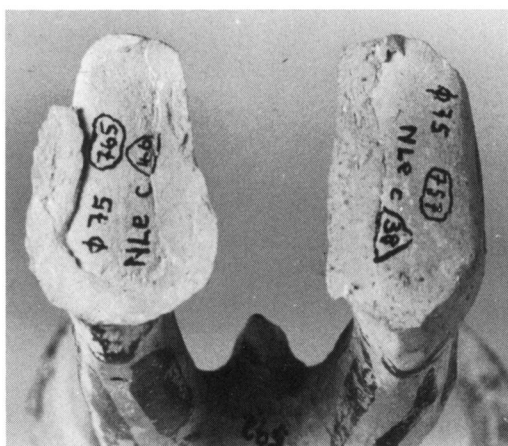
(a)



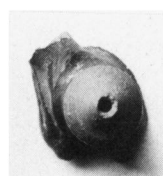
(b)



(c)



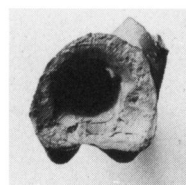
(d)



(e)



(f)

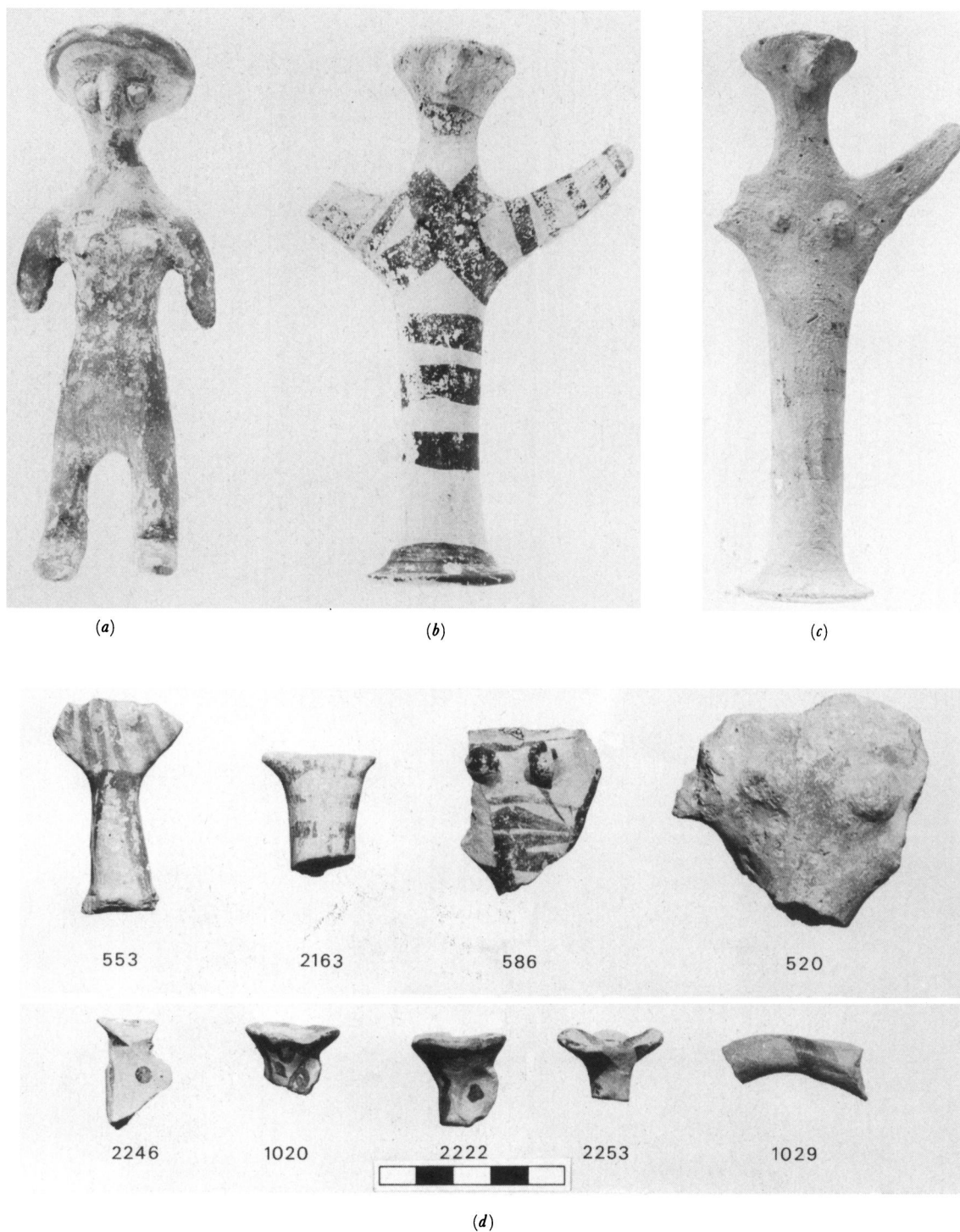


(g)

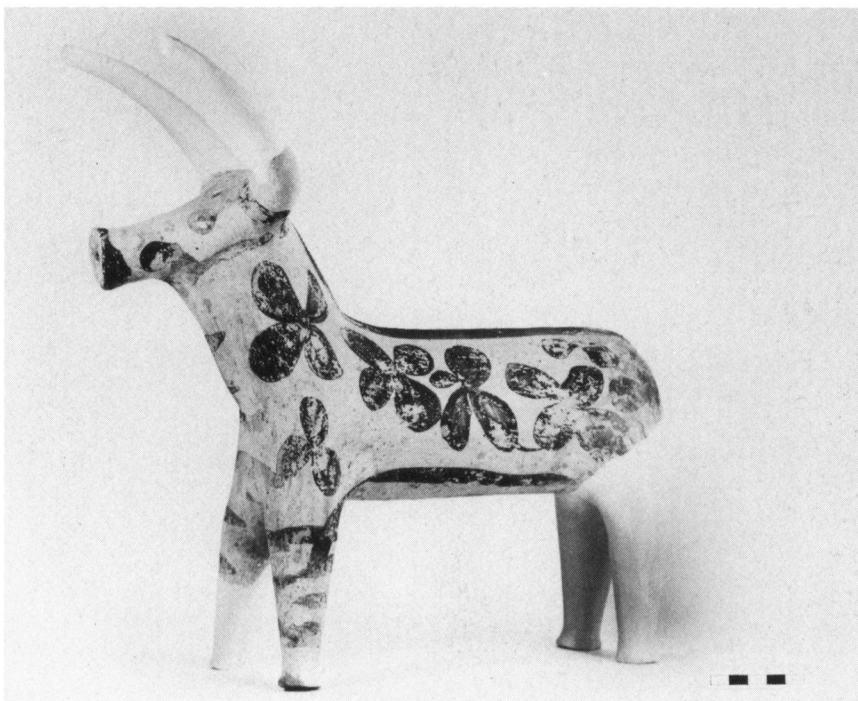


(h)

Male figures: details, and fragment from Tiryns. (a, b and d) SF 1553; (c) SF 2340, ht. 23.0 cms; (e-h) penis from Tiryns.



Female figurines: (a) SF 2015, ht. 15.3 cms; (b) SF 2007, ht. 15.2 cms; (c) SF 1521, ht. 16.0 cms; (d) fragments of figurines and of a figure (SF 520).



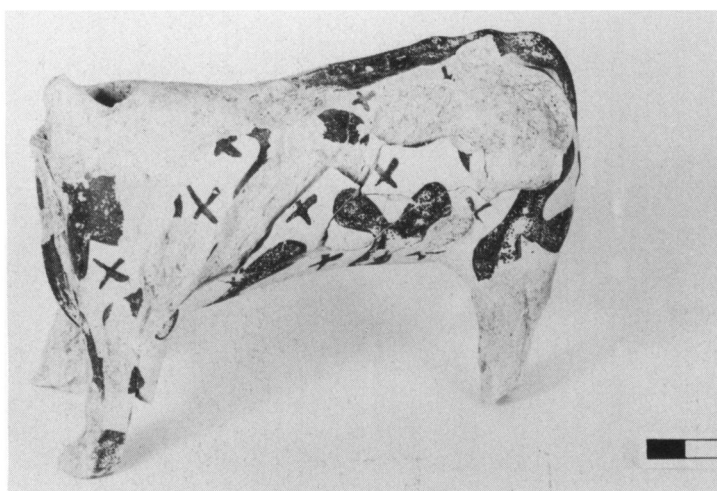
Bovid figure: SF 2687.



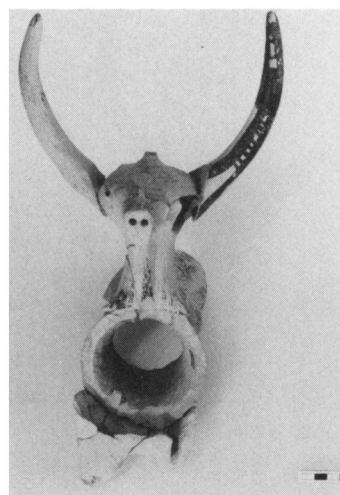
(a)



(b)

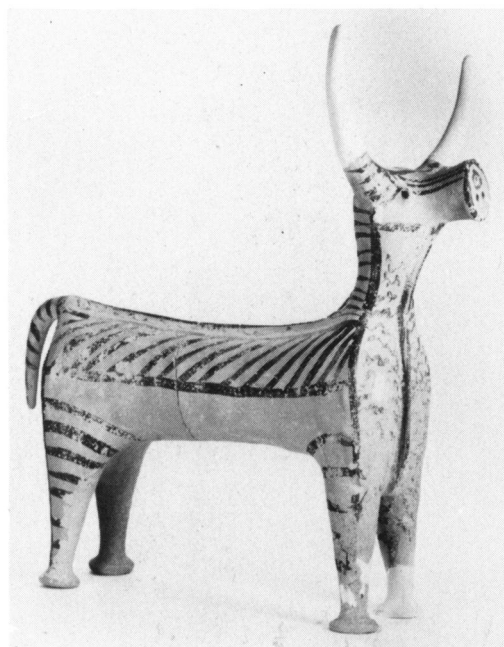


(c)

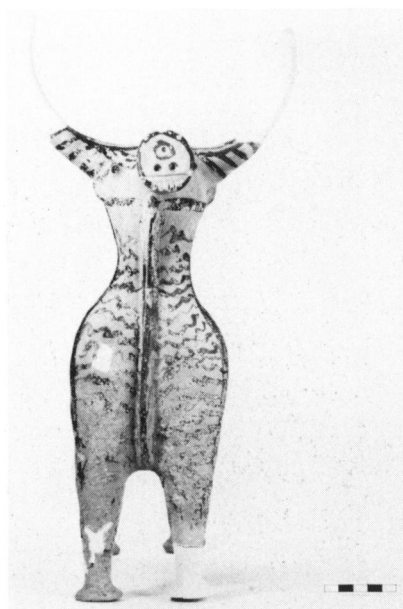


(d)

Bovid figures: (a) SF 2689, length 32.7 cms; (b) SF 850, length 15.0 cms; (c) SF 2685; (d) SF 836.



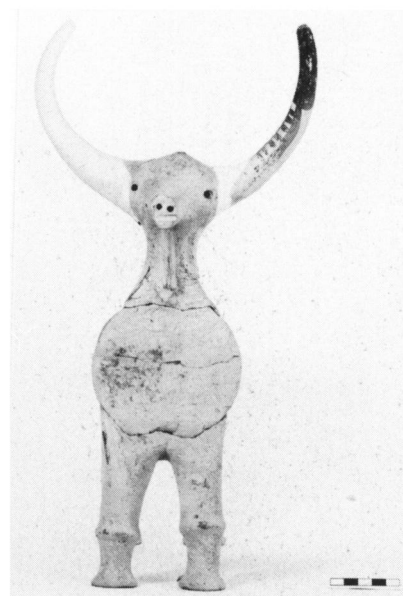
(a)



(b)

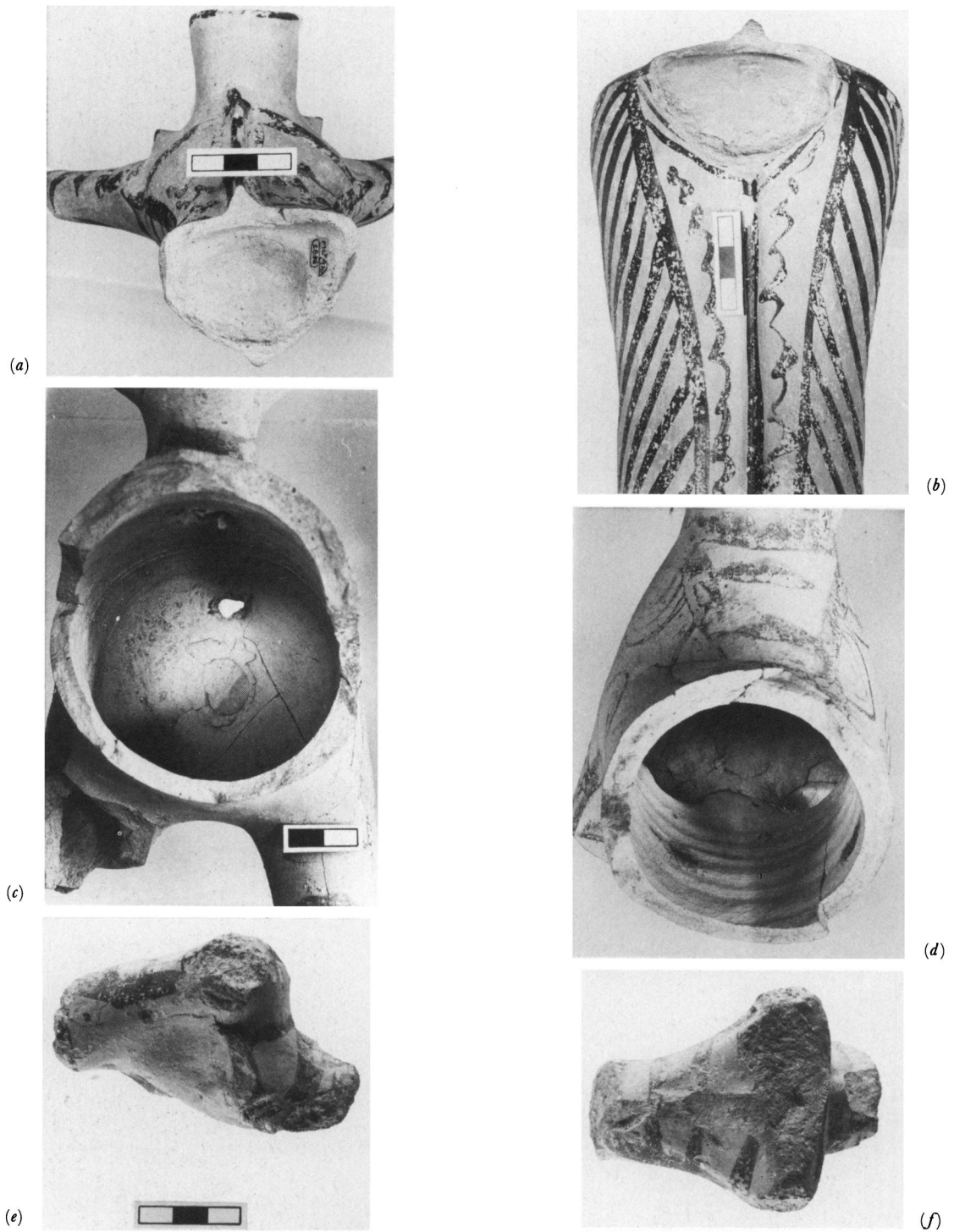


(c)



(d)

Bovid figures (a, b) SF 2690; (c, d) SF 2670.



Bovid figures: details of manufacture. (a, b) SF 2690; (c, d) rear and front sections of SF 2689; (e, f) head, SF 1624.

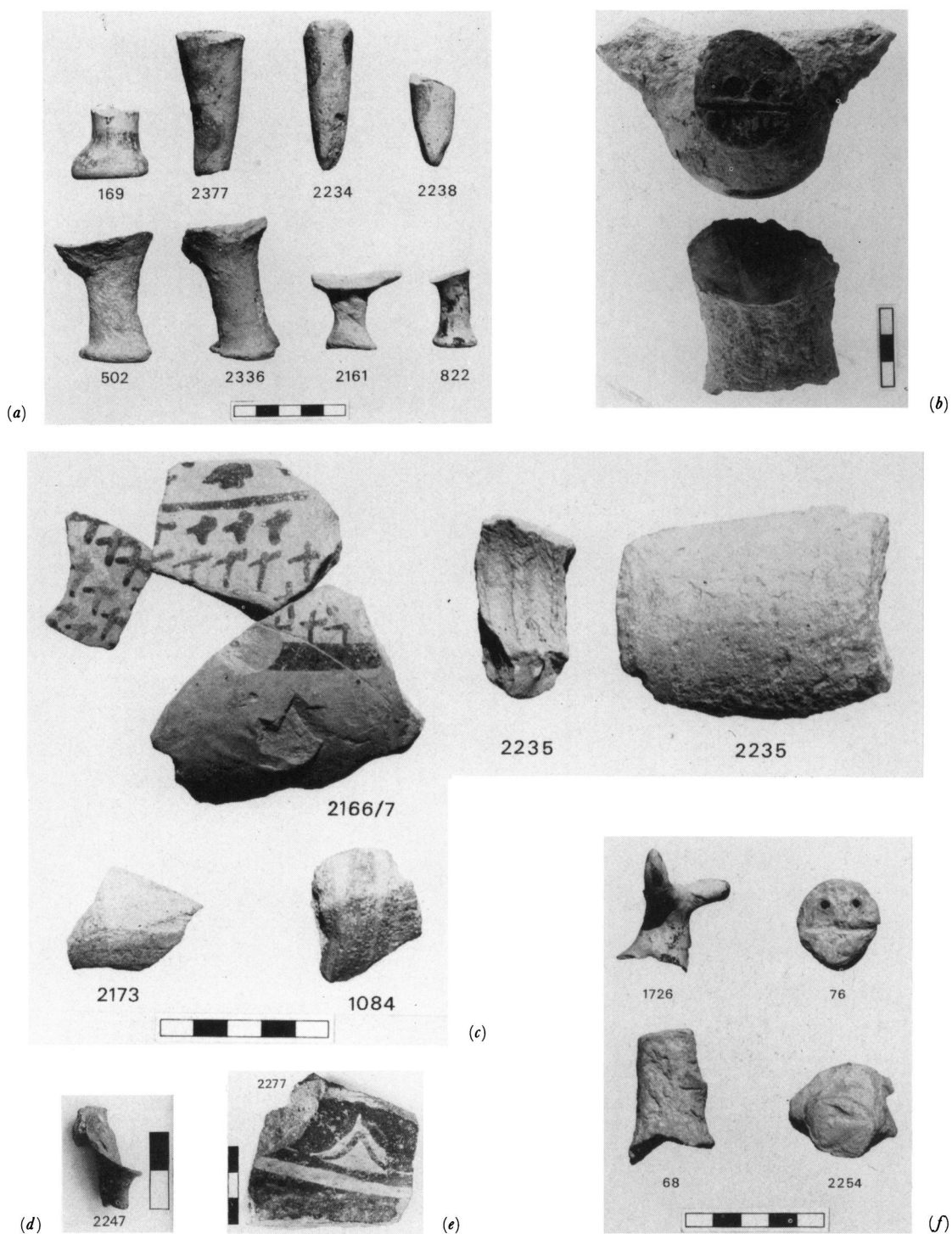
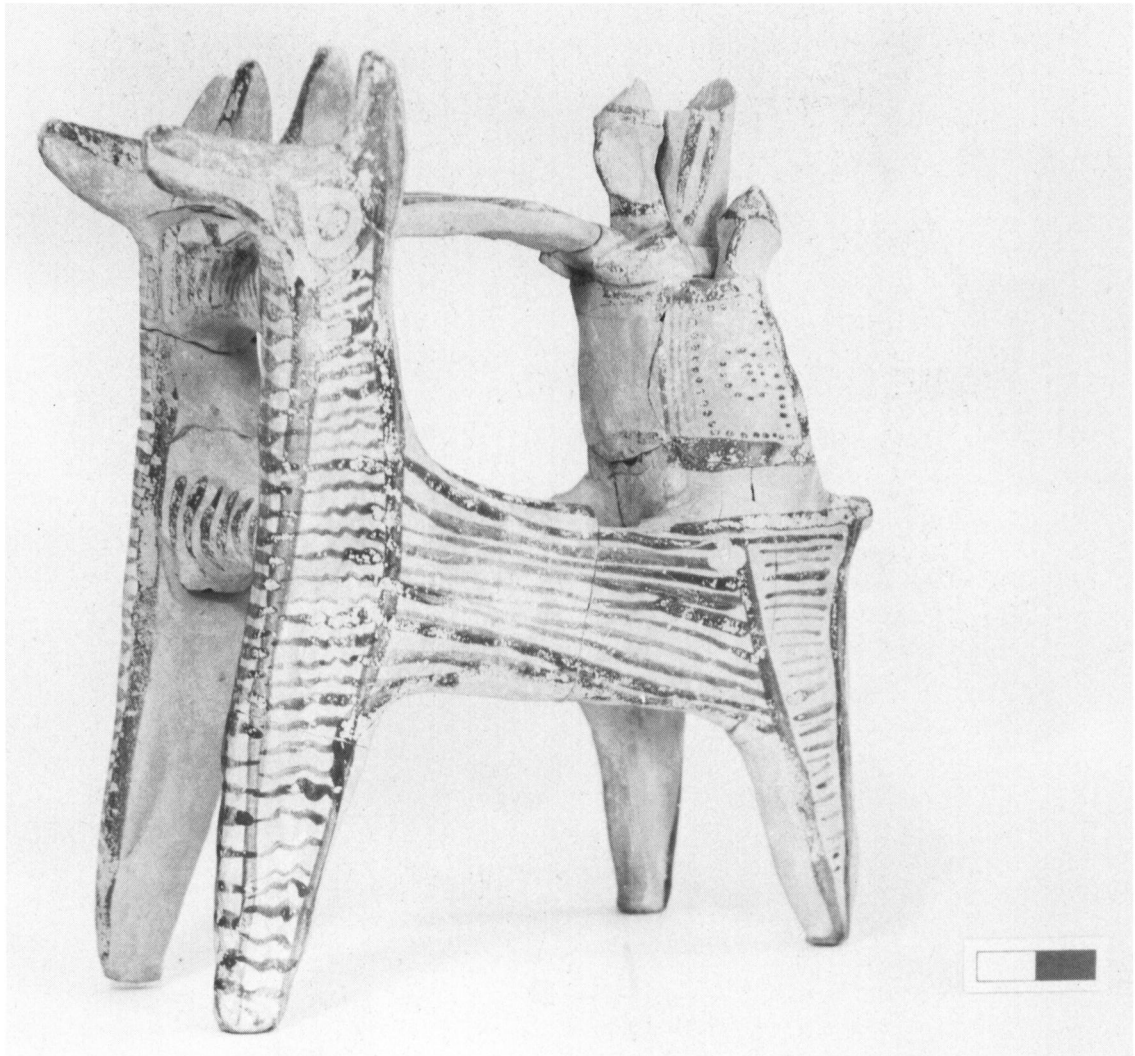


Figure and figurine fragments: (a) bovid figure feet; (b) bovid head, SF 847; (c) bovid body fragments (SF 1084 is a fragment of a box); (d) chariot fragment; (e, f) bovid fragments.



(a)

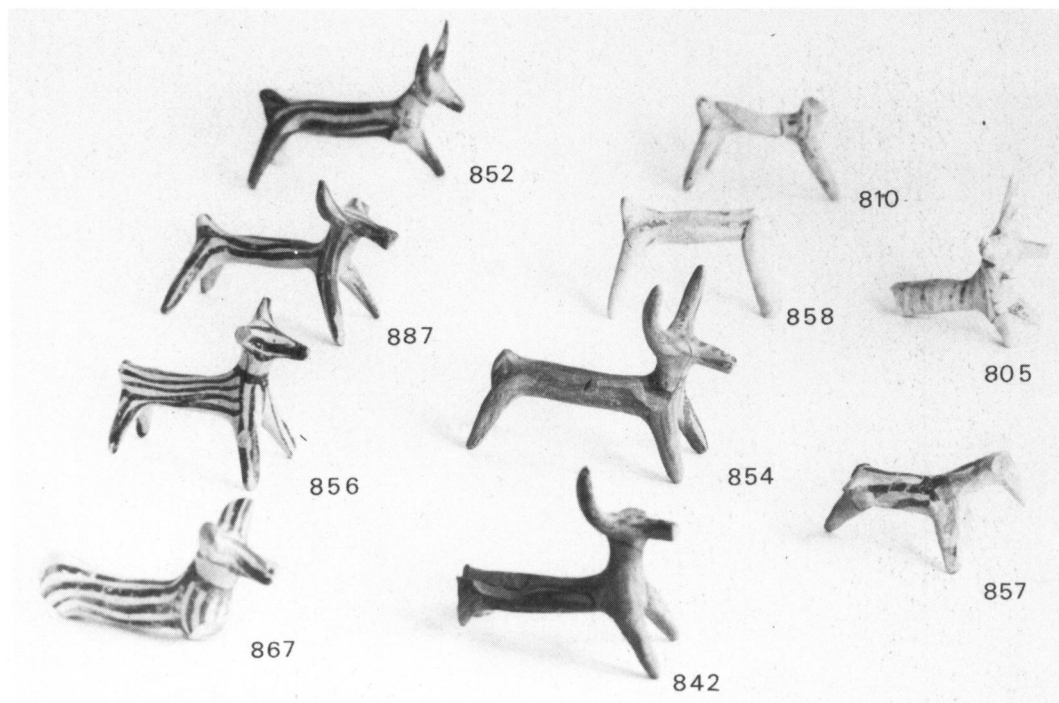


(b)

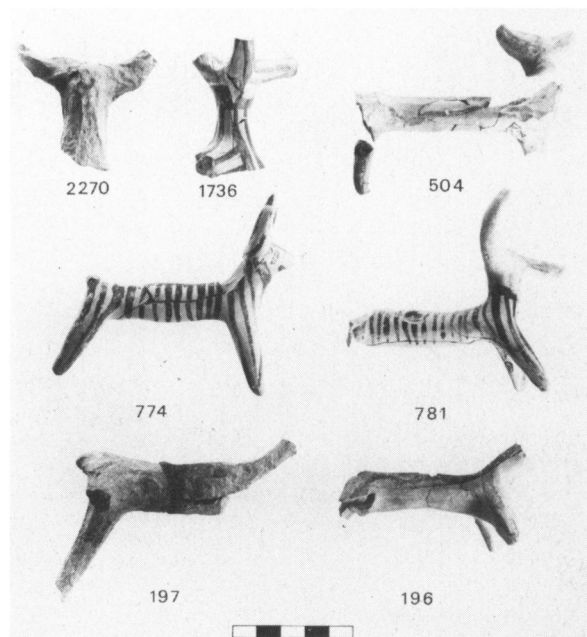


(c)

Chariot and driven oxen: (a) SF 1558; (b) SF 1562; (c) SF 849.



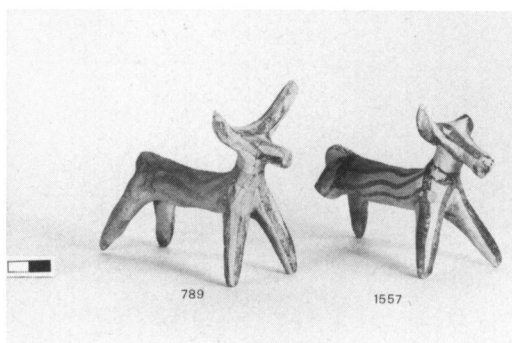
(a)



(b)

Animal figurines of (a) Assemblage D, and (b) Assemblage H.

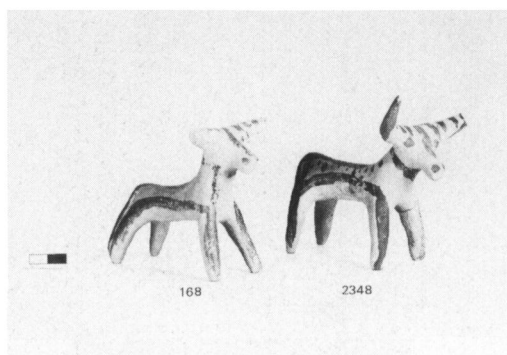
PLATE 46



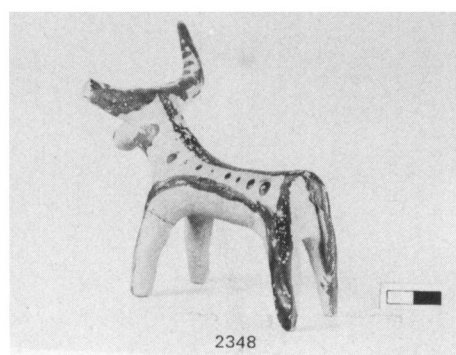
(a)



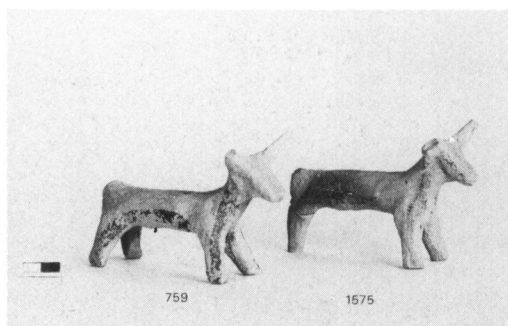
(b)



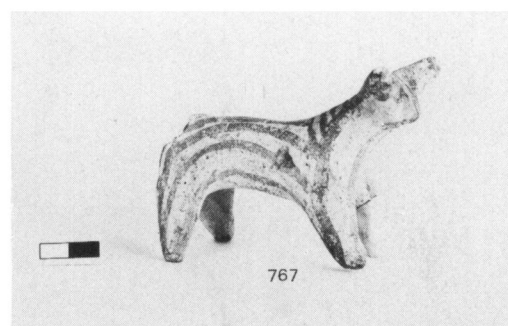
(c)



(d)

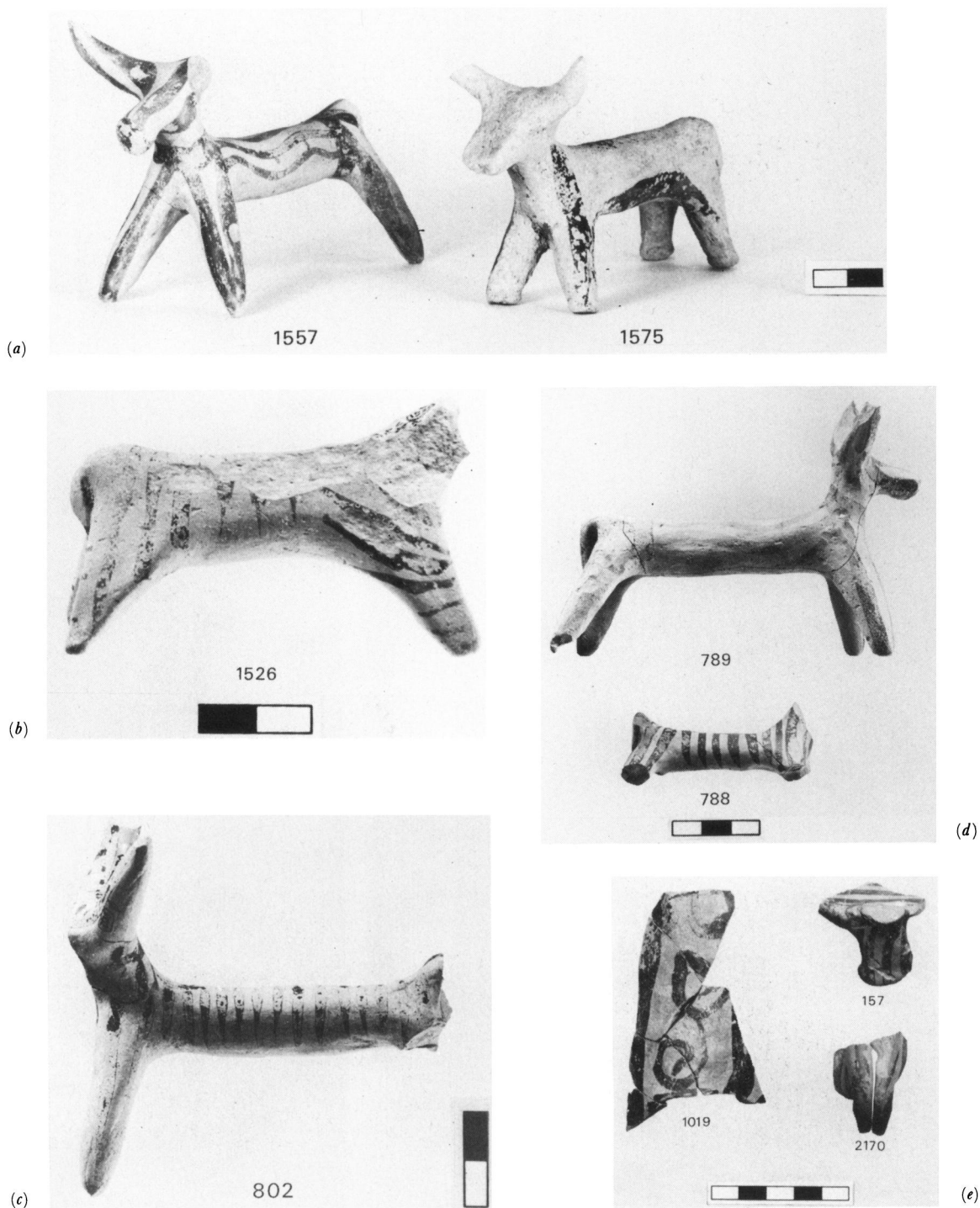


(e)

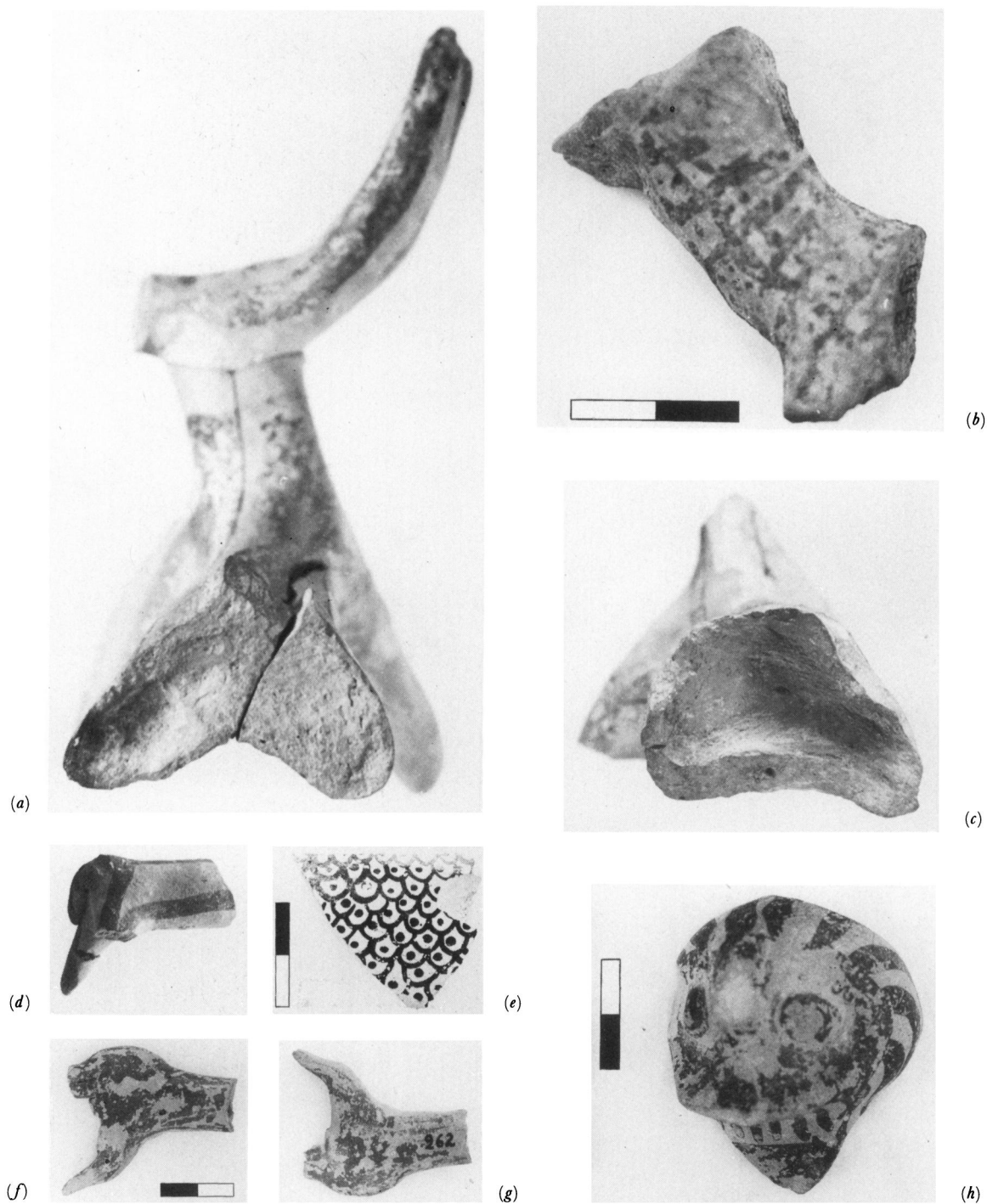


(f)

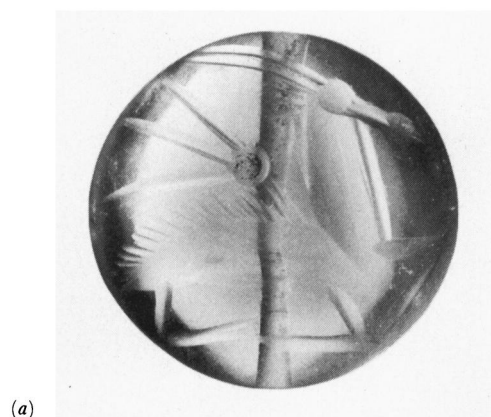
Animal figurines. Figurine pairs are seen in (a), (c), and (e).



Animal figurines and group fragments: (a) from Assemblage A; (b) from Assemblage G; (c-d) from Floor 4 of the East Shrine; (e) throne fragments (SF 1019 and 157), seated figurine (SF 2170).



Figurine fragments: (a) construction detail, SF 842, ht. 7.5 cms; (b) horse?, SF 2242; (c) construction detail, SF 504, ht. 2.9 cms; (d) SF 882; (e) fish fragment, SF 1087; (f, g) hand from earlier excavations, no. 262; (h) head from earlier excavations, no. 263.



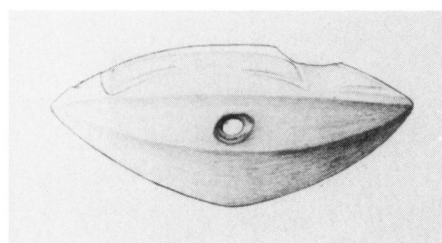
(a)



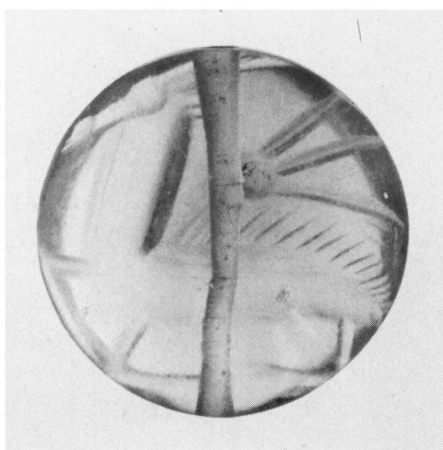
(b)



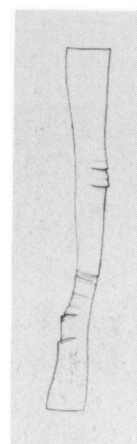
(c)



(d)

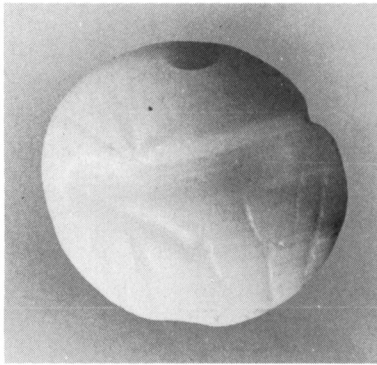


(e)

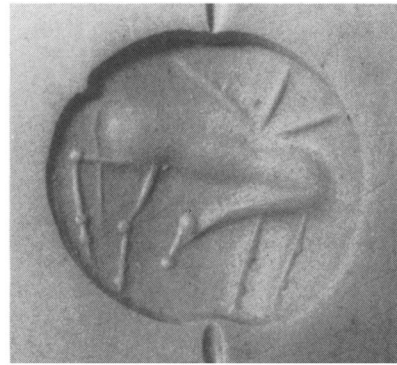


(f)

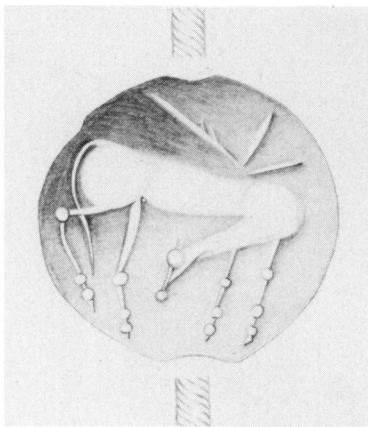
Sealstone 1 from the Sanctuary (SF 2036). Scale: $\times 2$.



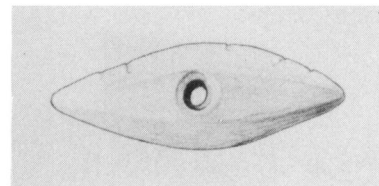
(a)



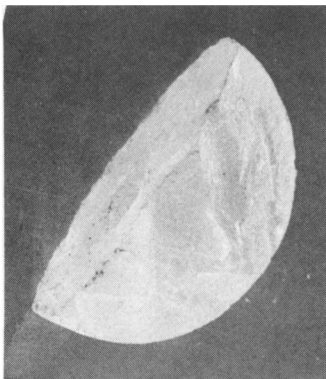
(b)



(c)



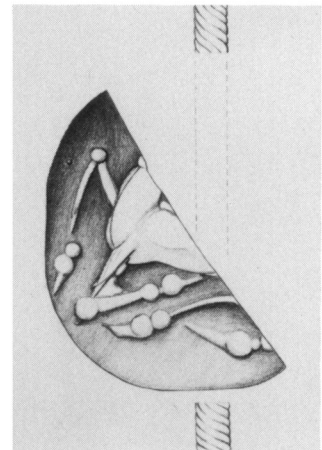
(d)



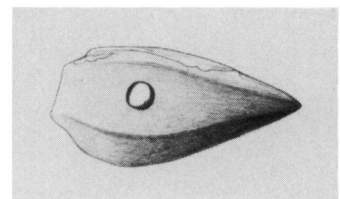
(e)



(f)

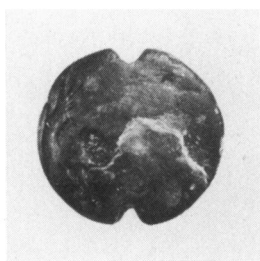


(g)

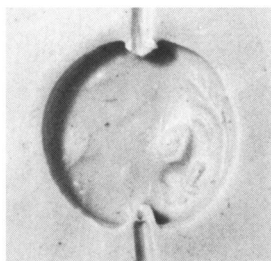


(h)

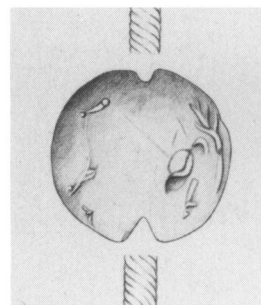
Sealstones 2 and 3 from the Sanctuary: (a-d), sealstone 2 (SF 844); (e-h), sealstone 3 (SF 1748). Scale: $\times 2$.



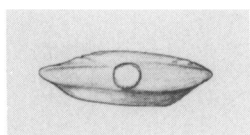
(a)



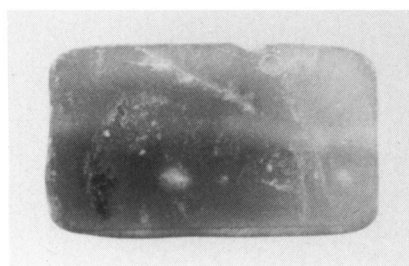
(b)



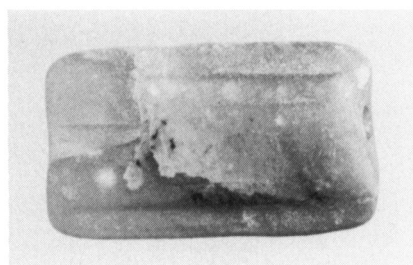
(c)



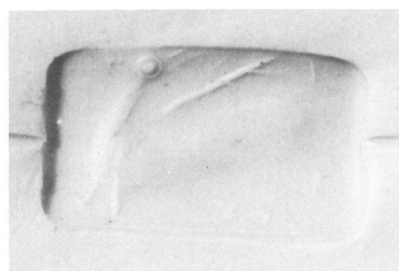
(d)



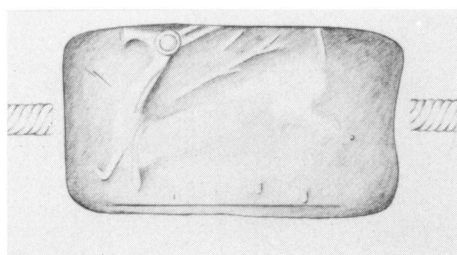
(e)



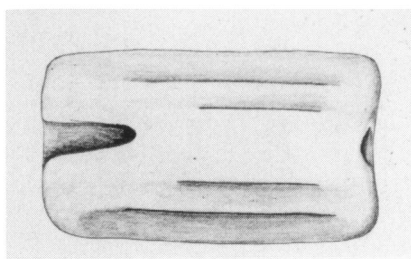
(f)



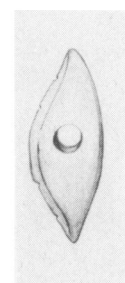
(g)



(h)

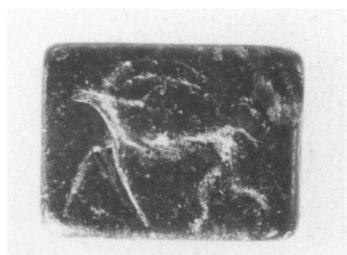


(i)

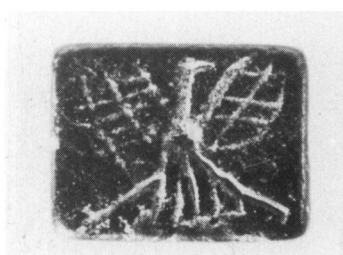


(j)

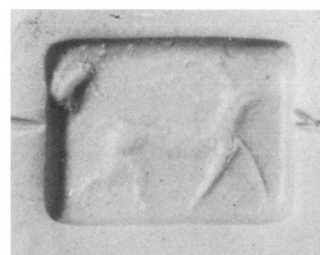
Sealstones 4 and 5 from the Sanctuary. (a-d), sealstone 4 (SF 837); (e-j), sealstone 5 (SF 808). Scale: $\times 2$.



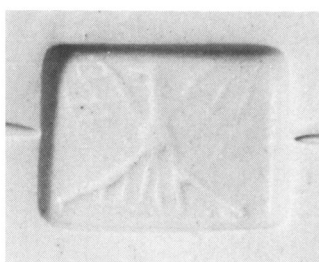
(a)



(b)



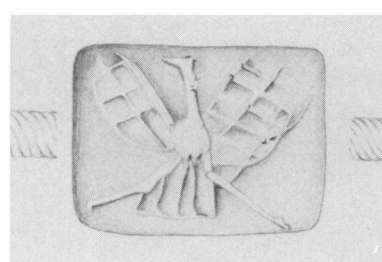
(c)



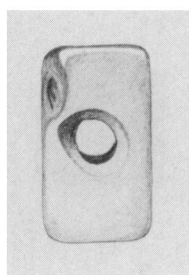
(d)



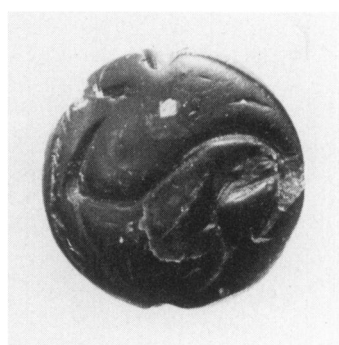
(e)



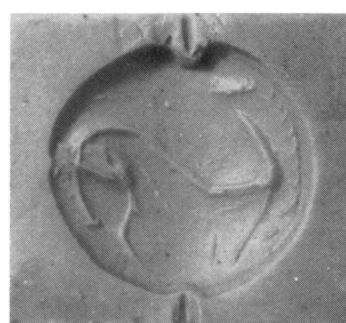
(f)



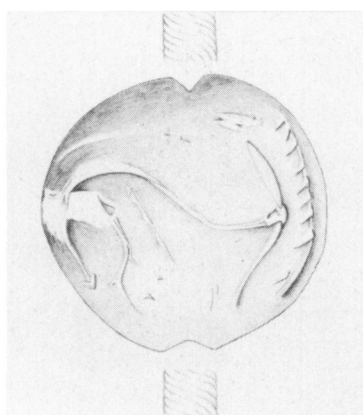
(g)



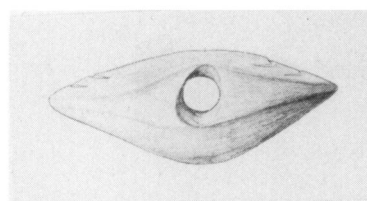
(h)



(i)

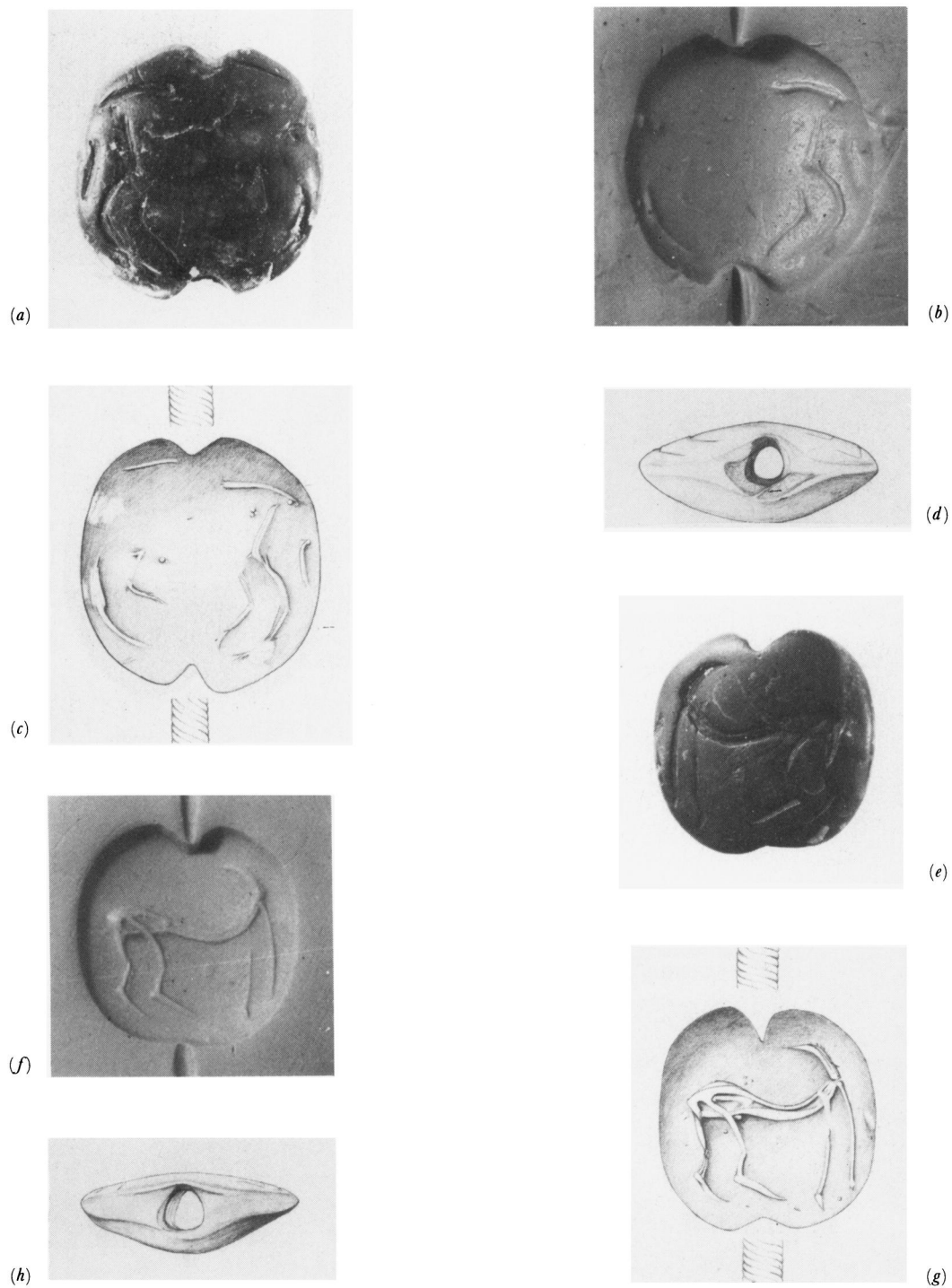


(j)



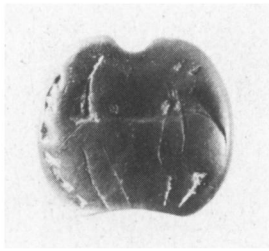
(k)

Sealstones 6 and 7 from the Sanctuary. (a-g), sealstone 6 (SF 821); (h-k), sealstone 7 (SF 834). Scale: $\times 2$.



Sealstones 8 and 9 from the Sanctuary. (*a-d*), sealstone 8 (SF 840); (*e-h*), sealstone 9 (SF 833). Scale: $\times 2$.

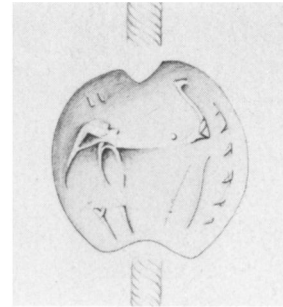
PLATE 54



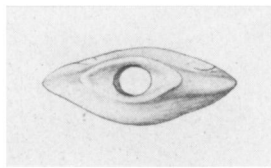
(a)



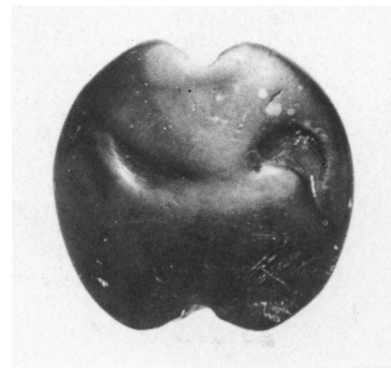
(b)



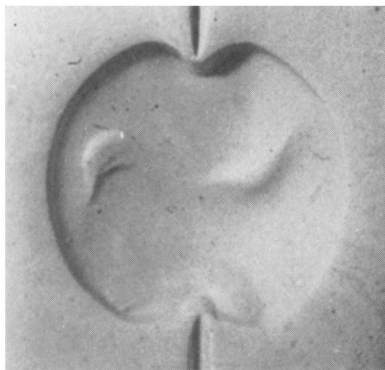
(c)



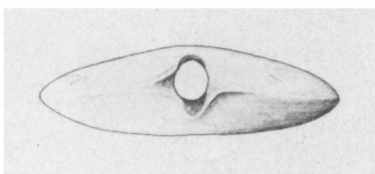
(d)



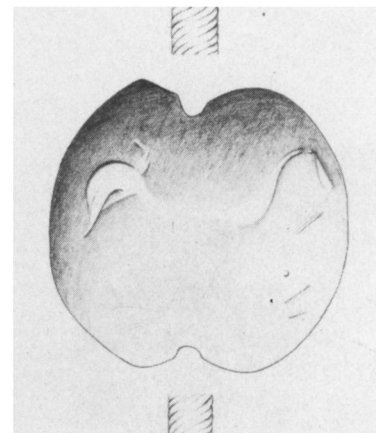
(e)



(f)

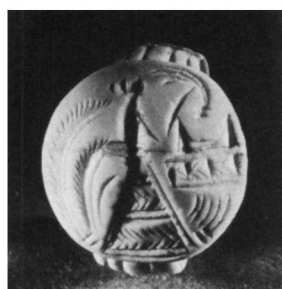


(h)



(g)

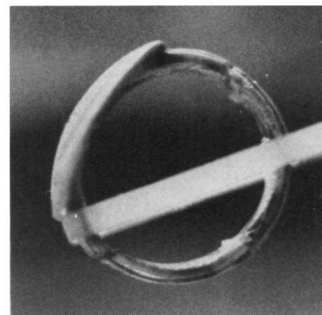
Sealstones 10 and 11 from the Sanctuary. (a-d), sealstone 10 (SF 841); (e-g), sealstone 11 (SF 824). Scale: $\times 2$.



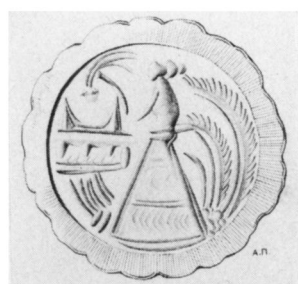
(a)



(b)



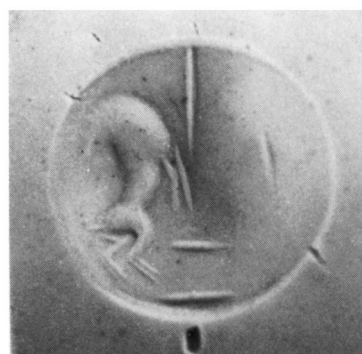
(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



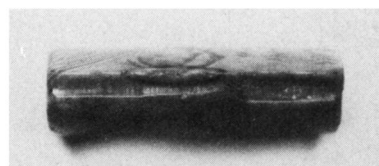
(g)



(i)

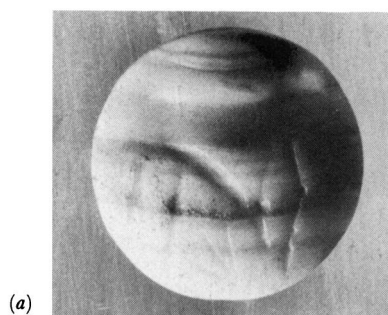


(h)



(j)

Ivory ring from Phylakopi (CMS I 410), and seals and impressions from other sites: (a-d) CMS I 410; (e) CMS V 608; (f-g) Heraklion Museum 607; (h-j) Kenna (1960), no. 201. Scale approximately $\times 2$.



(a)



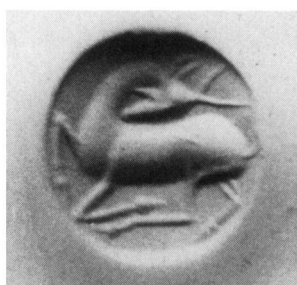
(b)



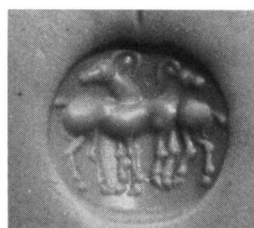
(c)



(d)



(e)



(f)



(g)

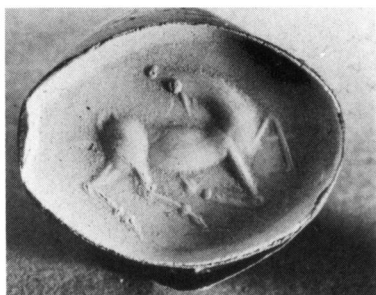


(h)



(i)

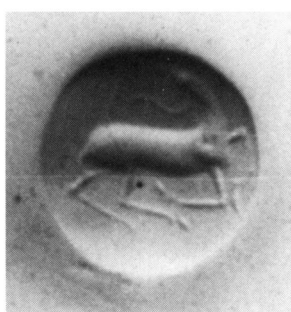
Seals and seal impressions from other sites: (a, b) CMS V 500; (c, d) CMS V 499; (e) CMS XII 236; (f) CMS V 441; (g) CMS V 600; (h) CMS XIII 126; (i) CMS VII 184. Scale: $\times 2$.



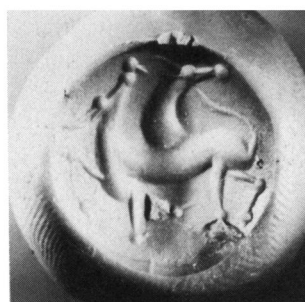
(a)



(b)



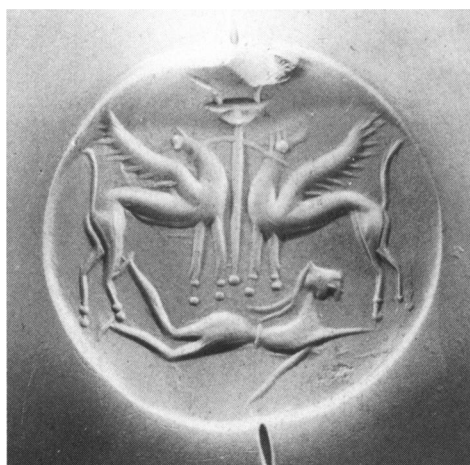
(c)



(d)

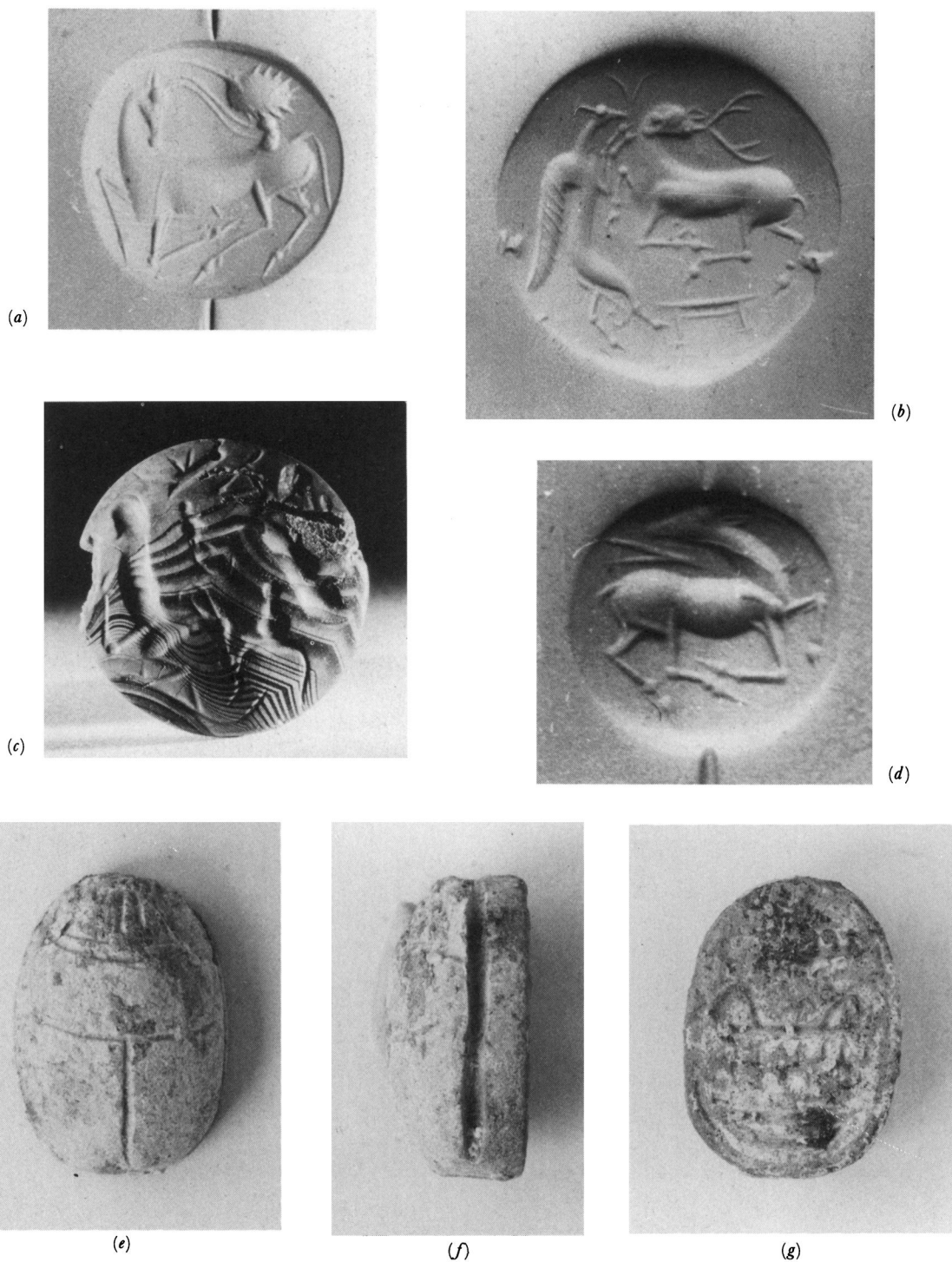


(e)

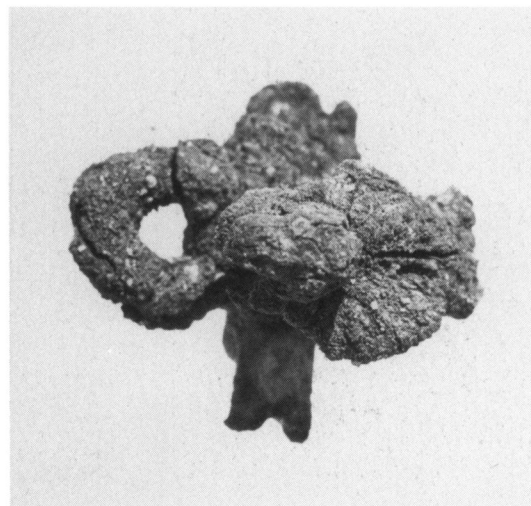
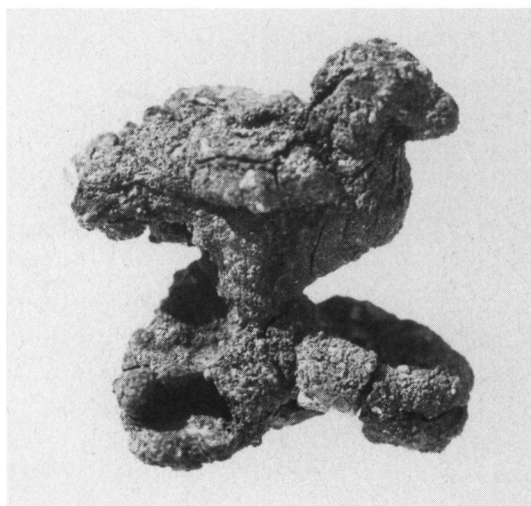


(f)

Seal impressions from other sites: (a) CMS I 26; (b) CMS I 355; (c) CMS IX 191; (d) CMS XIII 59; (e) CMS V 221; (f) CMS I 171. Scale: *c.* $\times 2$.

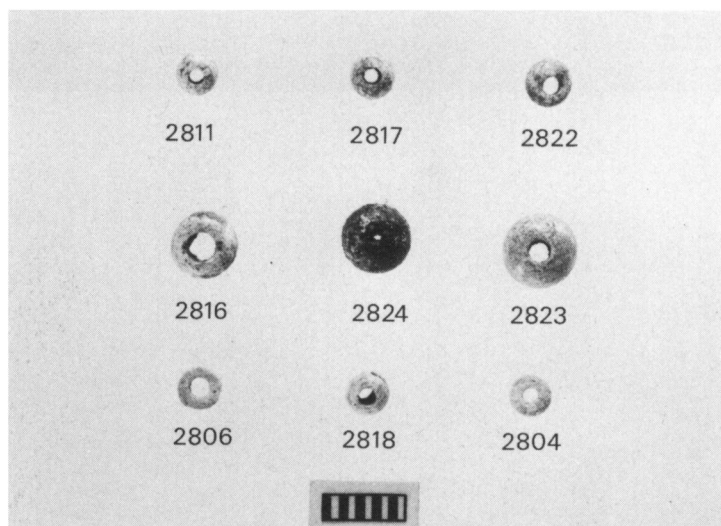
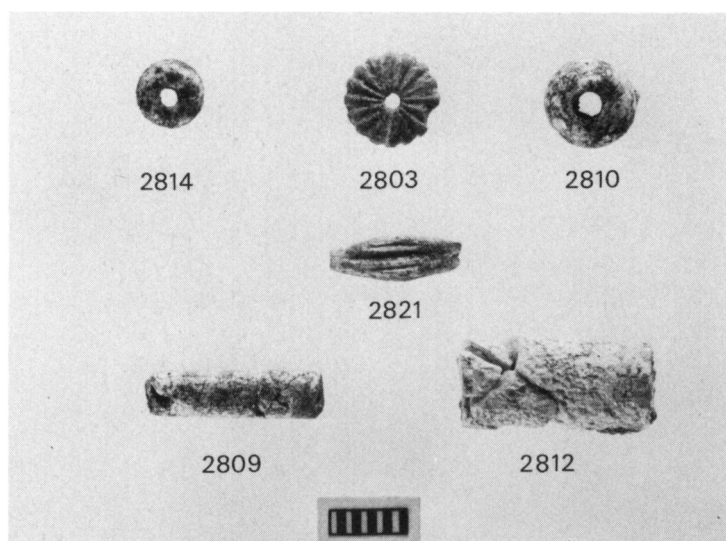


Seal and impressions from other sites, and the scarab (SF 766) from the Sanctuary: (a) CMS V 664; (b) CMS IX 20D; (c) CMS VII 111; (d) Midea T.2. Scale: *c.* $\times 2$. (e–g) Scarab, SF 766, length 1.4 cms.

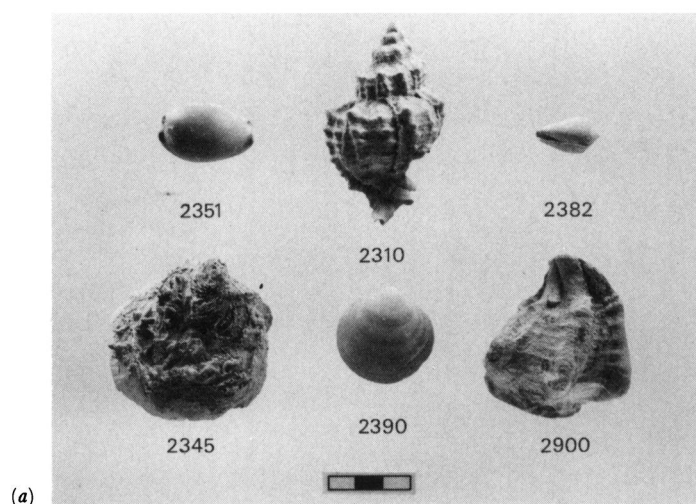


Gold head (SF 192), ht. 2.8 cms; bronze bird (SF 1578), total ht. 3.6 cms.

PLATE 60



Beads of various materials.



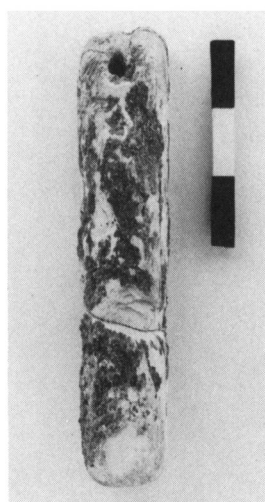
(a)



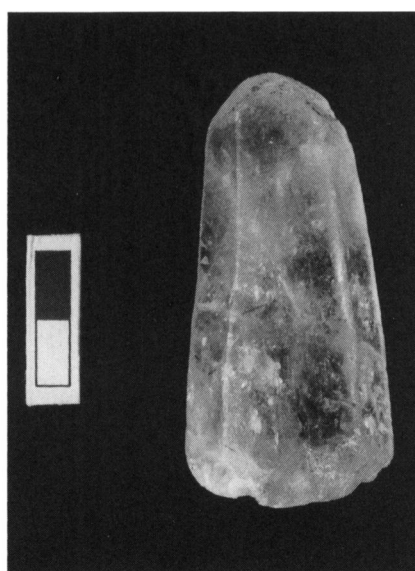
(b)



(c)



(d)



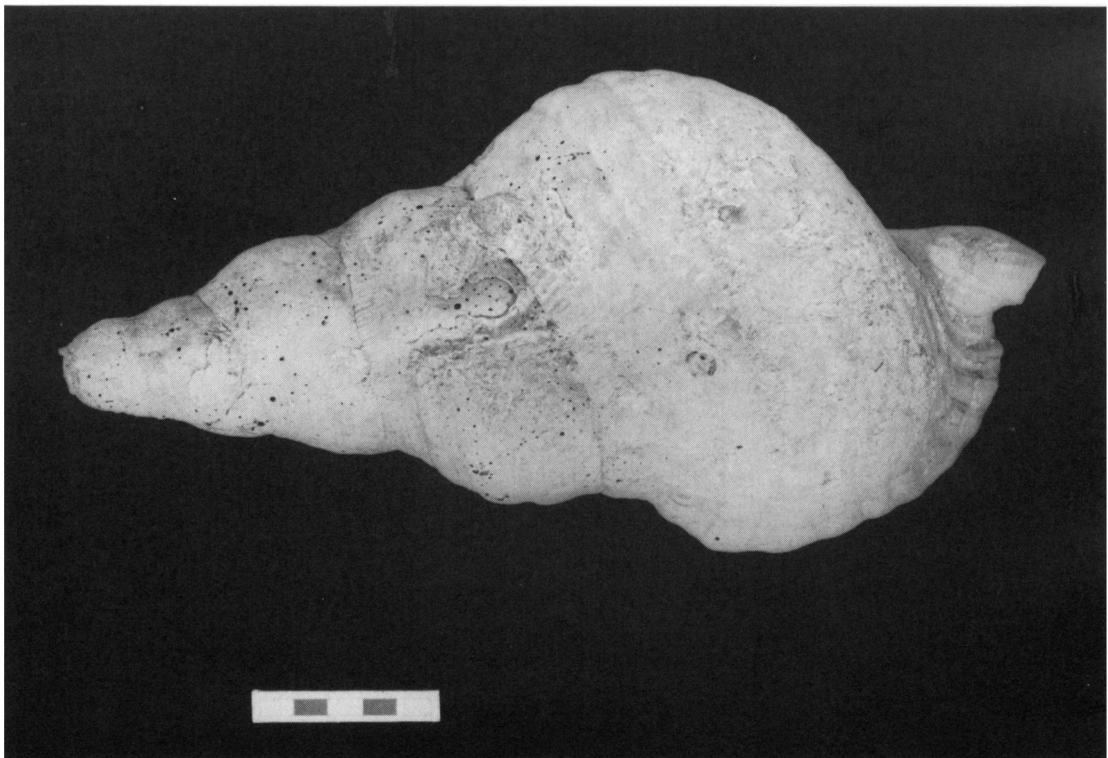
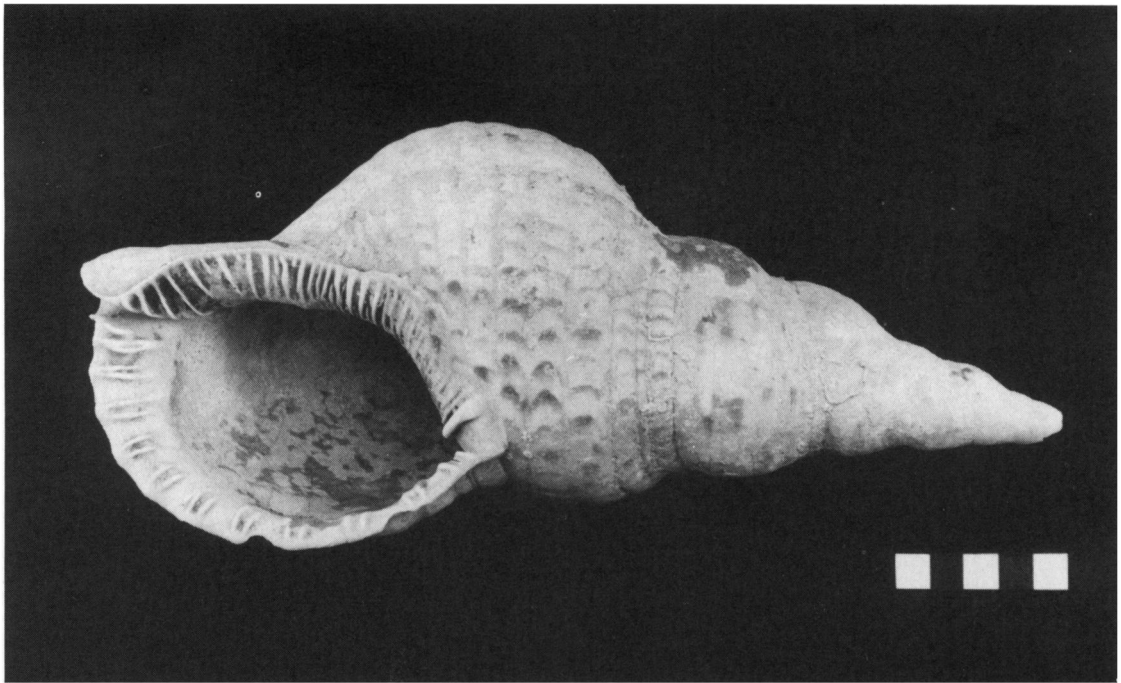
(e)



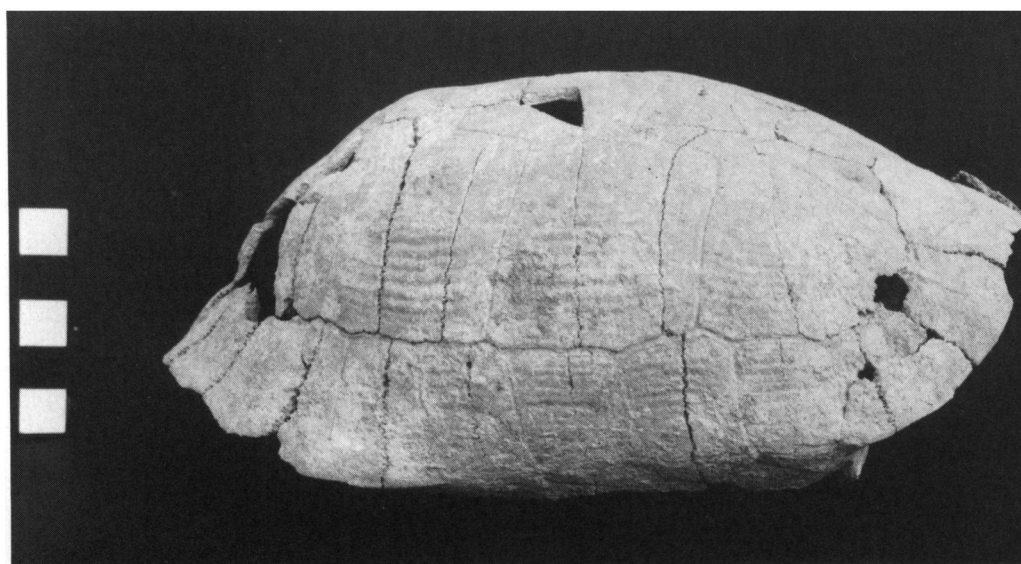
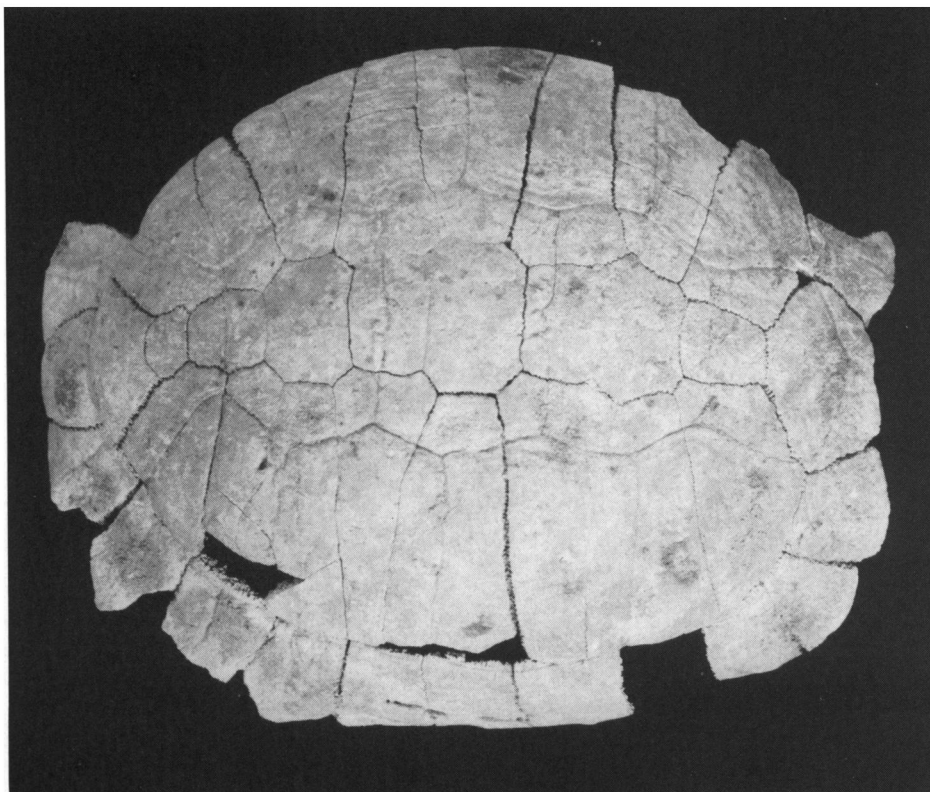
(f)

(a) Shells; (b, c) stone pendant, SF 2008; (d) ivory object, SF 830; (e) rock crystal, SF 572; (f) terracotta spindle whorl, SF 1825.

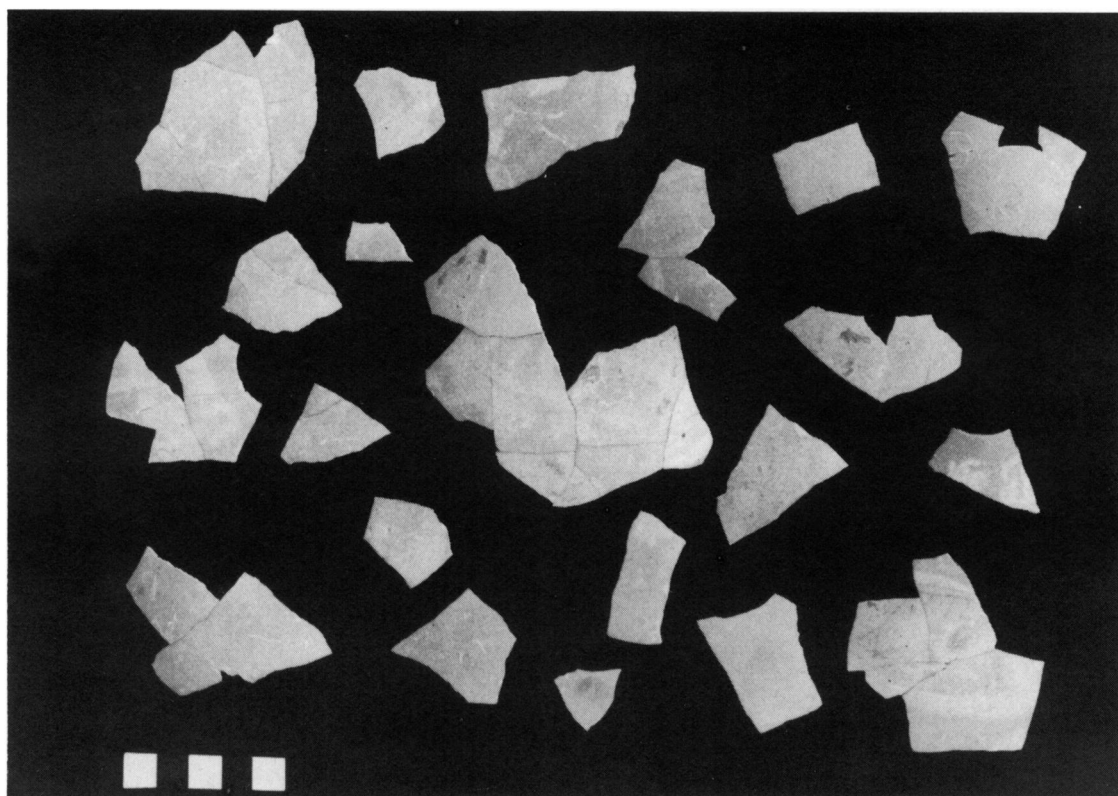
PLATE 62



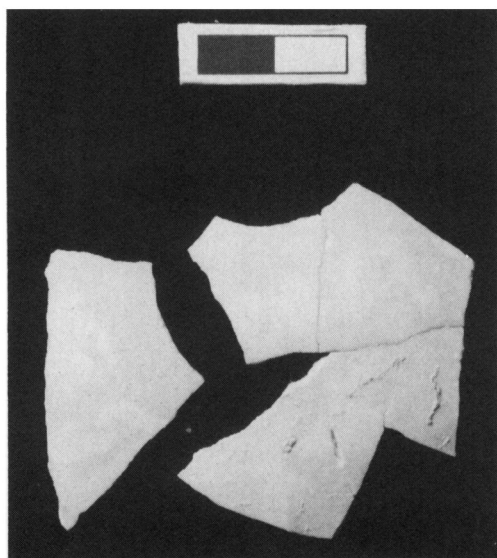
Conch shells: *above*, SF 170; *below* SF 1522.



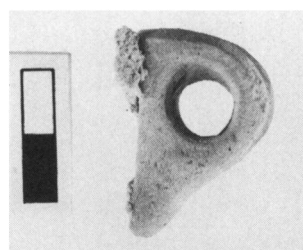
Tortoise shells restored from fragments from the sanctuary: *above*, SF 825 (length 18.0 cms); *below*, SF 195.



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

(a) Fragments of ostrich egg, SF 167; (b) further fragments (SF 167) showing worked circular opening; (c) stone handle (SF 194); (d) tortoiseshell fragments (SF 814) showing drill holes.



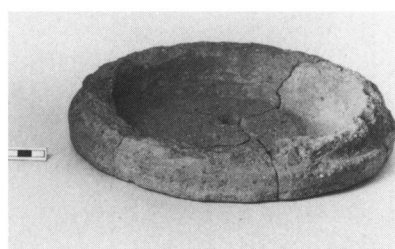
(a)



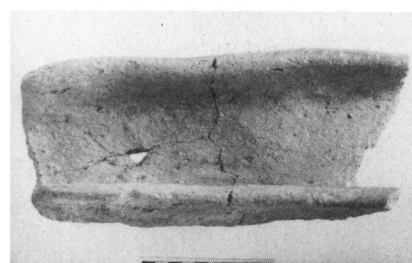
(b)



(c)

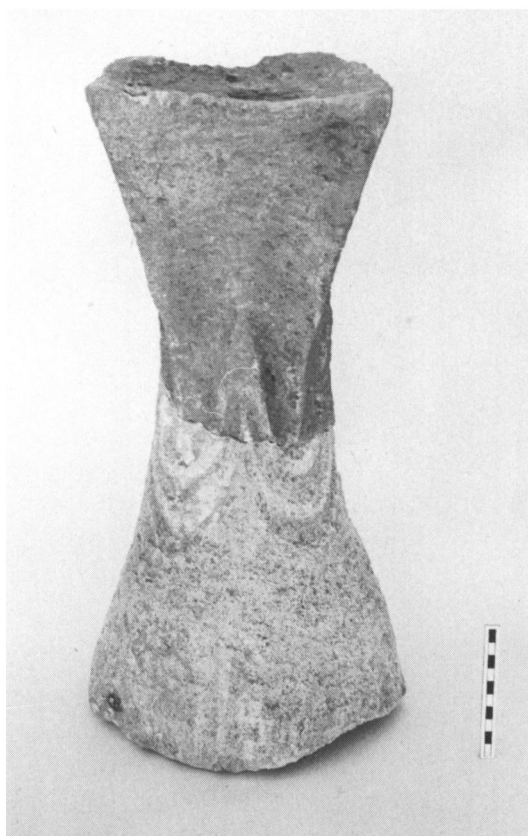


(d)



(e)

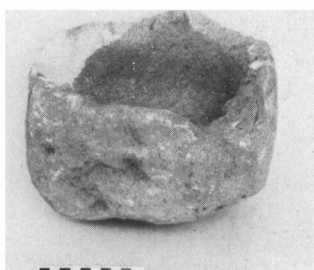
(a) Serpentine blossom bowl (SF 1717), and terracotta objects: (b, c) terracotta mould, SF 780; (d) vessel base, SF 2675 from Assemblage C in Room A; (e) drain channel, SF 786.



(a)



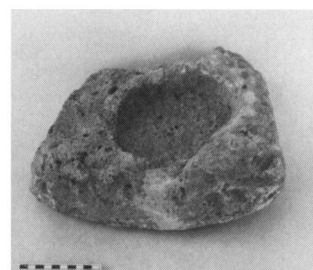
(b)



(c)



(d)



(e)

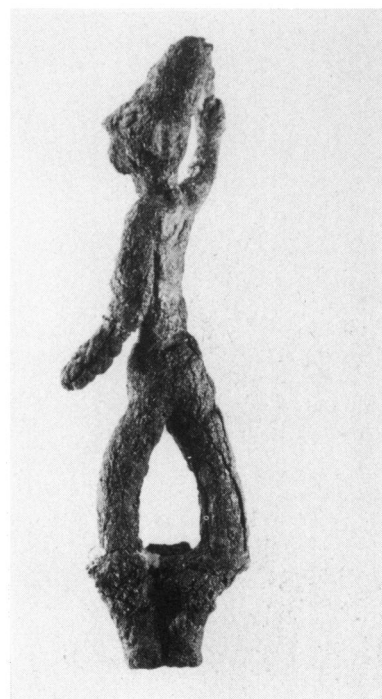
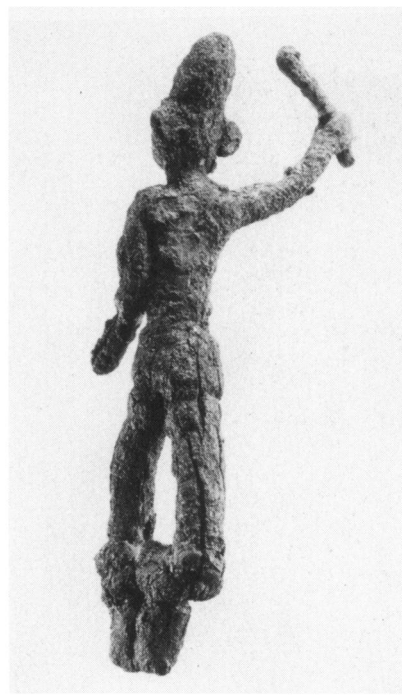


(f)



(g)

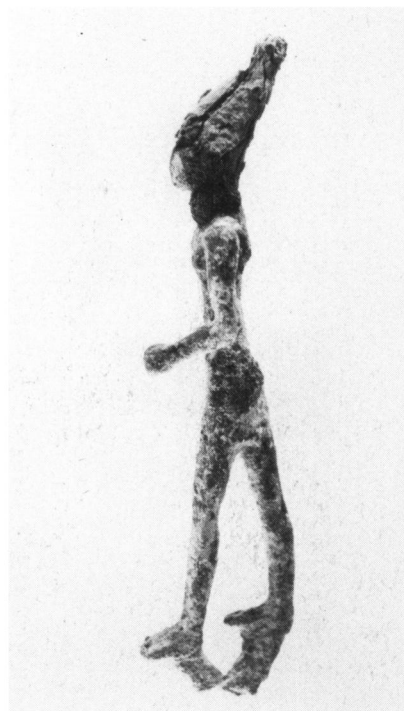
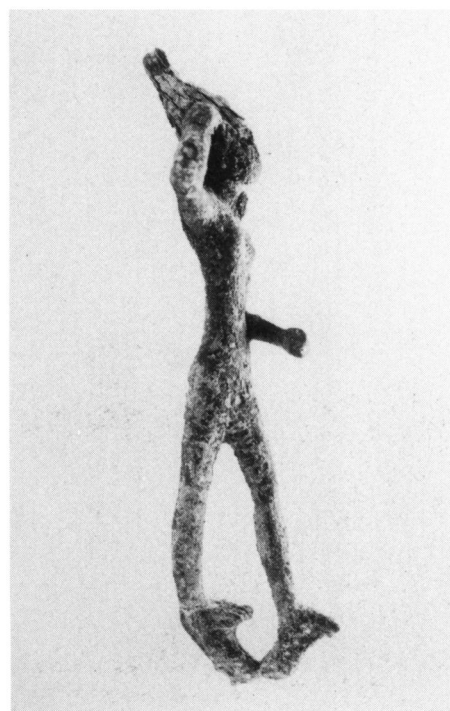
(a, b) Stone columnar lamps: SF 2004 and 2309; (c-e) mortars: SF 567, 1628, and 580; (f, g) saddle querns: SF 1165 and 872.



Smiting male figure of bronze, SF 518. Total ht. 12.5 cms.



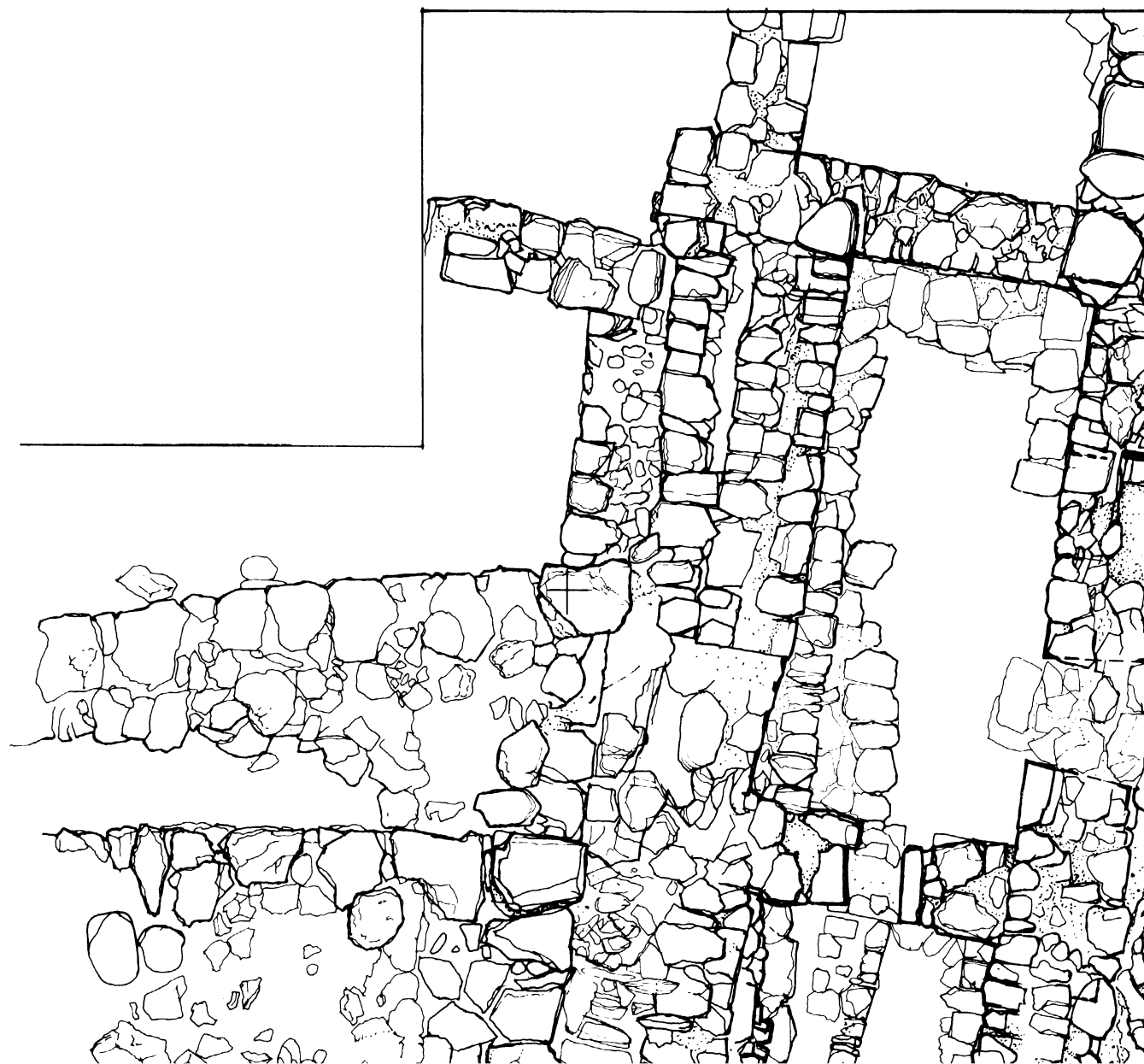
Smiting male figure, SF 518.



Smiting male figure of bronze, SF 1802. Total ht. 13.4 cms.



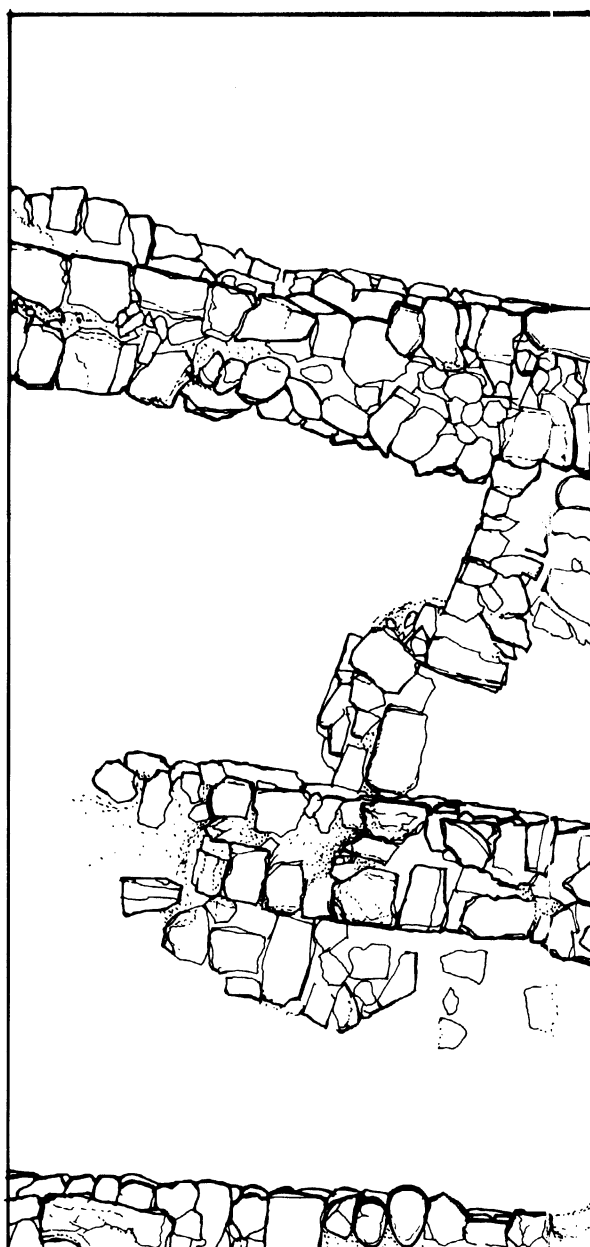
Smiting male figure, SF 1802.





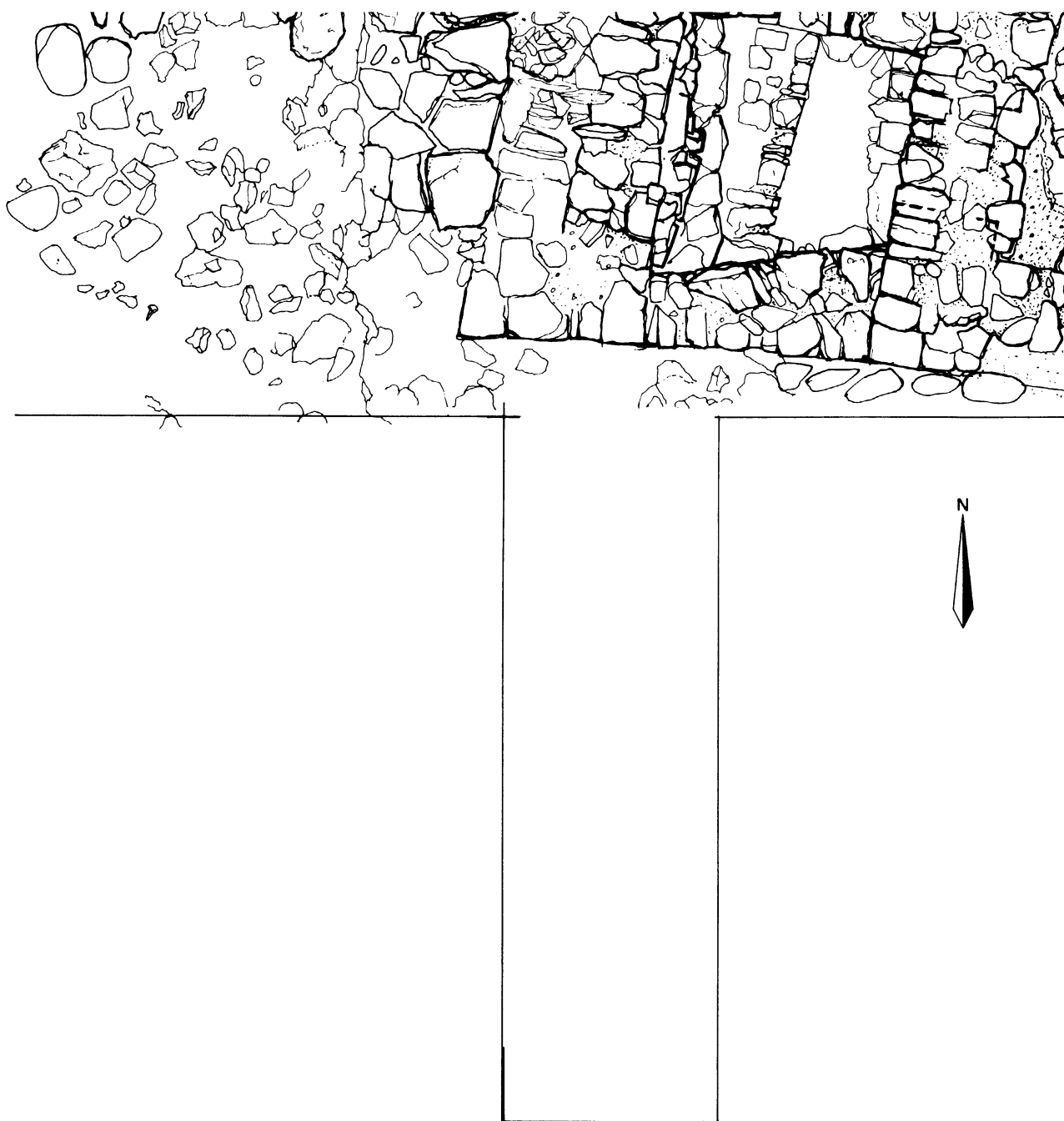
OM

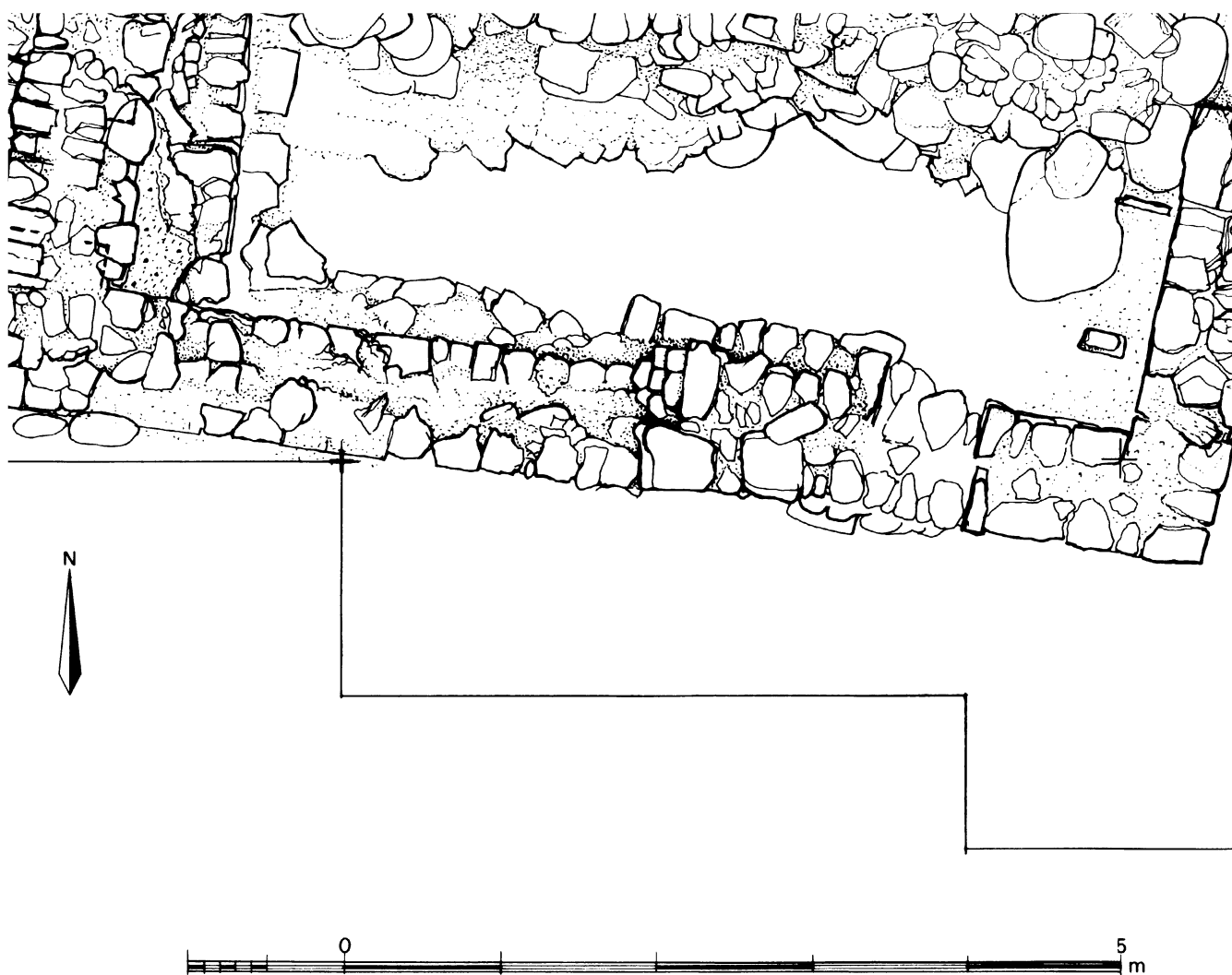


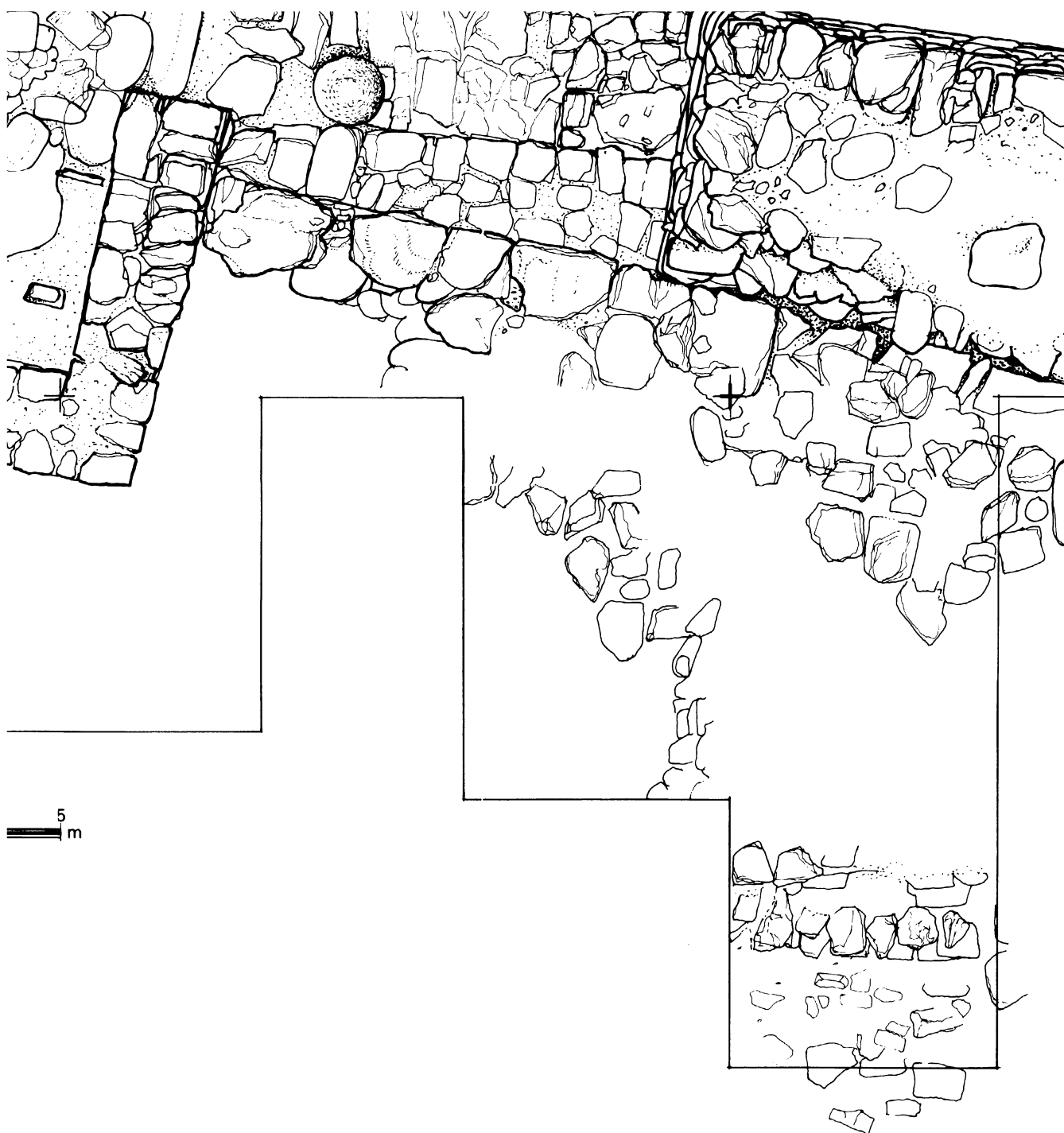


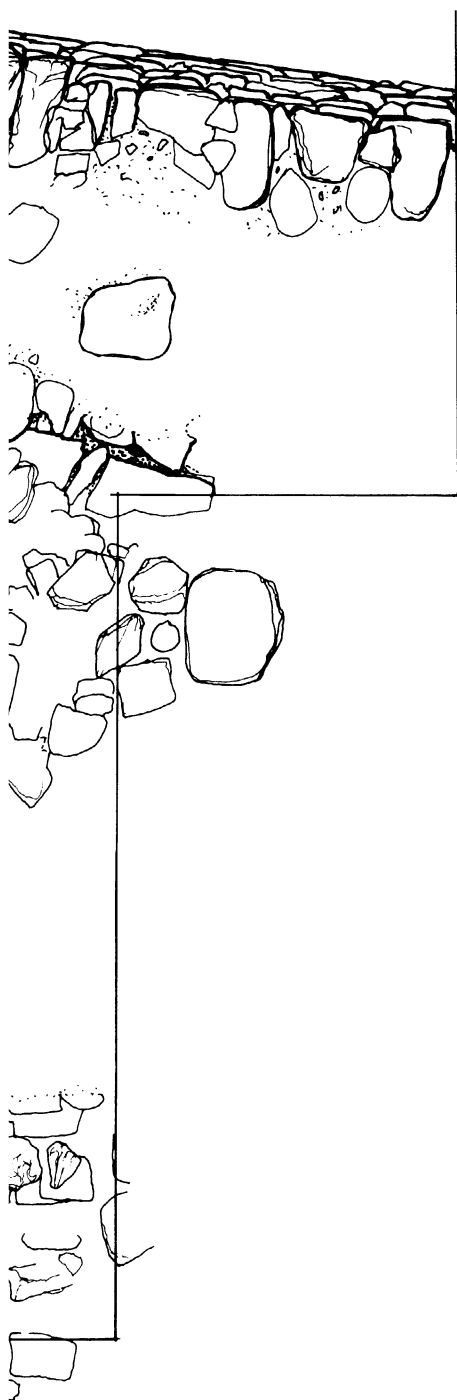
PM











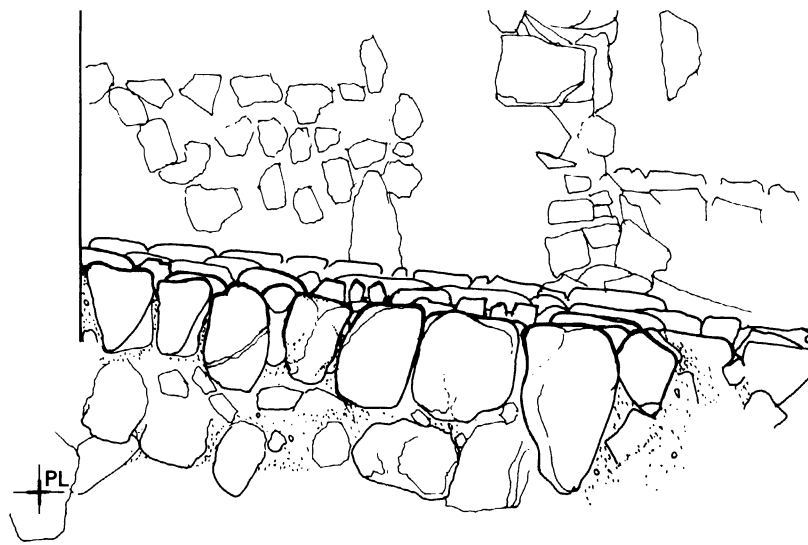


FIG. 4.1 Plan of the sanctuary area, by Alec Daykin. Scale 1:50

	PHASES 0 to 2a													PHASE 2b (2b/3c)													We Shri
	N of Block W. Phase 0	N of Block W. Phase 1a/2a	S of Block W. Phase 0/1a	SW Platform Phase 1a	SW Platform Phase 1b/2a	Room A Phase 1b/2a	Room B (0/1a) Phase 1b/2a	East Shrine Phase 0/2a	St. + Court'd Phase 0/1c	St. + Courty'd Phase 2a	N of W Shrine Phase 2a	S of W Shrine Phase 1b	N of E Shrine Phase 0/1c	NW Platform Ass A 2b + (2b/3c)	SW Platform Ass B = 2b	Other 2b + (2b/3c)	Room A + Niche Ass C = 2b	Room B Phase 2b/3a	Platform Ass D = 2b(3a)	Other = 2b	St. + Court'd Ass E = 2b/3a	Area north 2b/3a of W Sh. Ass F.	MLd Area G. 2b/3c				
Pedestal vase																	1										
Double vase															2												
Kylix						1				3						1				1	3	1					
Stirrup jar							1							1	1												
Other vessel	4	1					(1)5		1	5		1				6(4)		6	(1)	2	17	11					
Male Figure														3											3		
Male Figure frag.														1?					1?						2?		
Female Figure																	5										
Female Figure frag.						1		1?									1										
Female Figurine															2										1		
	1?									2						(1)		1				1					
Bovine Figure														1			5		3								
Bovine Figure frag.								3	1					2		(1)	1		1(1)						1?		
Chariot														2					1								
Chariot frag.										1									3								
Driven ox														1					1								
Driven ox frag.																											
Furniture etc.										1		1															
Animal Figurine								1						2					11(3)			1			1		
Animal Figurine frag.								6		4				3					4(3)		1				3		
Askos frag/fish rhyton										1								1	(1)								
Scarab																											
Sealstone						1													10								
Gold head																											
Gold leaf														1													
Silver																1											
Lead					1							1			1				1		2				1		
Bronze Figurine														1													

/3c)

/3c)	PHASE 3b				PHASE 3c, 3b/c				PHASE D, S											
St. + Court'd Ass E. = 2b/3a Area north 2b/3a of W Sh. Ass F. MLd Area G. 2b/3c	Other Areas	West Shrine	East Shrine		West Shrine	West Shrine	East Shrine	Other Areas		West Shrine	East Shrine	Other Areas	West Shrine	East Shrine	Other Areas	St. + Court'y'd Phase D/S	OLd Phase S	Area S of W Sh. Ph S	Area N of W Sh. Ph S (D/S)	
						1	1													
3	1				1					2		1								
										1										
17	11		1	1	3	1	1		5	9	1	3				1				
		3																		
		2?																		
						1	1?	2	1			2?								
		1				1	2							1						
1						1						1		2		1				
								3+2?												
		1?					2		1			1					1		1	
							1?													
							1		1											
	1	1	6		1		7	2						1					1	
1		3	2				5(1)	5	2			1		1	1		1			
								1												
							1													
2		1			2			1	1			1								
									1											

